













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,

1861.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.  
GÜTHE.

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THE  
WESTMINSTER  
AND  
FOREIGN QUARTERLY  
REVIEW.

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JULY 1, 1861.  
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ART. I.—THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SCHLEIERMACHER.

*The Life of Schleiermacher, as unfolded in his Autobiography and Letters.* Translated from the German by FREDERICA ROWAN. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1860.

SCHLEIERMACHER is the Philo of modern times. He represents the two opposite poles of thought,—the cold, clear dialectic, and the vague, profound mystic. As the Jew would have lapsed into a more extravagant mysticism than could be developed within the compass of Old Testament narrative, educed from the details of patriarchal life, rarefied from the book of Job, or fanned into ecstasy from the Songs of David and the sadnesses of Asaph, had he been able to forget what was due to his reason as a disciple of Plato, and to give freer play to the more natural element in his mind; so the German might have been a Plotinus or a Swedenborg, had not early influences twisted the natural direction of his intellect, hurried him into the domains of a philosophic rationalism, and deprived him of the leisure and seclusion necessary for sustained flights and poetic contemplation. The mystical element will not be hidden in either of these men, neither will it be subdued. It is an embolus ever playing and ever visible through all their rigid methods and severer externals. They were cradled in mysticism, as our childhood is cradled amidst weird legends and terrible phantasies, and that element survived to kindle their manhood into a certain majesty, and bathe their maturity in inexpressible tenderness and witchery. With Philo it leaps ever and anon above his logic, and will be in the ascendant for several pages. The contest for the mastery is less an exhilarating than a painful spectacle throughout the major part of his curious prelections. In the mind of Schleiermacher we trace this

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element from the earliest dawn of consciousness until it sheds over his manhood a silent warmth and softness. In maturer years, notwithstanding the terrible despotism of a will as strong and daring as Fichte's, it is perpetually alluring him to deeper speculations, or slipping under them a dim and dubious substratum. But it is most marked in his declining life, when he fondly recurs to the dreaminess of his youth amongst the Hershutters at Niesky, and ventures to declare that when reorganized and adapted to the nobler life of a present time, such communities might be converted into delightful and enviable places of abode. Both Philo and Schleiermacher prided themselves on their philology and applied it differently. Philo revelled in the riches of the Old Word, Schleiermacher in the treasures of the New; Moses was the ideal of the one, Paul of the other. Both were transition men. Remove either from their legitimate sphere, and study them as you would Dr. Paley or Dr. Arnold, and they chill, weary, and disappoint. Look at them as living men, in bustling Alexandria and profoundly meditative Germany, and we may learn to admire and even love them. The crowning consummation of them both is, that they intensified the life and thought of their epoch, exalting what was low and mean, and illuminating what was dim and occult. The one had been impossible without an ebbing Grecian philosophy, a corrupt Rabbiniism, and a purer struggling element in mind and heart; the other had never developed without an ebbing Jesuitism, an exploded Jansenism, a critical scepticism, a new philosophy, and a romantic pietistic revival. The Jew was the unconscious prophet of the old philosophy, the German the conscious apostle of the new.

In Schleiermacher, the fusing, balancing, element is even fuller and more prominent than in his antitype, and reveals itself more profoundly the closer we examine his position and his life. Cooped and fettered by outward circumstances and national restrictions, with a present that was as burning marl to their feet, the great German scholars, with the longings of a nature vast, comprehensive, and aspiring, had hurried wildly and turbulently to the new universe of primitive and mediæval time, for a newer empyrean, a freer cultus, and a more instinctive and religious philosophy. The old myths afforded them rich fields for ceaseless exploration, rigid analysis, and brilliant hypothesis. Here, surely, they would discover infallible religious instincts, if man had ever had any, and be able to eliminate all that was of a corrupt and fungoid nature. Preferring the inner to any outer revelation, here it might be discovered, traced down to present times, and once more developed into grandeur and sublimity. A true temple might again be built in man's heart, and his long-estranged reason be restored to harmony and peace. Fancy,

however, grew satiate, scornful, degenerate. Reason despised her dainties, recoiled, crumbled their splendours into dust, and rang out mad peals of proud goblin-laughter in the dearth and hollowness she had made. The old Norse Edda, the Hindhu dramas, the Grecian mythologies were derided and disbelieved as the lying fabrications of astute Irelands and priestly Chattertons. The old monks, having nothing to do, had solemnly sat in their scriptoriums to conceive and elaborate the shallowest fictions and the absurdest monstrosities. Whatsoever was not reducible and ticketable in this huge dry-goods store of the universe was consigned to the dust-heap of everlasting nonentities. Philosophy proper was scarcely in a more normal condition. Kant had promised a new mental revelation in the *Kritik*, but what with amphiboly, paralogism, antinomy, and ideal, the demonstration resulted in little else than that, whereas we could not be speculatively certain of the grandest truths in life or nature, we might morally affirm all that was sufficient for humanity. We could not logically say—"It is morally certain that God exists," we should put it individually and idealistically—"I am morally certain that God exists." Revolutionist Fichte followed with his sublime, soul-enthraling egoism, which Novalis capped when he said, "God wills only gods." Schelling—mystic, ideal, pantheistic, and keenly penetrative—succeeded, with a semi-sensuous development that has charmed many fervid minds from Coleridge downwards. With Hegel and his absolute idealism, Philosophy completed her cycle, established her final method, as far as Germany was concerned, and accepted at once a pantheism and a Trinity. All was ferment, hesitancy, and intellectual fearfulness. Theology caught the infection that had begun in history and crept into philosophy. Balrdt had inaugurated the new movement in his endeavour to supplant Christianity by the moral lights of Rousseau and Voltaire. Paulzow had done immense mischief in various works by his daring vehemence and terrible iconoclasm. But the first scientific attack was made in the *Fragments* edited by Lessing when head librarian at Wolfenbuttel, and generally attributed to him, until evidence was discovered amongst his papers at his death that they were written by the elder Reimar, previously known as a philologist and a writer on the instincts of animals. These fragments attempted the entire destruction of the Messianic history by the discovery of various discrepancies in the Four Gospels, and may be said to form the basis of the historico-critical school, subsequently so powerfully extended by Paulus and Strauss. Theology was then in a strait between bigoted Roman Catholics, thorough rationalists, pure-minded neologians, and energetic pietists. All was the whirl and changefulness of revolution.



A start, however, had been made in many ways for restoration, recovery, and rehabilitation. Schleiermacher was the highest wave of this movement. Midway between all the contending schools and *isms*, he constructed a system, or more correctly, a method, calculated to combine both. In the fervour of polemics, each side, religious and philosophical, might claim him as their exponent and representative; but he was careful not to commit himself exclusively to either, rarely ventured to defend his own modifications and specialities, and seldom appeared anxious to clear himself from misconception and wilful misrepresentation. A priest and a prophet, he came, saw, overcame. He might have gained greater eminence had he flung himself as boldly as some of his compeers into a literary arena, and brought his vast erudition and terrible powers of toil to bear upon more general and more popular themes. But he was too brave to shrink from his true post, however much it seemed an ignominious and transitory one. Carlyle tells us that if the wretch Loyola, maimed and miserable at Pampeluna, would have but consented "to have been damned, as was clear to him that he deserved to be," we might have been spared immense, incalculable evil, and he would have done the only transcendently virtuous act it was then possible for him to do. But if Schleiermacher had been less of a theologian than he was, where Germany and her churches might now have been drifted and wandering, it is almost impossible to conjecture. Had he not consented to fling himself down, as it were, across the moat, that a passage might be made over him, and lost his personality and position in the profoundest self-annihilation, even our own thinkers might have had more unsatisfactory battle, as certainly we might have been without the works of such men as Harms, Henstenberg, Guericke, Tholuck, Julius Müller, Nitzsch, Bleck, Lücke, Dörner, and Twisten. The truest theologian, as well as the truest man, in every sense, is he who does not so much crystallize himself and his thinkings into a system, or suppositious final norm, but one who, while he avariciously absorbs his epoch, as joyfully exudes all he has and is for future ages, and is a perennial fountain, a fresh-flowing Delian rill, whence men may draw the waters of life. Homer, Plato, and Shakespeare are men of this exalted type, whose universal helpfulness is the noblest attribute of their nature; and the more a man is possessed of this many-sided availableness, so much the more he approximates to the imperishable and the divine. It is their life, the *virida vis vitæ* that we should catch and desire to perpetuate, and not the dead image of their form, or the galvanized mechanism of their art. We pay them truest reverence when we seem to do it least. Seven cities questioning each other's veracity, Plotinus running mad after a Platonopolis, and dozens of editors quibbling about emendations,

editions, and plagiarisms, are weak and pitiful exhibitions that make one melancholy and despairing. Keats hit the truth well, when he said, in a letter to Reynolds, man should not dispute nor assert, but *whisper* results to his neighbour. Schleiermacher was of this true, lasting, and manful type. Himself and his thought were not so much distinct and systematized as so penetrative and assimilative as to peep out from the foundations and results of every successor. His aim was life, not form, the healthfulness of unfrosted and electric thought. "Let every one," he says, "rejoice in that he has excited life, for by this he approves himself to be an instrument of the Divine Spirit; but let none suppose that it lies within his power to determine the form which this life shall assume." This was shown by results, and will be more apparent as we proceed. It is recorded, indeed, by those who most venerate his memory, that his most reverent disciples are those who, so to speak, have got beyond Schleiermacher; but men who, at the same time, are ever free to confess that, under the blessing of the Only Wise, it was Schleiermacher himself who helped them to do so.

With this necessary preamble, and with no intention here of entering into the details of a theology which has now lost all its distinctness, and is continually passing into other conditions, we proceed to consider the man himself, as he is disclosed in his intimate friendships, and as he moved in the various spheres into which his energy, his genius, and his country called him. However much some biographies may remind us of the great discord between the actual and the ideal man—a discordance happily expressed by Jean Paul, as consisting in an image where one half is a giant, and the other a dwarf—we shall find little of this painful character in these interesting volumes a friendly hand and brain have rendered into good, sound English—the same, indeed, that have already presented us with Siljeström's valuable book on American Educational Institutions.

Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher was born at Breslau, November 21, 1768, where his father was then residing as chaplain of the Reformed Church to a regiment in Silesia. His mother, to whom during the frequent absence of his father, he was indebted for his earliest instruction, was the daughter of Stubeurauch, chaplain-in-ordinary to the king. Constitutionally a sickly child, but with great mental alertness and strength, he early distinguished himself by the facility with which he mastered his Latin vocabules, although he confesses that when he first attempted to read a Latin author, all was darkness to him, and he was in constant trepidation lest his entire ignorance of common things and natural philosophy should be exposed, or his memory fail him over the chronology of the four monarchies, and the succession of the Persian kings. For some time he travelled with his parents,

and from his twelfth to his fourteenth year he resided in a boarding-school at Pless. Here we begin to see foretokens of the Schleiermacher of history. In a remarkable letter to Jacobi, Niebuhr has favoured us with a curious insight into his own early mental development that has many points of resemblance. Shut out from all practical acquaintance with every-day life, the active imagination of the future historian revelled only in antiquity, and wanting a truthful perception of realism and natural science, the imperfection of his mind and the powerlessness of his being were subsequently revealed to him, and he received nothing less than a sceptical shock upon every impaction with cold surrounding facts. Hence the discord, so to speak, with which he tells his friend he was born. Similarly situated was the young theologian, and the points of resemblance are interesting helps in understanding the complex mental aspects of the time. After having hated the study of languages, he was warmed into enthusiasm for it by a pupil of Ernesti, and it was during this monomania that the consciousness of his ignorance became something sublimely ridiculous, until his incoherency and self-abasement deepened into a mental doubt and hesitation, through which he viewed everything. How it arose he was scarcely able to remember; but it was during his residence at Pless that he presents us with the painful spectacle of a hungry, intellectual youth, conceiving to himself that all ancient authors and all ancient histories were untrustworthy and suppositious. Unacquainted with any proofs of their genuineness, and unwilling to shiver his reputation, he continually revolved these wild ideas in his mind, communicating them to no one, but resolved to await the results of his own investigations.

In such a conflicting mental stage, he and his younger brother were placed in the educational establishment of the United Brethren, at Niesky, in Upper Lusatia. Here it was hoped he would be secure from the vices of larger schools, and secure from that robust discipline which made our own supra-sensitive Cowper call them "menageries." Here he himself hoped that peace, piety, and wise discipline would remedy all that was rapidly getting disjointed within. It was a vain hope. His historic scepticism evolved itself in a theologic one. The continual reference to the doctrines of natural corruption and supernatural grace, as held by the Moravians, generated a new struggle. His own experience furnished him with abundant evidence in favour of the first of these two pillars of the ascetic-mystic system, until continual suspicion of himself unhinged and rendered morbid his moral faculty. He strove and doubted, reasoned and trembled. Maternal counsel failed to tranquillize. Yet he worked on resolutely and manfully, and passed from the Knabenanstalt, or general and preparatory stage, to the Pädagogium, intended to

educate students expressly for the ministry, where he formed an exhilarating friendship with Von Albertini, subsequently bishop of the fraternity. They became so inseparable as to be named the Orestes and Pylades of the community. Full of genial life and generous aspirations, but with little linguistic knowledge, they read together all the Greek poets, and by the help of dictionary and grammar, commenced the Old Testament, finding no hindrance to their zeal and assiduity until they were surrounded by the poetical magnificence and perplexing obscurities of Ezekiel, where they were fairly beaten, and gave up the undertaking. They were both removed to the University of the Brotherhood, at Barby, in 1785, expecting to be appointed either as wardens or teachers on science. In the former case both felt their incapacity. Longing and striving for supernatural religious experience, they found themselves both empty, unhappy, and uninspired. In Greek poetry they had hitherto found their glorious *solamen*; now, at least, they must philosophize for themselves. Speculation began in their own minds, for neither did their older companions play the part of free-thinkers before them, nor did they hear any but the most miserable logic, nor were they permitted to know the results of the philosophical inquiries going on outside. Indeed, the very timidity and aversion of their theological tutors, exhibited upon all occasions when something must be said upon modern objections and innovations, rather confirmed than removed their distrust, although they pined less for intellectual than emotional reading, and secretly obtained the poems of Wieland, and Goethe's "Sorrows of Werter."

Sooner or later a disruption was unavoidable. The superiors became aware of the heterodox element fermenting in their midst, but kindly allowed the young man to wrestle with himself in secret, whilst he was honest enough neither to make himself an heresiarch, nor desire the shallow applause of his own strong-mindedness. He wrote to his father, with many tears and misgivings, reminding him that he too was at one time in the midst of religious uncertainty. Some degree either of dubiousness or enthusiasm seemed a family trait, for the history of the young man's grandfather had been detailed by Jung Stilling, in the second volume of "Theobald," under the name of Darius. Their letters are very touching and heart-rending. The son was mild, gentle, tremulous; the father stern, upbraiding, desperate, and dogmatical. Not even Spinoza, in his terrible conflict with Morteira, passed through a more fiery furnace, only the melancholy Max Richter consummated in his ecstatic enthusiasm a more terrible tragedy. We should like to transcribe some of this correspondence, if only to show men simple and straightforward in other respects, that truth is not to be driven into the mind by

parental force, that fierceness is no genuine element of righteous desire, and that mere literal subscription, in a case of this kind, is a gloss insane as fruitless, and faithless as it is slavish, despicable, and unchristian. Yet we stay ourselves, although necessitated to dwell thus long upon his youthful career, not only on account of its own interest, but because of the revelation it affords of the basis upon which so much was subsequently excogitated.

He must go to the University at Halle, where freer discussion, ampler means, and a more comprehensive logic, may do good things for him. Settling there, in 1787, he rigorously began a course of study, embracing philosophy, hermeneutics, history, and the vicissitudes of human opinion. In his admirable estimate of the theological merits of Schleiermacher, the younger Vaughan states, we know not upon what authority, that his faith was unsettled at Halle by the study of Spinoza and Fichte. This is surely an error. His faith never had been settled, as will soon be seen in his own words, and the materials for the mental phases we have given are from the autobiographical sketch prefixed to the first division of his letters, which he prepared for the ecclesiastical authorities, when, having passed his *pro licentia*, he was ordained as a minister. Possibly, as with Niebuhr, the study of Spinoza might have strengthened and purified his mind, but beyond that, neither his writings nor Fichte's sublimated any change whatever; indeed, his reading was confined mostly to Kant, Jacobi, Mendelssohn, Töllner, Michaeli, and Lessing, as he tells us in his letters. His mind was rapidly assuming maturity, and the position he held in his lifetime is given in dim presentment to his father. We should remember that he was but just turned twenty-one.

"I hope that I shall succeed in steering clear of the two dangerous rocks you mention in the beginning of the letter, but I hope this, not so much in reliance upon my own art of steering, as on the excellent wind which swells my sails, and seems to be driving my bark midway between them. Sentimentalism—that phthisis of the mind, which undermines all its strength, and prevents those who are suffering under it from being masters of their own impressions, while, as in physical diseases of some minds, even the most wholesome food is converted by them into unwholesome humours—sentimentalism has never been dangerous to me, because, wherever I have been, kind destiny has given me a few friends in whose society I have enjoyed much real pleasure, and have sharpened my feelings for the true and good, without running into such extravagance. From any tendency to the system-mongering mania, I have always been still more exempt. *My thinking began with doubting*; and, notwithstanding that I have since read much and thought much, and had much intercourse with the firmest adherents of various systems, I have, in theology as well as in philosophy, remained pretty much in the same state. I do not think that I shall

ever succeed in forming for myself a regularly developed system in accordance with which I shall be able to solve every question that may arise consistently with all the previous knowledge I may have acquired ; but I have always been of opinion, that to investigate and test, and to listen patiently to all parties and all witnesses, are the only means by which we may at last attain to a sufficient degree of certainty, and above all to a fixed limit between these matters regarding which we must adopt decided views, and which we can account for to ourselves and others, and those which we may leave undecided without detriment to our happiness or tranquillity. In this manner I remain a calm spectator of the wrestling of theological and philosophical athletes, without deciding in favour of any, or staking my liberty on the triumphs of either party ; never failing, however, to learn something from both."

Leaving Drossen, whither he removed from Halle after a residence of two years, he was inducted into the family of Count Dolna, of Schlobitten, as private tutor, in which position he spent three of the happiest years of his life. His only drawback was the difficulty of obtaining books—borrow them he could not, even had he been as felicitous and winning as Jean Paul, apostrophizing the spirit of Locke to induce Vogel to send him the "Essay on the Understanding," that he might improve his own. Königsberg *savans* trusted to publishers' libraries, and had but few books. The whole of Kant's library at his death consisted of about four hundred and fifty volumes, of which the greater part were presentation copies. How, then, was a poor tutor to obtain them ? His tutorship was not so remarkable as Fichte's, but, nevertheless, exhibited admirable and conscientious qualities. Whilst here his first sermons were written, delivered, and criticized by his father, and as curate of Landsberg he emerged into his normal and legitimate career. The letter written to his sister Charlotte, about this time, on the death of his father, shows how tenderly he loved him, in spite of so much misconception and apparent disunion.

In 1796, Schleiermacher removed to Berlin, as chaplain to the establishment of the *Charité*. Besides a constant intercourse with his brother Carl, who was studying chemistry there, he was fortunate enough to meet Friedrich Schlegel at a small literary class. He was at once captivated by him, and sends his sister a fresh and interesting description of his new acquaintance :—

"He is about twenty-five, and the extent and variety of his knowledge is almost inconceivable at his age. He possesses, moreover, an originality of intellect which, even here where there is so much intellect and so much talent, far surpasses all others ; and in his manner there is an absence of artificiality, a frankness, and a childlike youthfulness, the combination of which with his other qualities is the most wonderful of all. Wherever he be, his wit and his simplicity make

him the most delightful companion ; but to me he is more than that, he is of the greatest and most essential benefit. I have never, it is true, been deprived of intellectual society here, and I have always known some man with whom I could talk about each individual science that interests me. Nevertheless, I always felt the want of a companion to whom I could freely impart my philosophical ideas, and who could enter with me into the deepest abstractions. This great void he has filled up most gloriously. To him I can not only pour out what is already in me, but by means of the exhaustless stream of new views and new ideas which is ever flowing into him, much that has been lying dormant in me is likewise set in motion. In short, as regards my activity in the world of philosophy and literature, my more intimate acquaintance with him forms an epoch. I say my *more intimate* acquaintance, for, although I learnt to admire his philosophy and his talents much sooner, it is one of my peculiarities that I cannot allow any one to penetrate into the inmost recesses of my mind until I am satisfied of the purity and uprightness of his character. I cannot philosophize with any one whose moral sentiments I do not approve. Not until I had acquired such certainty in regard to these, as any one with common sense can desire from the intercourse and everyday expressions of a man, did I draw nearer to him ; but now I am much in his society. He has not studied any so-called *bread-science*, nor does he wish to hold any office, his desire being, if possible, to live frugally and independently on the proceeds of his writings, which embrace none but important subjects, as he never condescends, for the sake of money, to bring mediocre wares to market. He is always spurring me on to write likewise ; there are a thousand things, he says, that ought to be said, and which I am just the one to say ; and since he has heard me read a little essay of my own composition, in the society which I have named, he leaves me no peace. We are at present meditating his joining me in my chambers at new year, and I shall feel a right royal exultation if the project be carried out ; for at present I always lose an hour walking to and fro between his house and mine. *Nota bene* : His Christian name he has in common with me, he is called Friedrich, and he is like me also in many of his natural failings : he is not musical, he does not draw, he does not like the French language, and he has bad eyes."

The friendship was reciprocal. They joined each other in their studies, and were like brothers. Some time during his residence in Berlin, Schleiermacher, with the assistance of his old friend Suck, had translated "Blair's Sermons," as his first literary undertaking ; but Schlegel saw within him ample and original gifts which he sought to develope. What he could not effect by hints he sought to accomplish by a good-natured conspiracy. It was his friend's birthday, and when presents had been given him, Schlegel took his hand and burst out, "Nine-and-twenty years, and nothing done as yet !" whilst the whole company took up the chorus, desiring him to write some book. He was implacable,

and so the young theologian gave him his hand in a solemn pledge that he would write something original before the end of 1797. The brothers Augustus and Friedrich Schlegel were then editing the *Athenæum*, assisted by Tieck and Novalis, and it was in the second number of this periodical, under the title of "Fragments," that Schleiermacher made his first genuine, but unwilling, literary adventure. As soon as Schleiermacher and his friend resided under the same roof, the former perceived not how much they had in common, but wherein, at some distant period, they must inevitably diverge. He missed in the temperament of Schlegel, in spite of all that was fiery and strong, that tenderness and love of gentle beauty that made it impossible for him to reveal himself wholly to him, or that his various moods and habits of thought should be consistently comprehended. This reticence was the beginning of all the future coldness and distrust. Just as Schlegel preferred books with large print, so he liked men with large and distinct features. All indistinctness was mysterious, painful, and dangerous to him.

Life in Berlin was full of interest, character, and adventure. It was here that Schleiermacher formed the acquaintance of Henrietta Herz, a Jewess, who was married to a medical gentleman of the same persuasion, but between whom a singular disparity in years, heightened by a difference in tastes and temperaments, had developed a coldness and restraint that was less apparent than deep and immovable. Beautiful, accomplished, and intellectual, she gathered around her the wit and the elegance of Berlin. It was here that Schlegel first met with Dorothea Veit, the daughter of Moses Mendelssohn, whom he subsequently married. Here, too, were wont to assemble Ramler, Engel, Moritz, the elder and the younger Spalding, Nicolai, Dohm, the brothers Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt, Reichardt the composer, Schadow the sculptor, Count Bernstorff, the Danish-Prussian statesman, with the notorious Gonz, Fessler, Brinkmann, and others. Like Jean Paul, Schleiermacher was first appreciated and exalted to his real position in refined and cultivated female society. His genius was speedily discerned by Mrs. Herz, who, with true feminine tact, contrived to draw out his mind, whilst she took care his feelings should neither be forgotten nor fastened upon her more than her position would render equitable and just. In return for his natural science, she imparted to him a knowledge of Italian. They read Shakespeare together, and freely discussed German books and literary news. Independently of extracts from his letters, furnished by her friends, the lady herself, in her "*Erinnerungen*," has supplied us with interesting details of his life and habits. He was a constant visitor to their house, and as the way home in the evening was



long and dangerous, husband and wife, equally sincere in their regard for him, furnished him with a lantern for the button-hole of his coat, with which the little man trudged home. Such an intimacy, pure and spotless as it unquestionably was, had nevertheless many points whence objections and misconstructions might arise. Berliners, vivacious and witty enough, however much some may desiderate a profounder intellectual complacency—improved the occasion to represent the lady walking out with Schleiermacher, and holding him in her hand as a small parasol, whilst from his pocket protruded a second one of still smaller dimensions. His old friend Sack, the court-preacher, was the first to complain of his intimacy both with Schlegel and Mrs. Herz, although his sister had written him repeatedly and admonishingly from Gnadenfrei respecting the latter one. The noble manliness of Schleiermacher is exhibited in the reply to his former benefactor and coadjutor, since published in the “*Studien und Kritiken*” for 1850.

“Never,” he says, “will I be the friend of a man of disreputable principles; but never either will I, out of the fear of the world, withdraw the consolation of my friendship from any one who has innocently incurred its ban; never will I, on account of my profession, allow myself to be guided in my actions by the false appearances which determine others, instead of by the true nature of the circumstances.”

In Berlin, Schleiermacher first felt his full personality and beheld his work. Speculation carried on to atheism, and atheism almost to nihilism and utter *nirvana*, had generated a dull, morbid, gigantic indifferentism. Both sprang from disarranged moral faculties. Imagination carried to excess is mania, fancy delirium, as Coleridge hinted. Speculation and the self-distrust of which doubt is born, are in themselves moral and religious elements. Perfect faith is resignation, cheerful solidity of well-doing; and a morbid and grotesque one, or the same mental habit under different circumstances, is fatalism and do-nothingism. This was not so much a fixed stage in human opinion as a cloudy, transition, and developing one. That the churches were not well-filled was not half so harmful as that so many had little taste either for religious or theologico-philosophical questions. The better class of men felt, as Niebuhr said, like ghosts in a living body. There was indifference but not indistinctness. A puerile, jejune contempt for such matters was the admission-ticket and password into this wild freemasonry. Good names are the Armstrongs of polemics, reaching immense distances, ploughing, devastating, and ricochetting when no enemy is seen and no tangible danger obstructs. And here was one—*Philister*. Originally used by the Hussites to denote such as were not the elect

of God like themselves, it passed from the University of Prague to other German schools, sinking down into the lower meaning of townsmen, as distinguished from professors and students. Here, however, it meant something more than a home-keeping, easy-going, perchance sentimental tradesman. It was materialism in its lowest unphilosophic form—a valuing of mere externals, utility, and sensuousness—an utter disrelish for everything earnest, spiritual, and progressive. Its English synonyme is the old form and meaning of cockney. Nicolai, who wrote against the critical philosophy without comprehending it, and carried into his criticisms of Fichte, Wieland, Herder, and Goethe all the absurdities of a small business appraiser, so well illustrated what was meant by this term, that he was called the Arch-Philistine. It was against this class, and those who almost imperceptibly merged in it, that Schleiermacher and his compeers waged eternal warfare. And in his “Discourses on Religion, addressed to the Cultivated Class amongst its Despisers,” conceived in Berlin, but delivered in Potsdam in the spring of 1799, he dealt them swinging, sonorous blows, as by the hammer of Thor himself. The evils themselves determined his style and procedure; a Roman boldness of polemic, a fierce, flashing assertion, the ripe exuberance of youthful power and its self-evolution, were not less characteristic of the man than the time. His most intimate friend, Schlegel, was puzzled by these marvellous discourses—puzzled even into writing a notice of them for the *Athenæum*, making a regular study of him, and cautiously asking him in person for his stand-point. Whilst bold enough to complain that whenever the writer approached the subject of nature his irreligion manifested itself, he warmed into enthusiasm over his style, comparing it to that of the ancients, and denominating it, vaguely enough, as altogether “the most characteristic book we have—a book of an infinite subjectivity.” Schleiermacher himself reveals to us, in his letters, how much it was a transfusion of his own life and feeling through all their various forms and processes—a history, indeed, of himself worked into warning discourses. When he had finished the view into infinity, with which it concludes, he retired to rest, but could not sleep. Beyond the mere paternal feeling, and a consciousness, strong and startling, that death would then be strangely unwelcome, his mind was all on fire with the contents of the book. Time itself and its divisions were annihilated. The birth and being of the discourses were crowded into one day; its thoughts sprang to life afresh, and he lived along their processes. He expected them to be misunderstood, and wrote to Mrs. Herz, —“Are you certain that, in order to avoid misunderstandings, it is not necessary that the reader should not only know the ‘Discourses,’ but also know me? This is the very question we

are unable to solve, because our experiments are so much wanting in ἀκρίβεια."

His "Discoursès" were both original and startling. Spinoza, in his "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus," had endeavoured to eliminate all that was non-essential and detrimental from religion, and Giordano Bruno, the anti-Aristotelian, in the Apocalyptic "Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante," had attacked the beast superstition in all its configurations and strange maskings. Honest, eloquent Massillon had endeavoured like bold things for royalty in his masterpiece, "Petit-Careme." But Schleiermacher did more than any of them. He ventured to probe down for the first dawn and germ of a religious life in the soul. It was Cartesianism carried into theology. As Plotinus, when separate from externals and musing in the innermost retirement of his essence, arrived at a transcendent energy, a sublime nature, and a divinely ineffable harbour of repose, so the semi-mystic, by a similar cleavage and excortication, arrived at an inherent religious instinct, a determinate God-consciousness. In the soul as its hearth, and the feelings as its life, he maintained its being to consist. Herein Semler and Lavater were made one. Morality, according to Bruno, the astronomy of the heart, according to Bacon, the Georgics of the mind, was as much differentiated by Schleiermacher as science, and any mere nominal adherence to the supposed religious teaching of the state. Slipping all systems, he boldly enunciated his idea of a God-consciousness, as the surest method of reaching those who belonged to no class, school, or church. Yet, regarding the church as the most exalted of human institutions, he was careful to attempt its representation as such. Whether in this he succeeded or not, many will differ, but Jean Paul termed it "an inspired and inspiring work, a chaste and fair temple, wherein is conducted a veritable divine service." Coming from a young man, it spoke to young hearts with electric effect, catching up their enthusiasm, stimulating their purer reason, and blending the activity of both into an onward aspiration. The book left the mind in a state wherein its original freedom was unimpaired, and its obedience neither demanded nor enticed. Before they had been deprived, as it were, of both materials to build with and any principle to help them. He wishes to give them solid ground and an indestructible first-principle, leaving to their own unaided minds all system and after-speculation. The effect of the book on the eccentric Harms, the Lutheranian, who was subsequently offered the same chair as Schleiermacher occupied, cannot be better given than in his own words:—

"It was Saturday about noon. In the afternoon I began to read, having told my attendant to inform every one who might call that I

did not wish to be disturbed. I read far into the night, and finished the book. After that I slept a few hours. On Sunday morning, I began again from the beginning, read again the whole forenoon, and began again after dinner; and then came a sensation in my head, as if two screws had been clapped upon my temples. Hereupon, I laid by the book, and walked round little Kiel, a solitary walk; and during this walk it was that I suddenly recognised that all rationalism, and all æsthetics, and all knowledge derived from ourselves, and all actions emanating from ourselves, are utterly worthless and useless as regards the work of salvation, and that the necessity of our salvation coming from another source, so to say, flashed on me. If to any one this sounds mysterious or mystical, and this narrative seems like a myth or a phantasm, they may take it as such; I cannot describe the matter more distinctly; but so much I know, that I may, with truth, call it the hour in which my higher life was born. I received from that book the impulse of a movement that will never cease. More than this Schleiermacher did not do for me; but so much he did do, and, next to God, I thank him for it, and always have done so, and will do so until we meet again (after death), and not till then will I cease."

The "Discourses" were followed by the "Monologues," in which the philosophy of Fichte was exemplified and spiritualized. Received with greater enthusiasm than his previous works, it made him many friends both by person and letter, but deepened the divergences of opinion between Schlegel and himself. It was a self-revelation, a gigantic idealism, and hence Schlegel wrote to him, "it has given me the key to all the discords in your nature." Schleiermacher's own account of the conception of the work is singular enough. He regarded himself in it somewhat as a universal preacher; and as he considered preaching the only effectual medium of moving masses of men, he allowed himself fullest privilege of personality and alternation of mood. The work, he tells us, took form almost spontaneously, and yet it presents us with the most curious example of a blind struggle of mind on record. He willed, with a will truly Catonian, to write something, quite an objective or external in conception, of which all that was personal and self-revealing should be the mere form and drapery. He sat down to carry out his idea, and strangely and irresistibly his mind was changed. Over his head and above his will his own nature came out, as we there find it, a living testimony, if we need it, that there is a tendency in ourselves we can neither divert nor overpower, and can at best educe, cultivate, and cheerfully obey. About this time Schlegel's "Lucinda" appeared, and Schleiermacher, in innocent friendliness, and aroused into opposition by the fierce reproaches and savage criticisms of literary journals, wrote a series of letters upon it. It was a delicate subject, but those who well understood both sides, and acquitted Schleiermacher of attempting improperly to shield his friend, were

not less surprised at the boldness of the attempt, than at the purified reflection held up in the "Confidential Letters." Were any apology needed, much might be said by way of palliation. Unfortunately, however, it was during that stage of moral and mental progress, marked by the "Monologues" still further than by the "Discourses," that he had contracted a second attachment to a married lady, and one less likely to exculpate him in the eyes of English people. Amongst the other real personages introduced into the letters, the most remarkable one was that of Leonore, intended for a minute portrait of his every way extraordinary friend, who, in common with him, possessed the greatest power and distinctness of grasp in recalling the faint experiences and fleeting reminiscences of an inner life. Eleanore Grunow was married, but childless, and her relations to her husband were such that Schleiermacher deemed her marriage null and void, wanting in all that could build up a fine domestic life, favour any spiritual development, or be held valid by any moral duty. Inwardly false in his eyes, or in the romantic views current amongst literary men in that notable epoch of individualism, he still considered it a social duty that a dissolution of her marriage should precede his final acceptance as a lover. This was decreed in the Decernment, and would have been brought before the court in a subsequent session, but in the meantime his friend wavered, and succumbed to old scruples of conscience, and not without much misery to herself and her lover, finally renounced him in the autumn of 1805. This was the occasion of his temporary exile at Stolpe, in Pomerania, where he acted as court-preacher. A few extracts from their letters are given in the first volume, breathing alternate love and chiding.

These were busy years in Berlin, Potsdam, and Stolpe. Private relations were not forgotten. His sister Charlotte was constantly acquainted with his plans, his thought, and his friends, notwithstanding that he confesses he made more letters in his head than were ever written or delivered. He visited her at Gnadenfrei, and to use his own language, became a Hernhutter again, only of a higher order. In his catechizing at Stolpe, his truly fatherly disposition evolved itself. Following out, not the Heidelberg, but the Herringian catechism, he superimposed a plan of his own, accommodating himself to the little ones in a graceful and insinuating manner. His own childhood came back upon him, and he touchingly refers to the time when, in one of his youthful walks with his father, he first felt the spontaneous movements of the religious element in his feelings. He dwells upon the fragments of his past life, and the possibilities of the future. "Man is so little," he says, with the characteristic self-renunciation of a mystic, "and effects so little in the world, that in the right places he ought to give him-

self up entirely and unconditionally, if he can produce anything, be it a fleeting but pleasant emotion in a noble heart." "To *despise* life," he added elsewhere, "is either enormous pride, or revolting levity; to be indifferent to life is only permitted to him who feels his inner being is a ripe fruit, and enjoys himself as such, or to him whose real life is already destroyed, and to whom, therefore, death is no more than an outward formality; but to be able to *detach ourselves* from life, in spite of nature's clinging to it, *that* is the highest triumph of faith and religion. Often the last radiant moment is rapidly called into being, even in souls wherein the eternal light has not always shone with bright effulgence." Grand schemes kindle in his mind, as his conceptions grow into distinctness and gather into masses. He would like to write a book about everything, although adopting Plato's views in the "*Phædrus*," he thought book-writing a strange kind of activity, without life, without a face-to-face encounter, and without real use in the education of the world. Imaginary dialogues, ethical tales, and a comic dramatization of Fichte, were projected waifs and strays of his musing hours. Schlegel is at his elbow, prompting him to work in a variety of ways, and demonstrating that his ideas of love, marriage, and friendship are so peculiar and religious that they cannot be communicated except in the form of a novel. But here, as elsewhere, Schleiermacher is neither to be allured nor coerced when his own nature is repugnant to it. Philological studies accord more with his taste, and, although at times he would sleep like a badger, he worked himself up into genuine literary condition by exercises and endurances truly Goethian, until he only despaired of the necessary auxiliaries to becoming one of the best Greek scholars in Germany.

Alongside all his other studies, ancient and modern, Plato held a serene and commanding position. The first mention of the glorious undertaking that Schlegel had planned in conjunction with himself, of an entire translation of the thinker who has so completely fused himself into all after minds as to make it a problem where the ancient ends and the modern begins, fired him with an enthusiasm that reared a triumphal arch over all his future life. If, as it has been said, these Dialogues have come down to posterity for the sole benefit of those pure souls who can comprehend them, here was one who was so thoroughly appreciative a student that the ego-Schleiermacher had almost grown into the non-ego of Plato in philosophic dualism. He was the first of modern scholars who, being more than either *littérateur*, scholiast, or professor, endeavoured to understand them in their spirit and sequence, apart from any chronological order which may at best be only presumptive and fallacious, so as to institute a classification which should possess the double merit of intelligi-

bility and the carefullest consolidation upon internal evidence. It was a giant's task. When we consider how difficult, and even impossible, a similar procedure has been amongst us with regard to Shakespeare's plays, we may justly award him all the praise his undertaking deserved, even when, as will frequently be the case, we cannot accept his results. Profound and ingenious as were his criticisms and analyses, perhaps their very abstruseness and complexity of detail betrayed that smoothing down and Roman-road making of generalization which have made his researches so unpalatable to British scholars. His labours, however, began all true Platonic criticism and study in Germany. Bekker, Ast, Stallbaum, and Schneider have caught up the impulse, and we have only to note the various readings and suggestions attempted, concurrently or antagonistically, by Messrs. Cary, Davis, and Burges, in the admirable edition of Plato published in Mr. Bohn's "Classical Library," to discover for ourselves, notwithstanding that it took three decades for Schleiermacher's edition to get to England, that his philological ability and discretion merit at our hands some wider and more grateful recognition. His plan was a severe one. Deeply penetrating into the spirit of each dialogue, he spent more time in mastering its contents and radiations than either in translating or re-casting into finished form. And yet he owns that, even in this intense examination, Plato contrasted most favourably with Kant. The prophetic quality of the man, and that floating formlessness nowhere so conspicuous as in his writings, he could comprehend and transfuse into himself much better than, after as long a course of study, he could the incompleteness and confusion of Kant's generally esteemed precise, vigorous, and intelligible writing. Perhaps it might be that he was destined rather as the intellectual exponent of the one than the other, and could as little have been a Cousin as Cousin could have been a Schleiermacher. His classification of the Platonian Dialogues lacks the fancifulness of Von Heusde's, but is clearer and more comprehensive. It was threefold. He placed first the Elementary Dialogues, as possessing the germ of all that Plato afterwards developed, of logic as the instrument of philosophy, and of ideas as its proper object. These were the *Phædrus*, *Protagoras*, *Parmenides*, *Lysis*, *Laches*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphron*, to which he also appended the *Apology*, *Crito*, *Io*, *Hippias Minor*, *Hipparchus*, *Minos*, and the *Second Alcibiades*. The second division he termed Progressive Dialogues, or those which distinguished philosophic and common knowledge in their united application to ethics and physics. These were the *Gorgias*, *Theætetus*, *Meno*, *Euthydemus*, *Cratylus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, the *Symposium*, *Phædo*, and *Philebus*, with an appendix containing the *Erast*, *First Alcibiades*, *Menexenus*, and *Hippias*

Major. The third, or Constructive Dialogues, containing an objective philosophic exposition, wherein the practical and the speculative are imperceptibly blended, were the *Republic*, *Timæus*, *Critias*, and an appendix containing the *Laws* and the *Epistles*. Thus, in the main, they range themselves as dialectical, ethical, and physical. Respecting the form of the dialogue, Schleiermacher writes:—

“If we look only to the immediate purpose, that writing, as regarded by himself and his followers, was only to be a remembrance of thoughts already current among them (*ἀγράφα γράμματα*), Plato considers all thought so much like spontaneous activity, that with him, a remembrance of this kind of what has already been acquired, must necessarily be so of the first and original mode of acquisition. Hence, on that account alone, the dialogistic form, necessary as an intimation of that original reciprocal communication, would be as indispensable and natural to his writings as to his oral instruction.”

Prefixed to each dialogue was a dissertation on its scope and connexion, and the whole work itself was introduced by a critical inquiry into the ethical systems which had given him immense labour. Dividing them into two orders, systems of perfection and systems of happiness, his strictures upon Kant, Fichte, Spinoza, and even Plato, were at times very severe, although with the latter he is so esoteric that few will see wherein he blames. The ceaseless study this essay required was incalculable. He calls it his gravestone. From Jean Paul it gained him the epithet of the “great-great-great-grandson of Plato,” and Schleiermacher himself rather humorously imagined the effect it would have upon Fichte, and how A. W. Schlegel would affect derision at the whole, because it would be impossible to detect the least bit of Schellingianism in it.

The prefatory inquiry was a labour, though of love; the Dialogues were a work of pure faith. He was determined they should be his masterpiece, and toiled on unremittingly and joyously, catching ever and anon the Platonic irony for himself, and losing his imagination in the pure region of immutable ideas. As soon as he saw Schlegel's reluctance to carry out the scheme, and dimly discerned that their several estimates would by no means tally, burdened as he was by a debt he was anxious to pay off, he was determined to stir heaven and earth to find himself a publisher. And when his friend eventually retired, his invincible hardihood broke out into a martyr's heroism. Persuaded that death was in immediate prospect—for he never anticipated a long life, at best but fifty years—and bravely asserting that just as man ought to do nothing because of death, so he ought not to leave anything undone, he set himself to his undivided task, and had a satisfaction in its completion which some great artist might have



when contemplating on canvas, marble, or stone, the forms and fancies that had made his life divine, his labours exultation, and his dreams a paradise.

But we must hurry on. In 1804, after declining an invitation to the University of Wurzburg, he was appointed University preacher, and Professor Extraordinarius of Philosophy and Theology at Halle, and commenced his duties by a course of philosophical ethics in October. These were followed by his Christian ethics, doctrinal theology, and hermeneutics, all of which attracted attention and made him the nucleus of all the young and promising students in the place. Their effect was marvellous. His hearers would sometimes devote three or four hours to discussing them afterwards. He was the means of introducing many for the first time to the real significance of Christianity, and by an intimate connexion between his philosophy and his dogmatics cleared away much vapid mysticism that had settled so thickly upon the minds of the young as to render indefinite and fluctuating the true relations between pure speculation and piety. How much importance he attached to the former will be seen further on. At Halle, he met with Steffens, who had been inducted Professor of Natural Philosophy subsequent to his own appointment. A friendship nowhere rivalled for holy sincerity and loving aspiration sprang up between them. Every one was fascinated by this gracious exhibition of simplicity, unity, and earnestness. Penetrated by like impulses, yet with different lines of mental activity, however much they might differ in all their many-sided converse and blessed *civitas Dei*, to use later words of Neander's, their views invariably met and embraced in the centre when they had fully developed them. Attending each other's lectures, like Humboldt and Bonpland, they mutually opened up their secret stores and studies. A tour together, in the spring of 1805, increased their confidence, and breathed upon their intimacy all pure, spiritual, and fecundating influences. "Never," says Steffens, "did we draw nearer to each other, or look so deeply into each other's hearts. Never did Schleiermacher seem to me intellectually greater, morally purer. . . . It was the reflection of his own purity that made me appear to him in so glorified a light during these holy hours."

Halle was a true microcosm. Every now and then a little wave from the great outer world burst over it, mimicking its changefulness and beauty. Now it was Gall and his psychological revelations that startled them into activity and zeal. Steffens was soon up in arms, and fulminated three lectures against him. Even Schleiermacher took occasion to preach against all they contained calculated to impair the knowledge, judgment, and individualities of men. He met Goethe at Wolf's,

and with him he found Gall uppermost. Formerly he imagined he could neither love him nor Schelling, but when Wolf had told Goethe of his arrival, and he arose from the couch where he had been reposing, book in hand, exclaiming, "Ah, that is a noble friend, I must go to him at once," all reserve, frigidity, and formality vanished. He was at home with him in a few minutes. Meanwhile Schleiermacher lectured on dogmatics and the Epistle to the Galatians, and was getting ready for the press a small anonymous work. This was the "Christmas Festival," a dialogue, wherein Leonhard, a sceptic, and Ernst and Edward, mystics, discuss the Gospel narratives, the one pronouncing the synoptical Gospels fallacious, the other two cleaving to the truth of the Christ of John, and clothing in form and beauty Schleiermacher's own views of the beautiful unity and coherent truthfulness of the *Logos*, and the narrative he admired not less than Coleridge. It would be an instructive task if some gifted mind would sketch how this ascetic forerunner and his Platonism have acted upon philosophic intellects, pointing out where it has been a beacon and a guidance, a hope, a resting-place, and a tower. Another wave breaks over Halle, and this time it was war. Schleiermacher was not the man to be unmoved. He urges his friends to be ready to sacrifice all individual good for the national cause. Foreseeing all the greatness of the impending struggle, when not only worldly goods, but noble sentiments, purifying religion, and a catholic culture would be endangered, bravely and manfully, amid the murk and turmoil, his pure soul lifted itself up to a dawn of Freedom and Justice, Beauty and Truth, baring his noble brow, as Schiller has made the companions of Tell when sunrise floods their mountain council-hall with glory. His church was seized for a corn magazine in open violation of the spirit of the royal command. The zeal of his students prevailed over even military force. Four hundred signatures were obtained during one night to a remonstrance to the Protector and the general in command, and another suitable locality was assigned them. This was not all. His own house was plundered by the French, whilst the wife of his friend Steffens was there with a babe in her arms. He was relieved of his watch, spoons, shirts, and other valuables. From the window of Steffens' house, he watched the combat near the bridge, and hurrying home when he saw the turn of affairs, he found that Steffens and his wife had got hemmed in between crowds of retiring Prussians and pursuing Frenchmen. The subsequent demoralization was fearful. All the private houses were crowded with soldiers. Schleiermacher had three in his large sitting-room, and was almost starved by privation of wine and shortness of fuel. At last, like a thunder-clap, came the order for the dispersion of the students and the suppression of the Uni-

versity. All was anxiety, distrust, perplexity. Was it that Halle had been famous for its generous freedom of opinion, its Protestantism, or its speculative philosophy? None could tell. But all thought Napoleon had some great cause for so bold a stroke, and must have said to himself, "I hate Halle, and will crush it." Poor Schleiermacher was bewildered and touched to the heart. Pulpit and cathedra lost to him, he was left sorrowful and desolate, reduced to the inactivity of a poverty-stricken private scholar. When Niebuhr proposed to Johannes von Müller, the retrograde Swiss, that they should move together from Stettin out of the way of the danger, Müller, who had recently been appointed historiographer and settled his books at home, exclaimed, "Alas! travelling is out of the question for me; look at these; what can I do?" "The man who can think of his books *now* is a scoundrel," muttered Barthold, as he turned on his heel. In such a spirit lived Schleiermacher, refusing the repeated offer of a lucrative post at Bremen, and fondly clinging to the hope that Germany, the kernel of Europe, would burst forth ere long in some new and radiant form.

The march of other events was about to recompense him in one direction, in an unlooked-for manner. Whilst on a visit to Prenzlau, in the island of Rügen, he had made the acquaintance of Ehrenfried von Willich, and afterwards of Henrietta von Mühlentfels, his wife, and soon, with his affectionate nature ever stretching forth its roots and leaves for gentlest aliment, he became their most intimate and enduring friend. Through them he also knew Charlotte von Kathen, the elder sister of Henrietta, to whom he wrote many tender and racy letters, and of whom Arndt, when he dedicated a poem to her, said, "her life was ever tending towards the stars." Undertaking a father's place over the Willichs, he claimed a father's blessing on their marriage, and in his own spiritual, though seemingly sentimental manner, wrote to them:—

"I do not know who will pronounce the blessing on your union; perhaps quite a stranger. But if he does not speak according to your hearts, then listen not to him, but to me. You know where to find the essential ideas of my wedding sermon in the 'Monologues.' You know also the sweetest mystery of Christ and the Church, how this is built up through His love, how it glorifies and exalts Him; and how, through it, the whole world is born anew and sanctified. You know the beautiful prayer of Christ, that the Church might be with Him, and in Him; and, therefore, you must know what I would say to you."

In 1807, however, Willich died at Stralsund, of a contagious disease caught during the siege, and the fatherly heart of Schleiermacher was called upon to console the wife he had bestowed, and

reply in his own pathetic and exalted strain, to the wild and broken plaint the poor sorrowing woman gushed out, like a broken-winged and desolate bird.

After a lengthy correspondence, perceptibly ripening into warmth and closeness, he visited her at Rügen, in 1808, and became her betrothed. Long since he had felt the incompleteness of his being. The ground burned beneath his feet, he said, and he shuddered at the loveless, useless life he led. All around him, except in domestic life, seemed a vain and mocking illusion. There was great disparity in years; he was forty, she only twenty. Yet gradually he removes all reserve and distrust, permeates her with the spirit of his life, sends her his correspondence with Eleanore Grunow to read, until her tender, trusting heart leaped up joyously through the gloom. They were married in May, 1809, when he permanently removed to Berlin.

The University of Berlin was opened the following year. Savigny was at its head as legal, Schleiermacher as theological professor. In other departments, such names as Niebuhr, Buttmann, and Heindorf, under the able management of Stein and others, insured that intellectual supremacy and philological distinction that rapidly lifted it into world renown. Schleiermacher was now at his zenith. Work crowded upon him, and obedient to the measured melody of his will, it reared itself finished and Cyclopean around him. The pulpit, the professorial chair, the Academy of Sciences, the Poor-Law Directory, of which he was a member, and his own domestic circle, all found him ready, active, and indefatigable. He joined a philological class with Niebuhr and others, and, indeed, was the most intellectual man amongst them. He heard Niebuhr open his course of Roman History, and was in turn honoured by the company of Barthold when he commenced his own on the History of Philosophy. Niebuhr differed from him in many points, chiefly respecting his contempt for Anaxagoras, and in his handling of the early Ionian philosophers; but still he attended four days a week, and declares that "he does not think any other university can boast of anything like them." Schleiermacher also published his closely-thought Handbook of Theological Study.

Again was Germany torn with the birth-throes of liberty. Moscow! had rung from rank to rank in the vast army of Napoleon, as of old, *Thalatta! Thalatta!* swept from the rocky Euxine far in the Asian coast, thrilling the brave remnant of the Ten Thousand. Liberty's gigantic holocaust had flamed like a burning stranded world, and silently and surely Ymer's brood of Frost-giants had blown a war-blast against that mighty, withering host. The heart of Schleiermacher once more beat high. He seized no sword, but by a telling battery of words called his

countrymen to war, believing that only could a nation develop into its highest form when relieved from the pressure of foreign dominion. Careful of his wife, he removed her into Silesia, careless of himself, he was the only one who went on lecturing when the danger of so doing was greatest, and only threw off his gown to attend the swearing-in of the *Landsturm*. At length the students of the University and the Gymnasium, armed and accoutred as volunteers, attended upon him in a body to request that he would preach them a sermon and administer the sacrament before their departure for Breslau. Whilst Goethe was closeted over his Chinese, Fichte had suspended his lectures until they should be resumed in a free country, and other literary men stood aloof whilst brave Arndt and Korner were in the field, an exhilarating scene was presented in the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Berlin. File after file of young and chivalrous youths pile their arms in front of the edifice and crowd the interior. All is hush of deep-hearted feeling or murmur of generous valour. At once a grand old hymn is sung, subliming their fierceness into solemn repose, and chastening their feelings for what was to follow. Pronouncing a short and earnest benediction, the brave diminutive divine ascends the pulpit, boldly he exposes the causes of their shame in a proud spirit of caste, aristocracy, and moribund bureaucratism. Every word, grave old Bishop Eilert says, was *from* the times and *for* the times. Crushing them down into humiliation, he exalted them into rapture, as with organ-tones and heavenly wings, until dilate and panting, like Phidian marble struggling with divine life, he rang out his appeals to the brave youths, and turning to their mothers, and appealing to each heart, amidst audible sobbing and a heaving thrill of emotion, he said, "Blessed is the womb that has borne such a son, blessed the breast that has nourished such a babe."

Amidst all these wars and uproars, and valley-peeps at national repose and re-constituted freedom, his mind was continually embracing newer empires, and assimilating all that was foreign, confused, and heterogeneous. Besides his "Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense," in June, 1813, he became editor of the *Prussian Correspondent*, established by Niebuhr and published by Reimer. If it is strange to see Hegel, a transcendentalist, editing a Bamberg newspaper, it is not less so to see Schleiermacher, a mystic theologian, editing a Berlin one, and doing it well and bravely, caring little for Cabinet reprimands, and so astonishing Schuckmann by his marvellous sincerity and ingenuousness as even to thaw him out of his red-tapism and *nil admirari*. He also wrote his "Critical Letter on the so-called First Epistle of Paul to Timothy," and his "Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke." In the first, by a divinatory species of

criticism, he essayed to prove its unconnectedness, confusion, and thoroughly un-Pauline character. In the second, he adopted the Wolfian and Niebuhrian rule of inquiry into the truthfulness of narrative, and concurrently with Dr. Giesler, carried back the investigation from the hypothetical ground of Eichhorn's one original Gospel to the safe tests of history and exegesis, conceiving the independent construction of each several one from ampler *memorabilia* previously extant. The work appeared in England, in 1825, and was generally attributed to the then Rev. Connop Thirlwall. An object of suspicion to the Government for demagogical tendencies far from his purity of mind, taking active part in various discussions, yet longing for the repose of some quiet country parsonage, rambling in summer months up the Tyrol and elsewhere, and developing his idea of that home which should be, a pretty, snug little room in the great palace of God, a sweet, contemplative resting-place, whence the whole may be overlooked and penetrated by a truly missionary spirit, drawing ever towards itself some lonely soul from the desolate waste of life—he wore away the months and the years. During these active periods we obtain a real glimpse of the mystical element in his mind. He had been mesmerized several times for obstinate pains and cramps in the stomach with successful effect, and therefore felt himself bound to explain his views upon mesmerism to Charlotte von Kathen, although when he wrote he had not seen Schubert's book. Confessing that he cannot recognise any distinction between the natural and supernatural, the comprehensible and incomprehensible, he continues:—

“Everything is in one sense natural, and in another supernatural. Even that the Son of God was made man must, in a *higher* sense, be natural. . . In what category the magnetic phenomena are to be placed is still a subject of inquiry; but, in order to obtain to a knowledge of this, we must observe them. It may be said in general, that by changes introduced in the physical condition, certain limits to which the mind is usually subject are for a time removed. To the removal of such limitations, we owe all that is sublime and divine in the ancient prophecies; for, otherwise, the men would not have been men during the period of prophesying, or inspiration, but would have been some other kind of beings. The greatest interest attaching to the higher phenomena of mesmerism is exactly this—that, when well understood, they will tend to throw new light on the original and essential range of the mental capacities of man; and in connexion with this, no doubt, also on many points relating to the dark ages and sacred history of all nations. Finally, as regards the amount of truth in these phenomena, and the amount of credence to be attached to them, I can only say that in human affairs there is no more absolute distinction between the true and the false than there is between the natural and the supernatural. There is no error, even of the most

pernicious kind, which has not an admixture of truth, or which is not connected with some truth, and there is no truth that does not include the possibility of error. This holds good even of the old prophets. For, firstly, in believing that God specially called upon them to prophecy, they were as liable to be mistaken as other men; secondly, the Bible itself shows cases in which they resisted the voice of God; and, thirdly, they beheld events in images; and when they translated these into words, the ecstatic state had already ceased, and their representations might therefore contain errors or misunderstandings. The same is the case with people in the mesmeric state. They also behold almost everything in visions; the putting of these into words is no longer part of the original superior activity, during which the usual limitations are removed, but is in a great measure an interpretation of the visions rendered through means of the ordinary human faculties; and, therefore, error is more likely to attach to the interpretations than to the visions themselves. I even anticipate that it will ultimately be possible to ascertain and determine, by close observation of somnambulists on whose good faith one may, implicitly rely, which visions they can explain and interpret with the greatest correctness, and which with the least. But if the original and increased activity be really owing to the removal of limitations otherwise existing, it follows that, in as far as truth is the essence of the human mind in all its branches of activity, the higher activity must necessarily embrace a greater amount of truth than the lower; but only on condition that the state induced be left undisturbed. For this reason every distinct question put is, in a manner, a violation of the mesmeric state (and herein consisted the offence of the heathens in regard to the ancient oracles), which, if a pure result is to be obtained, must be left entirely undisturbed, to work it out of itself."

The year 1824 was memorable for his correspondence with Reinhold and Jacobi, on their philosophical and theological differences. Schleiermacher's reply to Jacobi throws definite light upon the charge of pantheism, preferred against him ever since the publication of his "Discourses," as it had been flung at Coleridge and German thought generally, and is still used as the final cataclysm of incensed Philistines. A comparison with the pantheism of Philo, Spinoza, Böhmen, and Bruno, and the mysticism of Thaulerus, Swedenborg, and Fox, will help the reader, if he take the trouble himself, to understand this in every way extraordinary reply. Anyhow he will find in it neither an esoteric atheism, nor a vapid day-dream, and that while it marks the limits of philosophy, it prescribes none to the everlasting miracle of faith. The conversion of F. Leopold Stolberg, in 1800, to Catholicism, when his pious mind no longer found rest in extravagant theories and iconoclastic arguments, had made a deeper impression upon Jacobi than in his bitter censure of such a proceeding he was at first willing to allow. Late as 1817 Voss had kept the matter alive by his pamphlet, "How F. L. Stolberg

became a Slave," and a similar enthusiastic conversion of the Abbé Lamennais in France to a more transcendental Catholicism, after a like erratic course, had directed speculative minds to the subject with invigorated interest. Jacobi writes to Reinhold:—

"I know no better remedy than to continue to philosophize, or, to become Roman Catholic. There is no third alternative between Christianity and heathendom, that is, between the deification of nature and Socratic-Platonic anthropomorphism. Most willingly would I exchange my feeble, philosophical Christianity for positive, historical Christianity, and I cannot understand why, in spite of this wish, I have never been able to adopt the latter. You see, dear Reinhold, that I am ever the same. A thorough heathen as to the understanding, but in point of feeling entirely Christian, I float between two waves, which, as far as I am concerned, will not commingle their waters, so that I might be upborne by both; on the contrary, when the one upheaves me, the other draws me down."

Schleiermacher was referred by Jacobi to this letter, and after having endeavoured to show that religiosity belongs to feeling, and, therefore, if his feeling be Christian, it is impossible he can put a heathen interpretation upon it, he alters the proposition thus:—

"In point of understanding I am a philosopher, for to be such is to exercise the original and independent activity of the understanding; and in point of feeling I am religious and a Christian, and have entirely renounced all heathenism, or rather have never possessed any. You, however, as we all know, are also a philosopher as regards your understanding, and firmly determined, in opposition to all those who think it necessary to become Roman Catholic, to continue to philosophize. So far we are entirely agreed; for I will not, either, in all eternity allow myself to be deprived of the right to philosophize. When, therefore, you say that you are at the same time a heathen in as far as your understanding is concerned, this can only mean that your philosophizing understanding cannot adopt, along with its philosophy, that which your Christian feeling gives it to construe. But, surely, supposing you had a heathenish religious feeling, your understanding would not either be able to adopt what this feeling would give it to interpret, and you only call this negation heathenish, because it is founded in the fact that your understanding refuses to overstep the bounds of nature; but as I will by no means allow myself to be entangled in a contradiction, I have placed myself on the footing to demand of others that they shall prove to me where is the ultimate limit of nature. When, therefore, my Christian feeling is conscious of a Divine Spirit indwelling in me, which is distinct from my reason, I will never give up seeking for this spirit in the deepest depths of the soul's nature; and when my Christian feeling becomes conscious of a Son of God, who differs from us in another way than merely being better than the best of us, I will never cease to search for the genesis of this Son of God in the deepest depths of nature, and to say to myself, that I shall most



likely learn to understand the second Adam just as soon as the first Adam, or Adams, whose coming into existence I must also admit without being able to understand.

"This is my way of establishing an equilibrium between the two waves; it is in reality, likewise, an alternation of the rising of the one and the sinking of the other. But, dear friend, why should we not be content with this? Oscillation is, after all, the universal form of all finite existence, and there exists in me at the same time an immediate consciousness that the undulation is, in fact, caused by the two foci of my own ellipse, and that through it I enjoy the fulness of earthly life. My philosophy and my dogmatics are thus firmly determined not to contradict each other, but for this very reason, neither pretends to be complete; and as long as I have been able to think, they have always been more or less attuning themselves to each other and drawing nearer to each other. . . .

"The Bible is the original interpretation of the Christian feeling, and for this very reason so firmly established that we ought not to attempt more than further to understand and develop it. This right of development I, as a Protestant, will allow no one to defraud me of. . . . 'There is no third alternative between deification of nature and anthropomorphism;' for I have been told that you were of opinion that I could not think very highly of you, because the foundation of your philosophy was the idea of a personal God, which I denied. This fundamental principle you have expressed in your letter to Reinhold in the proposition I have quoted. At least, so it seems to me. Because you can see no third alternative, and because you will not deify nature, you deify human consciousness. But, dear friend, in my eyes the one is as much a deification as the other, and this view, that both are deifications, is in my opinion the third alternative. We can in no way escape from the antithesis between the real and the ideal, or however you may choose to designate it.

"Are you better able to conceive of God as a person than *natura naturans*? If you form to yourself a living conception of a person, must not this person of necessity be finite? Can an infinite reason and an infinite will really be anything more than mere empty words, when reason and will, by differing from each other, also necessarily limit each other? And if you attempt to annul the distinction between reason and will, is not the conception of personality destroyed by the very attempt?

"On the other side I see the same. Anthropomorphism, or, let me rather say, ideomorphism, is, however, unavoidable in regard to the interpretation of the religious feeling: whether hylomorphism is not equally indispensable in regard to natural science, I cannot undertake to determine, because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the subject. But I make use of the first with full right within the domain of religion, because of the view I take, while within the domain of philosophy I maintain that one expression is as good and as imperfect as another, that we cannot form any real conception of the highest Being; but that philosophy properly consists in the perception that this inexpressible reality of the highest Being underlies all our thinking

and all our feeling; and the development of this knowledge is, according to my conviction, what Plato understood by dialectics. But further than this, I believe, we cannot get. This is my view; allow me to entertain the hope that you will favour me with yours.

"One word more in reference to your simile of the two waves, the waters of which will not unite in you. In me they also refuse to unite; but while you desire this union, and miss it painfully, I submit cheerfully to the separation. Understanding and feeling in me also remain distinct, but they touch each other and form a galvanic pile. To me it seems that the innermost life of the spirit consists in the galvanic action thus produced in the feeling of the understanding and the understanding of the feeling, during which, however, the two poles always remain deflected from each other."

In 1827 he writes affectingly of Canning's death, and the following year he visited London, and appeared to be much struck by the phenomenon of Mr. Grote, a banker, 'who not only possesses, but also reads Greek authors, and who is engaged in writing a history of Greece.' In 1829 his only son Nathaniel, then nine years of age, was taken from him by death just as he began to ripen into rich promise. Schleiermacher bore this severe bereavement with serenest fortitude, and himself pronounced over his child's grave one of his most celebrated discourses. The relations in which he stood to the political parties of the day, after the immense ferment of the July revolution in Paris in 1831, were made the subject of severe anonymous strictures in "*Le Messager des Chambres*," to which he replied with his accustomed brevity and decisiveness. A tour northward in 1833 gained him a brilliant torchlight ovation by the students and professors of Copenhagen. But his end was rapidly approaching. The spasms in the stomach, which mesmerism had benefited, and the dropsy which intermittently attacked him, had left him weak, tremulous, and a prey to any violent disorder. He was attacked by inflammation of the lungs, and died February 12, 1834. His death most beautifully sealed his life. Without any sentimental raptures, it was still a veritable euthanasia. The speculations which had absorbed his life in things immediately around him, in humanity, philosophy, and religion, were stretching onward illimitably above him as he gently lapsed into eternal life, as the beautiful blue river in Novalis, wherein Heinrich's Matilda floated in smiles, flowed softly over them when re-united in the spirit-land. "I am, in fact," he said to his wife, "in a state between consciousness and unconsciousness; but inwardly I enjoy heavenly moments. I feel constrained to think the profoundest speculative thoughts, and they are to me identical with the deepest religious feelings."

Such was Schleiermacher, the man, outwardly, inwardly, and

socially,—a man whose greatness was the balance of his goodness, whose purity and blamelessness of life zoned him with all that was bright, blessed, and beautiful: not a faultless man by any means, not one who cared for empty honour or a world-wide reputation, but one who lived to some good purpose, and did some brave if unenduring work. As a minister, he was sincere, useful, and celebrated. When you heard him preach you were irresistibly reminded of what was said of Lord Chatham, that there was something finer in the man than anything he said. Rarely using notes, he comprehended his subject in extraordinary lucidity and power, using deeply-penetrative words that fitted in like mosaics to the whole. Gathering force, rapidity, and copiousness as he advanced in his discourses, he charmed by his freshness, exuberance, and rare homiletical skill. Expecting from his hearers close attention and extensive familiarity with the canon, he was yet simple, concise, and vigorous, never making a mistake, nor having occasion to correct himself, and reproducing for his congregation neither words nor dry forms of thought, but giving the intellectual life as it came fresh, glowing, and palpitating from his energizing mind. He drew the young of both sexes, and by a profound and generous synthesis embraced all existing questions and conditions, so that neither the man nor the time was obscured in the expanded postilles of his pulpit life. A constitutional aversion to sermon-writing he never cared to conquer, and one of his reviewers even Jeffreyized him because of his open avowal of the failing. He rather gloried in his finger-laziness. He would sit for hours, pen in hand, over what he must write for the press, like an Indian gymnosophist in contemplative *pose*, his weightiest thoughts gravitating to the centre, whilst his lighter ones would fly off into surrounding space, until he was eventually obliged arbitrarily to define the limits of his atmosphere and begin where he could. This difficulty vanished when he trusted to his commanding self-possession in the pulpit or the cathedra. A clergyman, he affected no niceties of dress. Jean Paul, at Hof, before he published his comical advertisement, was not more independent. Common people told curious stories of the Professor of Theology, who went botanizing in a green jacket, light-coloured trousers, and a tin-case slung across his back.

In person he was diminutive, and slightly hunchbacked. His lady friends called him the “clever little Schleier;” and when Mrs. Herz and Friedrich Schlegel first knew him, they immediately agreed to call him their little *bijou*. There is a good portrait of him prefixed to these volumes. A long, sharply-defined countenance, firm-set lips, prominent chin, large head, and flashing eyes, with a slight expression of irony in his features, melting

like a mist in the warmth of a sympathetic childlike heart, made up his exterior. Physically infirm and debile, by continuous exercise, careful regimen, and assiduous labour, he accomplished wonders. Quick and agile in his movements, his universal attentiveness in company at once fascinated like a charm. He had a most completely-fashioned will, wringing even might and majesty out of bodily weakness and mean appearance. He possessed his own soul in its essentiality and naturalness, and we may say of his whole life that it was the most unselfish conversion to himself. He could retire into a corner of a busy mercurial assembly where his social urbanity made him a most vivacious companion, and making of his own will a solid wall between eyes and ears, he could pursue his meditations, summon his thoughts, and marshal them *testitudine et facie*, with ease and even delight.

The proof-sheets of his Discourses were sent, as they came out, to his friends, and their freest criticisms invited, but he never altered a line nor swerved from his pre-ordained plan. Raumer tells us that on one occasion there was a dispute as to whether the Low-German pronunciation of *sp*, *st*, or the South-German, as *schp*, *scht*, were most euphonic and correct, and Schleiermacher voted in favour of the former. When asked why he did not then adhere to that pronunciation in the pulpit, without offering any excuse, he replied, "From next Sunday I will begin to do so." We are assured that he never once forgot his promise. This easy self-regulation marked all his efforts. Here was a man perpetually at the loftiest summit of his mental condition and health, crushing his own poor frame into mute subjection, and preaching at times most glowingly when racked with stomachic spasm. Continually attacked by disease, and feeling within him the stealthy approaches of age, he wasted no piteous complaints about a Methusaleh existence, or the glory of eternal youth. If we create a Golden Age for ourselves, he would say, is this not the same as if we were to live a hundred years waiting for it to come to us itself? Naturally polemically inclined, he was not egoistic, never recognising any mere personal attack, but witty and caustic enough when the controversy was removed to higher and more significant grounds; yet he was tolerant, and ever pervaded by the kindest recognition. "Leave me that man in honour," was his reply to an intolerant and disrespectful judgment. No man was himself more misunderstood, proving the weight of the old aphorism. In one room he would be called a Lavaterian, a naturalist, a dogmatist, and a sceptic; while those who did not exalt him to a level with St. Paul, Luther, and Calvin, placed him as the principal in that trefoil of unbelief of which De Wetto and Marheineke were the other two. A great reader, he did not, like Fichte, throw down a book when he could

not understand it, but mastered it by sheer valour and skill of parallel and assault, as one would a Redan or a Malakoff. His conversation was superior even to his preaching, if we may believe Humboldt; whilst as a patriot he was stanch and invincible. His cheerful, dauntless spirit has been compared by a contemporary to a courageous army during the great period of national depression.

As a friend, he was warm and lasting in his attachments, never pricking out his intellectual path by cast-off friends, but as ready to listen to and love poor old visionary Hennefuss, a rough miniature Swedenborg, as splendid Goethe, impetuous Schlegel, or ethereal Steffens. Like our own Sir Joshua Reynolds, he hated nobody, not even stupid *Erz Philister* Nicolai, who unblushingly put into the mouth of the hero of his *Adelheid* some of the *Athenæum* fragments Schleiermacher had written himself. His subsequent coldness towards and mistrust of Schlegel arose from wide and gradually developing mental divergences, rather than any change of heart. Indeed, it was from Schlegel's own experience in this affair, that he probably derived his own sage aphorism, that in friendship the most important thing is to know its limits. The *Monologues* had assured the world of his enduring friendship, as the "Letters of Lucinda" had of the spirituality of his views of love. The life of friendship was to him a lovely series of accords, the common keynote of which passed away on the departure of a friend; and as his activity in him had ceased, so he had lost a part of the life their union had generated. Every dying friend thus deals out death until, excluded and thrown back upon itself, the spirit must consume and become a chaos whence only the Great Music Master can recal and retune it to everlasting harmony. Fond of music and painting, he would have excelled in poetry, if we may believe Schlegel; although in their early intimacy the same friend coolly told him that he must exert himself to maintain the freshness and vitality of his soul, and Schleiermacher, in his *naïveté*, actually believed him. In fine, as Kant wrote a "Critique of Pure Reason," in the life of Friedrich Ernst Schleiermacher, as unfolded in his letters and his writings, we have a critique of pure humanity, of its hopes, successes, possibilities, and limitations. Here is no aimless, half-hearted life, no unconscious writing in grotesque mirth for his tombstone all his days—that, "in life he knew not what he would have." All is directness, integrity, and indomitable will. A character so calmly symmetrical, like a masterpiece of art, will disappoint at first, and must be studied either to be loved or comprehended. His life is bracing as a sea-breeze, a life-baptism for the weak, a pæan for the strong, and a lesson for all.

As a theologian and a philosopher, Schleiermacher is open to

more diverse judgments than, with all due allowance for the sentimental element in his life and character, and the peculiar conditions under which it was manifest, can, we think, be possibly passed upon his character as a social and intellectual man. With some he will be too Platonic, with others too Aristotelian. One will see in him the germs of all that German Protestantism has subsequently developed, and another will not blush to regard him as the fountain-head of all he may please to stigmatize as the pitiless criticism of unbelief and the sophisms of pantheistic neology. It were hard to say which has the more or less truth. Such opinions correspond in the main to the two broad classes Schleiermacher himself represented; and as long as the critic occupies either without descending to intervening ground, so long will he discover a complexity he cannot reconcile, and a disunity he cannot accept. It was so of the very classes he endeavoured to unite. As far as neither would cede any of their positions, such a reconciliation was impossible; only so far as they cheerfully did so was it, through him, in any sense actual. We may quarrel with his method when we cannot but admire his spirit. Many a theologian, both before and after him, if placed in a similar vortex of opinion, would have exhibited less symmetry and less interpenetrative capacity. And yet, after all, his main defect lies alongside the great good he achieved. Together they are the obverse and reverse of his Platonizing eclecticism. It has been alleged to the discredit of Coleridge, that in the later stage of his intellectual progress he fell into making accommodations, rather than a real or vital union, if such were possible, between his philosophy and his Anglicanism. A similar fault is equally chargeable against Schleiermacher.

Narrow as the judgment may be, it is yet necessary and just. We deny him no substantial good by such a judgment. With all that it is honourable to do so, with his bravery, insight, and philosophic discrimination, we fairly and fully credit him. Yet shall we not say such a reconciliation was neither actual, visible, nor likely to be permanent. He did what few men could have done, or had the temper to dare. Venturing heroically between Rationalist and Supernaturalist, between believers in the categorical imperative, the shadowy egoism, the Plotinian intellection, and the feeble sentimentalism of Lavater and the pietist, he indicated a common principle of union, made them shake hands, as it were, rapidly dashed out for them a treaty of peace, almost persuaded them to sign it, until they believed themselves united, all the while they were measuring their strength for the future, and discovering how far they must ultimately disjoin.

To effect this union Schleiermacher caught up into his theology much of the spirit of each several section and school. He was

not only stoical but sensuous, not only theistic but pantheistic. How far he was the latter we have already seen. He shunned anthropomorphism, whilst he was forced to accept it, and was well nigh running foul of anthropophagism; his saving phrase for personality was "living," for Omnipotence, "the absolute causality of God." No despiser of the Greek philosophy, he regarded both it and Judaism as culminating in Christianity in two different senses, one as natural, the other inevitable; although he awarded more deference to Pagan virtue and truth than to the Jewish economy and law. His philosophy of religion is certainly not Hegelian, however much, at first sight, it may resemble it, and commence from a similar fundamental idea; for he assumes no methodical, no necessary evolution. We may group them into various elevations, but they are not to be systematized. No single religion was an embodiment of periodical tendencies in one man, but was a radiation entirely and thoroughly from a personal and external founder. Hence the peculiar emphasis he insists upon for his God-consciousness, testifying of an existent Omnipresent Power, and recognising the reality of the existence of Christ in the fragments of tradition, the facts of history, and the culture of humanity. We cannot fail to trace in this postulate the mediate influence of Plato, the immediate of Schelling, the inspiration of the one, and the identity of object and subject, God and man, of the other. This was Schleiermacher's strong nexus and vantage-ground. Secure in this, he cared little for the minor and non-essential features. In fact, so small heed did he pay to the wings of his position, consisting of the broad bodies flowing thus into each other upon a common impulse, that they soon broke away from a centre so delicate and mystical. So keen an observer as himself could not be unconscious of these tangential forces; and hence when speaking more especially of the critical and religious momentum in his theology, he indicates somewhat of the real cause of this dualism, if we may call it so, although employing a different illustration. "If," he says, "a one-sided tendency becomes too strongly prominent, it is my—I know not whether I ought to say manner, or *un-manner* (*unart*)—from a natural fear lest the ship in which we are all sailing should capsize, to go over to the other side with as much force as is possible with my small weight."

We have seen that he could not, and did not, primarily in himself, subdue an old mysticism that had broken out into such sparkling extravagances in Eckart and Thaulerus. It was a wild creature of the desert and hills he had noosed, girdled, and led home, but had not more than half subdued. Like a soft summer light, it shone in the innermost adyta of his system, and floated about it as its circumambient air. It was sure of further develop-

ment, howsoever it might be tinted, deepened, and changed. Strauss was one of the auditors of his "Lectures on the Life of Christ," and Schleiermacher himself was the first to insert the account of the Conception and the Ascension in the mythical character subsequently given by his young pupil to other portions of the synoptical narratives. Is it too much to regard Strauss as the offshoot of the half-vanquished idealism that received its altered complexion through the attempted reconciliations of Schleiermacher? At least such appears as more than probable. Indeed, when we recollect that Strauss' key to the whole of Christology is the predication of Christ as an idea which has an existent reality in the life of the race, and Schleiermacher's key to the whole Christian life is the higher individual consciousness, perpetuated by the presence of the Spirit, and necessarily clothing itself in an external and historical form, the two seem almost to embrace, as different phases of the same idea; the historical and the biographical, the human and the divine.

The second outlying focus was unquestionably that of a yet half-extinct ultra-rationalism, hitherto drugged into mere inactivity by repeated drams of theological hoppel-hoppel, or German punch. Mysticism, or mythicalism, was not surer of further extensions or more capable of striking revivifications. Bruno Bauer stands as the reactionary hero of this movement. All we need say of him here is, that he degraded Schleiermacher's central position to a mere so-called pectoral theology, which he savagely ridiculed as begotten of cant, bred by sentimentalism, and fostered by shameless theological indecencies.

The real centre must not be forgotten. It would be unfair to include in our estimate of Schleiermacher's characteristics as a theologian and a philosopher, all he did not and could not perform. Let us measure him by a truer standard and a higher appreciation. As the last of the genuine mystics, it would, paradoxically enough, require a mystic himself to sing his pæan and lift his death-wail. As the inaugurator of a newer era in hermeneutics, of a broader and more scientific thought in theology, as the man who for once dared to develop his philosophy and dogmatics to their utmost, fearing for himself no final clash or extinction, even when such were most glaringly apparent, and as one who recognised in himself more force than method, more life than creed, more religion than religiosity, and who would have his fellow-men use him not worship him, seek through him and not in him, begin where he ceased rather than end where he began,—as such a theologian, if no more, Schleiermacher deserves a high position for many years to come, and one that we feel sure will be cheerfully accorded him by many of those who least sympathize with his labours or least agree with their results.



## ART. II.—THE SALMON FISHERIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

*Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Salmon Fisheries (England and Wales), together with Minutes of Evidence. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London. 1861.*

THE insular position of Great Britain, its multitude of rivers, its great circumference of seacoast, and its comparatively limited area of land, present unequalled opportunities and incitements to its inhabitants to cultivate their fisheries. In them we have an inexhaustible resource for plentiful and nutritious food, and in the labours necessary for its supply a permanent nursery for the training of our seamen. "On peut faire de l'Océan," says M. Eugène Noël, "une fabrique immense de vivres, un laboratoire de subsistances plus productif que la terre même, fertiliser tout, mers, fleuves, rivières, étangs. On ne cultivait que la terre, voici venir l'art de cultiver les eaux." The activity of other nations has often been contrasted with our carelessness, and in almost all the many remonstrances which have been made against our characteristic neglect of natural advantages, our lassitude in the prosecution of our fisheries has been forcibly urged against us.

"It maketh much to the ignominy and shame of our English nation," says Sir John Bourghs, in his 'Sovereignty of the British Seas,' "that God and nature offering us so great a treasure, even at our own doors, we do, notwithstanding, neglect the benefit thereof, and by paying money to strangers for fish of our own seas; impoverish ourselves to make them rich."

The Legislature appears, however, from an early period in our history, to have fostered a branch of industry so important to the wealth and strength of the country. The fisheries have been regulated by innumerable charters and statutes, from the time of the Conquest to the present day, Royal Fishing Companies were established under the patronage of the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Guelphs, for their sakes a stricter religious observance of Lent has been ordained, salt taxes have been remitted, and all the implements employed in them have been freed from duties and excise. Indeed, not only were burdens removed, but bounties were granted, for their encouragement. Adam Smith has preserved a curious instance of the working of this plan.

"The bounty to the white herring fishery," says he, "is a tonnage bounty, and is proportioned to the burden of the ship not to her dili-

gence or success in the fishery; and it has, I am afraid, been too common for the vessels to fit out for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty. In the year 1759, when the bounty was at fifty shillings the ton, the whole buss fishery of Scotland brought in only four barrels of sea-sticks (herrings salted at sea). In that year, each barrel of sea-sticks cost Government, in bounties alone, 113*l.* 15*s.*; each barrel of merchantable herrings 159*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*”\*

The failure of the Legislature in its dealings with the salmon fisheries, though not quite so absurd as in this case, has been nearly as complete. From the granting of Magna Charta,† no fewer than seventy-nine Acts of Parliament have been passed in the three kingdoms for their protection; and during the last forty years, the subject has, every session, been stirred up by committees, commissions, or bills; endless legislation has necessarily given rise to endless litigation, yet the state of the fisheries has yearly become worse and worse. In England and Wales more than thirty statutes are in force, controlling some or all of the salmon fisheries. In Ireland, the judicious consolidation of twenty-six statutes into comparatively few, and the introduction of a rational system of management, and in Scotland, the very great efforts for protection made by private persons, and the careful provisions of the many local Acts, have rendered the salmon fisheries of the two latter countries—though smaller in extent, and by no means superior in natural capabilities to those of the former—in recent times, much more productive.

The Commission whose Report is now under our notice was constituted by a royal warrant, dated 31st July, 1860, and consisted of Sir William Jardine, Mr. G. K. Rickards, and Mr. W. J. Ffennell. These gentlemen were all of them well acquainted with the matter into which it was their duty to inquire: they personally inspected the majority of our salmon fisheries, and examined near five hundred witnesses, whose evidence referred to about a hundred and twenty rivers, and who answered about eighteen thousand questions. The conclusion to which they arrived is thus summed up:—

“We desire humbly to represent to your Majesty the conviction impressed upon our minds by all that we have seen and heard, that a national property of great value and importance, which was in early times watched over and encouraged by the Legislature, has, through improvidence and neglect, been suffered to decline, and unless timely measures be adopted for its recovery, is threatened, at no distant period, with total ruin.”‡

In some rivers, as in the Taff and the Tawe, the salmon has

\* “Wealth of Nations,” p. 112.

† Magna Charta, cap. xvi: “Nullæ ripariæ defendantur de cætero, nisi illæ quæ fuerunt in defenso tempore Henrici Regis avi nostri, et per eadem loca, et eosdem terminos sicut esse consueverunt tempore suo.”

‡ “Report,” p. 35.

become extinct within the memory of persons now living ; in others, the numbers captured are greatly reduced. One witness says that in the Teifi, the take is now only one-twentieth of what he remembers it ten years ago ; another, that in the Itchen, it is not one-thirtieth of what it was in his youth ; and another, that in the Eden it is not one-hundredth of what it was forty years ago. Sir John Duckworth stated that he now let a salmon fishery on the Exe for 5*l.* a year, which, in 1806, was let for 45*l.* a year ; Mr. Edward Coxwell, of Testwood, that he now let one on the Itchen for 18*l.* a year, that formerly produced 300*l.* a-year ; and Mr. Partridge, a magistrate of Herefordshire, that a fishery on the Wye, now bringing in from 7*l.* to 8*l.* a year, brought in, in the time of his grandfather, 400*l.* a year. The difference in the state of things in Scotland and in England is illustrated by the following case. The late Duke of Richmond, a strict preserver, stated to the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1859, that in the preceding year his clear profit from his salmon fishery on the Spey was 12,460*l.*, whilst the Duke of Beaufort receives for the right of fishing for twenty miles upon the Wye, a river inferior only to the Severn, a rental of about 120*l.* a year. It was also proved before the Commission that about fifty years ago salmon ordinarily sold in the towns of Wales and Devonshire at 4*d.*, 2*d.*, or 1½*d.* the pound. In the Hereford charter, it is mentioned that, in the indentures of apprentices in the city, it was commonly stipulated that they should not be fed upon salmon more than twice or thrice a week. In looking at the rise in price which has since taken place, it must not be forgotten that the area for consumption of fish has, by improved means of transport, become much extended. It cannot be expected that salmon will again be as cheap as it was at the time when it had to be sold or to be allowed to putrefy within a few miles of the stream in which it was caught, now that it can be eaten in as good condition at London or Paris as it then could be only on the banks of the Severn or the Tweed. This fact, however, does not account for all the rise in price, and it can be shown from documentary evidence\* that the actual supply has decreased at the same time that the relative demand has augmented. Of course, the number of persons employed has been much diminished. In the evidence of Mr. Frederic Derham, of Christchurch, on the Avon, we find :—“ I have known as many as sixteen bouts continually at work ten or twelve years ago ; now, sometimes one will go out, or two perhaps.”†

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\* The Rev. W. Greenwell produced extracts from the records of two monastic establishments on the Wear, which, among a hundred analogous facts, showed that they got about 700 salmon and 25 grilse from the Tyne and Wear in 1536 ; at present it is doubtful whether there are any salmon in the latter river.

† Report, p. 427.

In fact, there is an accumulation of evidence to prove that the salmon fisheries are in a condition of danger and decay.

"We had," says the Report, "opportunities of seeing those causes in full operation to which the destruction of the fish was generally ascribed, and we have no hesitation in declaring, that in the face of the impediments, and barriers, and other destructive agencies which exist on all the rivers, it is impossible that any other result than a great deterioration of the fisheries could have taken place; indeed, it is in some cases a matter of surprise, not that the supply should have greatly fallen off, but that the breed should not have been totally extinguished."\*

Three phases of development may be traced through which the opinions of the world have passed in relation to the salmon fisheries. It seems, firstly, to have been believed that Providence, in spite of all obstacles, would ever take care to multiply that excellent fish for the use and enjoyment of man: secondly, that by investigating the first causes of the production of salmon (*"Vere scire, est per causas scire"*), a method might be discovered for their indefinite increase at will; and thirdly, it has been perceived that neither of these theories can, if acted upon, attain to the desired object, and that it is only by a careful investigation of the natural laws which govern the fish, and a patient deference to them, that we can hope to retain the species abundantly in our waters.

The *Ichthyological Family, Salmonidæ*, is divided into five genera and fifteen species, found in the British Isles. The first genus *Salmo* consists of seven species—the *S. salar*, or salmon; *S. eriox*, or grey trout; *S. trutta*, or salmon trout; *S. Levensis*, or Loch Leven trout; *S. ferox*, or great lake trout; *S. Savelinus*, or charr. The great characteristic of the family is the peculiar form of the posterior dorsal fin, which is adipose or fleshy, and destitute of rays. The teeth are very perfect, the vomer, palatine, and maxillary bones are set with them turning backwards. Rows of them are placed upon each side of the tongue and upon the lower jaw, and when the mouth is closed every interstice is filled up, and a most complete instrument for seizing and retaining small prey is the result. The vertebræ are sixty in number, and the cæcal appendages from sixty-three to sixty-eight. In the young fish the tail is much forked, and this continues to be the case in a less degree until the fifth year, when the terminal line becomes straight. The salmon is the largest of the *Salmonidæ*, sometimes exceeding eighty pounds in weight, though the average is scarcely a fourth of this. For a fish, the form is elegant, oval, and slightly elongated; the greatest depth of the body is a little before the

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\* Report, p. 365.

dorsal fin, and the whole form indicates great strength and power of rapid motion. It has been said that salmon can leap from the water to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, but Mr. Scrope puts their maximum leap at six feet, and mentions a weir of rather more than that height which none of them were able to overleap. It has been shown that, in smooth water, they can swim at the rate of ten or twelve leagues an hour, a pace which, were it continued, would enable them to circumnavigate the globe in a few weeks. The colour of the upper part of the body is dark bluish grey or bluish black; the sides lighter, the abdomen silvery, with a few dusky spots, chiefly above the lateral line; the dorsal, caudal, and pectoral fins dusky black; the ventrals stained with the same, and the anal white or nearly so. These colours vary much according to age, sex, and season. During and after the time of spawning the adult male acquires a reddish tinge, and the preoperculum and gill-covers are marked with large reddish blotches. At the same time, especially in elderly males, the lower jaw is elongated and curved upwards in the form of a hook. The female has at that season all her usual colours much deepened, but there is not so much difference in her appearance before the production of a family as in that of her mate. The salmon is either a salt, or a fresh-water fish. Were it obedient to the instinct of self-preservation alone, it would be a salt-water fish, for in the sea it finds its most nourishing food; were it obedient to the instinct for the propagation of its species alone, it would be a fresh-water fish, for it is ascertained that it does not breed in the sea.

"There is much reason to believe," says Professor Huxley, "that these animals live chiefly upon entomostracous crustacea, which are found in the sea in very great abundance. I believe that is one reason of the very great increase in size which the salmon attain in the sea, because in the river the only food of this kind they can obtain consists of insects and insect larvæ which are comparatively few, but directly they come to the sea there are great patches of water where crustacea are found in abundance. In fact, they swim in a species of animal soup."\*

It has been suggested that salmon migrate into the fresh water to get rid of sea-lice, with which they are infested; but it appears, from the evidence of Professor Huxley, than whom there can be no greater authority, that they suffer little annoyance from these creatures. It is under the influence of the desire to propagate that the salmon are content to subject themselves to the multitudinous inconveniences of river life. In the spring they com-

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\* Evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Scotch Salmon Fisheries (1860), "Report," p. 349.

mence the ascent of the streams, but their parental hopes do not powerfully engage them until the autumn. They then come up in shoals, particularly when the rivers are swollen with rains. The females usually lead the way, and the males follow in their train. When they reach the upper and shallower parts of the river, a spot with a gravelly bottom is chosen, and the operation of depositing the spawn is commenced. They dig a furrow or trough in the gravel of from six to nine inches in depth; both sexes throw themselves upon their sides, and rubbing themselves against each other, they simultaneously shed their spawn into the excavation, repeating the proceeding till the whole is deposited. They then cover it up with gravel or sand, their parental duties are discharged, and they retire from their labours, losing the bright colours of their nuptial dress, exhausted, lean, and emaciated. The number of ova deposited by each salmon is enormous, but not too great when we consider the dangers to which they are exposed. "*Chairman*. Is it the fact that a full-grown breeding fish contains from 17,000 to 20,000 ova?—*Professor Huxley*. I should think even more than that. Salmon pair, but the female seems to be of opinion that one male is as good as another, if his milt is equally mature. She will not remain upon the spawning-ground a minute without a male: the experiment has often been tried; and it is, in fact, a common and most disgraceful poaching practice to kill the male from the side of the female. In such a case she has invariably returned to the shoal and come back with another. As many as nine males have thus successively fallen victims. The chief spawning months are, in these latitudes, October, November, December, and January. In the United Kingdom there are a few rivers in which salmon in good condition have been taken all the year round; but in most of them, from the beginning of September until the end of January, the fish are breeding. It is not safe to fish much after the first of September, or before the first of February, and this fact is very properly noticed by the Commission in reference to *close time*, and the periods above indicated are suggested as its limits. In Ireland, the close time varies considerably in different rivers (but within the months of September and February), as settled by local boards. In Scotland, the Committee of the House of Lords on the Scotch Salmon Fisheries (1860) recommend that it should commence on the 20th of August and end on the 1st of February; whilst at present in England and Wales there can hardly be said to be any close time at all."\*

The spent or spawned fish, called kelts or kippers, are unfit

for food. After reposing for awhile in some neighbouring pool, they commence their descent to the sea, where they are speedily invigorated and restored to their former condition. The ova deposited as we have described are hatched in from a hundred to a hundred and forty days. Shortly after their extrusion, the young work their way to the water. At this early age they are translucent, of irregular shape, the head small and rounded, and all the fins continuous, forming a loose membrane round the body. They soon assume the general aspect of fish, and pass through those numerous metamorphoses which have made them the subject of so much controversy. As salmon fry, they are called variously, lastsprings, brandlings, fingerlings, samlets, par, grilse, gilse, and a dozen other names. The following observations of Professor Huxley to the Lords' Committee (1860) upon Scotch Fisheries give a good idea of the matter.

"*Chairman.* Do you believe that a grilse is a salmon of the first year?—That is a very much contested point: your Lordships will be aware that a number of experiments have been made upon that question, partly by Mr. Shaw, partly by Dr. Davey, partly by Mr. Young; and those different observers have come to very different conclusions. Mr. Shaw considered that he had discovered that the eggs which were hatched in the spring became small par, that those small par in the second year became large par, and then towards the end of the season they became smoults; that the smoults then went from the river to the sea, and returned to the rivers in the autumn of the same year as grilse: that was his view of the matter, and he brought forward a great many conclusive experiments to show, at any rate in some cases, that that really was the result; and that the young salmon frequently does not become a grilse until the end of the second year. But, on the other hand, Mr. Young made a number of experiments upon the same point, and he showed, at any rate in some cases, that the young par become smoults at the end of the first year. There is clear evidence upon both those points, if the statements of those observers are correct, that in some cases the young salmon become salmon at the end of the first year, and in some cases at the end of the second year. As usually happens in these matters, each observer maintained that his own view and his own conclusion was correct. A great controversy arose, and lately experiments have been made which seem to show a considerable amount of variation in those respects; and some observers have thought that the male salmon are those which remain two seasons in the river, while the females go directly to the sea in their first year. Upon that, again, I believe that much doubt has been thrown of late years. At present, I think all the best evidence tends to prove that the young of the salmon are apt to vary to the extent of twelve months in the time which it takes them to attain the state of grilse."\*

\* Lords' Committee Report, p. 347.<sup>1</sup>

It is only lately that the par has been known to be a young salmon,\* and not a mule between the salmon and the trout, as Sir Humphry Davy and others conjectured. Upon the moot points noticed by Professor Huxley, we refrain from offering an opinion, for

“Who shall decide when doctors disagree?”

as, unfortunately, they generally do.

It is a strange fact, that salmon usually return, in their migrations from the sea, to the same streams in which they were produced. They appear, indeed, in each river to be a different variety of the species, and fitted by their constitution to exist in it better than in any other.

“*Chairman.* Do you believe that salmon usually return to the same rivers in which they are bred?—*Professor Huxley.* There is very positive evidence upon that point. I think Mr. Young, if I recollect rightly, made a number of experiments by notching the salmon, and he found, curiously enough, not only that they came back to the same rivers in which they were bred, but to the same branches of the same rivers: he knew the salmon by the notches and the wires which he had affixed to them.”†

There is no doubt of the natural capabilities of our waters for the habitation of the fish, whose fecundity is so great that Professor Huxley stated it to be his opinion that one salmon could supply sufficient roe to stock a river, under favourable circumstances. Obstructions to the ascent of the breeding fish up to the suitable spawning-grounds require our first notice, because if they are prevented from spawning, all subsequent care would clearly be of no avail. In England and Wales, the impediments to this placed in their way by nature are so few and far between that they do not deserve special notice; but those of an artificial character are so many and so great, that the Commissioners observe:—

“We could scarcely express in too strong terms our conviction that these obstructions in the rivers, unprovided with any means for enabling the fish to get up to spawn, is a cause fully adequate, even if no other existed, to account for the gradual disappearance of the fish.”‡

In many places—especially upon the Ouse, the Wharfe, the Eure, and Derwent—they found weirs and dams extending across the whole breadth of the stream, and of such height and construction, as to form, even in times of flood, an impassable barrier to the salmon. In the Severn, Dee, Tyne, Torridge, Lune, Test,

\* See Royal Society of Edinburgh “Transactions,” vol. xiv. p. 547, and “Journal of the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh,” vol. xxiv. p. 165.

† Lords’ Committee Report, p. 351.

‡ Ibid., p. 10.



and Avon (in Hampshire) this evil was nearly as rife. The breeding fish, in vain attempting to cross these obstacles, are much injured, and in some cases killed; or, foiled in all their efforts to overleap them, they are forced to deposit their ova in unsuitable places, which are consequently destroyed. The Rev. W. H. Challoner, of Newton Kyme, stated of the Wharfe:—

“About 1846, I was staying a mile from Thorp arch dam: I walked over there, and stood at the dam ten minutes one day and ten minutes the next, and in those twenty minutes I saw a hundred and thirty-six fish leap at Thorp arch: of course, a good many might have been the same, but they could not be the same both days: the floods had been very favourable.”\*

Mr. Clayton Atkinson, of Wyman, stated of the Tyne:—

“I went to the dam on the 30th of October, and the fall was seven feet. I took the angle formed by the water below, and I saw a very great number of fish jump in five minutes. Looking from the north side, I saw eighty-seven fish jump: not one of these fish cleared the dam. I then went to the south side, and I saw sixty-one fish jump in five minutes: not a fish cleared the dam.”†

It is a common thing to, what is called, “click” the salmon at these weirs and dams when they are exhausted by repeated leaping. Numbers of spawning fish are thus killed at all of them by poachers, with gaffs, sticks, and other implements.

It would, of course, be impossible to do away with weirs and dams, nor would this be necessary. It has been ascertained by experience that, with no impediment to their utility, whether for purposes of navigation, irrigation, or mill-turning, and at very slight expense, they can be made innocuous to the fish. By leaving what is termed, in the language of the Irish Acts, a “Queen’s gap,” or “Queen’s share”—that is, a small opening in the construction of dimensions sufficient to permit the fish to pass up to the spawning-beds—or by the addition of stairs or ladders, this might be done. The latter contrivances make the surplus water available to the fish in surmounting the weirs or dams, and range in cost from 30*l.* to 60*l.* The success of this mode of getting over the difficulty has been amply proved. Those adopted in Ireland have been copied from one put up in the river Perth, in Scotland, by the late Mr. Smith of Deanstown, and they have been found universally to do well for the purpose for which they are intended. They are adopted by the Tweed Fisheries Act, in Canada, and are strongly advocated by the Lords’ Committee (1860) on the Scotch Salmon Fisheries. The Commission suggest that they should be compulsorily attached to all weirs

\* Report, p. 398.

† *Ibid.*, p. 377.

and dams, whether public or private; and we see no reason why this recommendation should not be carried into effect.

The pollution of the water by mines and manufactories is an obstacle of great importance to the prosperity of the salmon fisheries, and one with which there is some difficulty in dealing. The interests at stake, or apparently at stake, are of such an imposing appearance, that even legislation must be scared in attempting to interfere with them. In Cornwall, all hopes of a salmon fishery have long been given up, and in certain of the manufacturing districts we fear that this also must soon be the case. It is noteworthy that the sewage of towns is not held to be deleterious in its effects upon the salmon. "I think," said Mr. Burton, of Turnham Hall, Selby, "the sewage of towns would by no means impede the fish;"\* but the refuse from mines and some manufactures is very destructive. The case of the Reidol and Ystwith, two small rivers forming a junction at Aberystwith in Cardiganshire, serves as a type of many more. Some thirty years ago, these contained salmon in abundance. Since the introduction of the "crushing ore process" at the Goginan lead mines, animal life has been totally extinguished in them, owing to the reception of the refuse about seven miles from its outfall by the Reidol. Lieut.-Col. Powell, M.P., of Nanteos, stated to the Commission:—

"In the river Reidol, if you go a few miles, you will find the vegetation upon the land entirely destroyed; there is not even a blade of grass growing. I have lost an immense deal of land, and it is rather worse upon the Ystwith."†

To a less degree, the Tawe, Neath, Rhymney, Towey, Taff, and South Tyne are similarly affected; and it is rumoured that the projected opening of mines in the vicinity of the Wye and Conway will injure those admirable rivers in the same way. Gas companies, in defiance of the provisions of their charters, are likewise frequently in the habit of depositing their filth in our streams, and the manufacture of paper proves to be exceedingly damaging. Of the Wear, the evidence of Mr. Henderson, of Durham, shows this:—"You say that the refuse of the paper-mill is put into the river?—It is, and poisons the fish effectually."‡ It is the "bleach," the principal ingredients of which are chlorine and lime, that proves so obnoxious. In these days, when people are compelled to "consume their own smoke," and when the Law Reports teem with cases of the punishment of persons who have neglected to do so, surely some means may be devised for preventing miners and manufacturers from polluting our rivers

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\* Report, p. 402.

† Ibid., p. 151.

‡ Ibid., p. 355.

by their much more injurious refuse. We would not insist upon their consuming it themselves, but they must certainly be prevented from making our fish consume it.

The irregularity and uncertainty of the close time or fence months, and its universal neglect, even such as it is, is another evil. The necessity for permitting the fish to breed unmolestedly is so obvious, that almost all of the thirty Acts upon the salmon fisheries now extant in this country take notice of it. Some of the private Acts define what the close time is to be upon particular rivers; but the vast majority of them are governed by the 58 Geo. III. c. 43 (which puts the maximum close time at a hundred and fifty days), amended to some extent by the 6 & 7 Vict. c. 38, which empowers the magistrates of each county at quarter sessions to determine within that limit the fence months for each year. Many rivers intersect different counties in their course, and many form the boundaries between them; and thus upon the Severn, the Wye, the Teifi, and the Derwent, as instances, different close times may and do frequently exist at adjacent points upon the course, and upon different shores of the same streams. Mr. Pryse, of Bwlch Bichen, on the Teifi, stated to the Commission:—

“I think four years ago I took out a summons against some gentlemen for fishing during the fence months, as they had been fixed by the magistrates for the county of Cardigan, from the 15th of September to the 15th of February; but the summons was dismissed owing to the local Carmarthen Act (which I was not aware was in existence), which fixed the close time from the 3rd of November to the 3rd of March.”\*

Mr. Moggeridge, of the Willows, said of the district around Swansea: “I never remember a fence time being enforced here;” and the evidence of Thomas Llewellyn, a fisherman on the East Chaddew, is to the same effect:—“Do you fish all the winter?—Yes; we are not particular—the more is the pity. That is the ruin of the river.”† Benjamin Evans, another fisherman on the Ayrton, gave equivalent evidence:—

“What is the close time upon the Ayrton? We never close it if we can get fish.—Have the magistrates fixed any close time? I believe Colonel Lewis did last year.—Do you fish all through the winter? Occasionally, when there is a good fresh. I have carried scores of salmon in the night from the trap above the weir, and let them go up the river, in order to keep up the breed.”‡

As the law now stands, the times at which the rivers are to close

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\* Report, p. 149.

† Ibid., p. 130.

‡ Ibid., p. 152.

vary from the 31st August to the 1st January; and the times at which they are to open vary from 31st December to 30th April; or, virtually, salmon fishing may legally be continued in this country where the breeding time is everywhere about the same, at one place or another, throughout the whole year. It is proposed that the close time shall be all over the kingdom from September 1st until February 1st, for nets and traps, and from a few weeks later for rods, with a small latitude of alteration to local authorities. Besides this yearly close season of 153 days, it is suggested that there should be a weekly one of 36 hours, extending from six o'clock on Saturday evening until six o'clock on Monday morning, called in Scotland the "Saturday slap." Rods are not very destructive, and as they are favoured in the long close time, obviously for the benefit of a certain class of fishers, they might very well be favoured in the short close time. Those who are engaged at their labours throughout the week, the professional or the working man, might be allowed the opportunity (especially after morning service time) of a few hours' recreation at "the gentle art" without much offence, we should think, either to the salmon or the parson. For nets, and particularly fixed engines, we feel little compassion. In the case of the former we would rigidly enforce both fence times, and the latter we would utterly abolish. Whatever remonstrances may be made by the fishermen of England and Wales, the use of all fixed engines in the rivers or estuaries of the rivers, whether they are called stake-nets, putchers, putts, butts, drop-nets, baulk-nets, or by the euphonious appellation of jackass-nets, should be prohibited. By the Tweed Act of 1857 this was provided, and the principle has been sanctioned not only by numerous old statutes (neglected, but still in force) but by two recent Committees of the House of Commons, and one of the House of Lords. We have not time to describe all these nefarious implements. A few examples may suffice to render their mode of operation known to our readers. The first, the stake-net, is a Scotch invention, and is sometimes called the Scotch stell. It is formed by netting attached to stakes running into the shore, which act as a leader, consisting of many chambers, and running at the mouths of rivers, from high-water mark, several hundred yards seaward. They effectually take the salmon attempting to effect an entry, and were found more or less in use around Morecomb Bay, at the mouths of the Leven and Trent, and upon the estuaries of the Lune, Dee, and Conway. The estuary of the Ribble is fished with a similar contrivance called the wing-net. The fixed engines most extensively used in the English and Welsh fisheries are putchers and putts, butts or trumpets. The first are long conical baskets with one mouth four or five feet wide, and another so narrow as to prevent the

exit of any moderately-sized fish. They are placed in rows upon cross-bars running from stakes about thirteen or fourteen feet high fixed in the shores. As many as five hundred of them are sometimes fixed together. The second are about twelve feet long, and are more complicated than the first. They are usually composed of three parts, which may be joined as occasion requires. The dimensions of the kype, or chief part, are at the broader end about five feet, and at the narrower about fourteen inches in diameter; the next part fitting on to the kype is about six inches at its narrow opening, across which bars are fixed to prevent the escape of the larger fish; while to this is added the third part or forewheel, which is capable of taking anything from the size of a shrimp. In the spring these forewheels are most destructive to the salmon fry. The evidence of Mr. John Davis, late fisherman upon the Severn, bears upon this point:—

“*Mr. Ffennell.* Was there any destruction of the salmon-fry in your fishing days?—Not about us. I have heard talk of it at Broadhope, that is just above Newnham; there used to be putts catching quantities, and then they *gave them to the pigs*. The fry were caught in the forewheels of the putts.”\*

In the Severn there are as many as from 80 to 100 of these putt-stages employed; a few on the Wye, between Chepstow and Newport; and a great many on the Usk. Mr. Cornelius Evans, auctioneer, of Newport, said:—“I believe there are from 1800 to 2000 at the present time in the fishery at Goldcliff.—How many stations are there? There are three tiers of putts, one above another, and in some instances four.”†

Wickerwork and brushwood weirs are attached to drive the salmon into them, and when once entrapped, however young or unseasonable, the fish cannot be extricated uninjured.

On the opposite side of the Bristol Channel, these engines (called there butts) are extensively used upon the Parret; one fisherman, George Parsons, having upon that river between two and three hundred in constant use.‡ About Swansea, Lynmouth, and Bangor, and several other places, large numbers of brush-weirs, inclosing an angular or semicircular space in which the fish are detained at the fall of the tide, are in active employ; and stone weirs upon the same principle are extensively used, chiefly upon the coast of Cardiganshire, north of Aberyon. No chance of recovery can be given to the salmon-fisheries until these, one and all, are swept from existence. It is impossible, whilst they are in

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\* Report, p. 21.

† Ibid., p. 53.

‡ Ibid., p. 514.

use, that the young and spawning fish can escape wholesale destruction.

"Killing of breeding fish in the spawning beds," says the Report, "is a very prevalent abuse. On the upper parts of the Wye it is carried on with a high hand by large parties of men, setting the law at defiance, and acting in such a manner as to strike terror and overawe resistance. On numerous weirs the practice of going out at night with spears and torches, and what is called 'burning the water,' is in full force. Elsewhere the killing of spawning fish goes on less openly, but with very pernicious effect. They are taken with gaffs, and instruments of various kinds, at the foot of the weirs and other obstructions where they are detained, and offer an easy prey to poachers and other marauders."\*

The destruction of the young fish in large numbers is very common. Mr. Prosser, the Mayor of Monmouth, said: "The quantities of salmon-pink taken in the river Wye during the year are immense. Persons will go out and take from ten to seventy in a day with a rod and line and fly."† They are then hawked about the streets of neighbouring towns. Mr. George Bowen, master mariner, said: "There are nets made at some places—I think I have seen them at Kilgarren—that the fishermen moor in the river to catch the fry when they are not so long as your finger. They hang them to little sticks, a dozen or two or four or five dozen together, and carry them to Cardigan and sell them."‡ Mr. Williams, solicitor of Dolgelly, said of the Mawddock and Union: "Thousands upon thousands of salmon-fry, millions, I may say, are taken;" and Mr. Edward Roberts, of Rhyl, testified to the same effect. "Up the river Elwy," said he, "the salmon fry are caught in sackfuls by putting panniers below the wheels" of water-mills.

On the Teifi, Tees, Ribble, and Lune, among many others, the Commissioners found this practice customary. Weirs and mill-races are particularly injurious to the salmon fry, and as an example of this we cite the evidence of Mr. Sharpe of Lancaster:—

"Will you state what you know of the injury done to the fry at the weirs and mill-races?—The injury done to the fry is this: when the river is in very low water, which I think is at the time when the fry come down in the greatest abundance, they find their way down the mill-race into the mill, and then come out at the tail-race of the mill. I believe that the mill-dam or mill-pool above the corn-mill at Hilton is at particular seasons of the year alive with fry. They have passed the upper race, and got down into the pool, and they lie there. An old fisherman has told me that he has seen them almost like

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\* Report, p. 17.

† Ibid., p. 145.

‡ Ibid., p. 27.

§ Ibid., p. 192.

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herrings in a barrel, they were so closely packed. What is done with them when they get into the mill we none of us know.”\*

Without the gift of second sight it is pretty easy to surmise what becomes of them when they get into the mill. It has lately transpired that vast numbers are preserved in oil, and sold as *sardines*.

Unseasonable fish, either in a spent or spawning condition, quite unsuitable for human food, are also taken and sold by thousands. Salted or “kippered,” they are sold all over the country; but there is reason to believe that the larger proportion are sent to France, where, as the Report says, “The ingenuity of French cookery succeeds, we presume, in making palatable that which in its natural state would be both distasteful and injurious.”† The price paid for this unseasonable fish is about sixpence the pound, and the value of salmon exported to France *under that designation* during the last three years has been as follows:—1858, 4539*l.*; 1859, 3469*l.*; 1860, 10,746*l.* This is only the legitimate trade, but the amount exported by the combined ingenuity of the poacher and the smuggler must be much greater, though it is unknown. The evidence given by Mr. Dering, the clerk of Billingsgate Market, upon this point, is as follows:—

“*Chairman.* Are you aware of any particular quantity of unseasonable salmon being sent to France on any one day?—No; I could not speak to the actual quantity sent on any particular day.—Do you think as much as a ton has ever been sent in a day?—A great deal more than a ton; I have no doubt as much as *three tons* out-of-season fish in boxes have arrived in one day. They have not been brought into the market, but have been smuggled away.”‡

The only way to stop this traffic is to define the time at which it shall be illegal for any salmon to be sold. The remarks of Mr. Ridpath, the eminent fish salesman of Billingsgate, clearly indicate what practical fish-dealers require.

“*Mr. Richards.* You stated that sometimes it is difficult to determine what is unseasonable fish. If the law made it illegal to have salmon in possession after a certain day, no difficulty of that kind would arise, I presume?—None whatever; neither would there be any difficulty to the salesman, if the law also enacted that every salmon that was caught after a certain time until a certain time was saleable. It would relieve the salesman of his difficulties to make salmon saleable by Act of Parliament. A salmon may be as objectionable ten days after the opening of the fishing season as it is ten days before. In selling salmon we want to know what we are about; we do not wish to break the law, but if the law is of that kind that it entangles us, then it is very objectionable.”§

\* Report, p. 124.

† Ibid., p. 528.

‡ Ibid., p. 16.

§ Ibid., p. 231.

There is not one of the malpractices to which we have above called the attention of our readers which has not over and over again been made an offence by statute. The obstruction of the course of rivers, their pollution, the use of fixed engines in fishing, the destruction and sale of unseasonable fish—all these have been forbidden by almost as many Acts of Parliament as there are syllables in their description. The impunity with which these things are now done, is not owing to the absence of legislation—the salmon fisheries, in truth, are victims to a *plethora* of law. So many statutes are in force, some overriding others, some repealing portions of others, and some conflicting with others, that it is impossible either for laymen or lawyers to find out what is right and what is wrong. The evidence of a dozen witnesses could be selected from the minutes attached to the Report before us in support of this proposition. Mr. Gidley, the town clerk of Exeter, who has had ample opportunities for forming an opinion, said—

“The state of the law is such that prosecutions are almost in vain. I do not think the law is sufficiently clear to enable the magistrates to act. I have attended before the magistrates frequently on the part of the conservators. Once or twice I have succeeded, and at other times I have been obliged to make some arrangement.”\*

Mr. Mills, of Bisterne, a magistrate, an accomplished angler, and a conservator of the Avon, said:—

“There is a special Act for this river, but I believe the Act under which I hold my appointment as conservator overrides it. I really do not know what the state of the law is, and I cannot discover it. As a magistrate, I really do not know how to deal with a case. One act passes and repeals another, and you do not know where you are. I think it would be extremely desirable to simplify the thing, so that we might know what is the law upon the subject and what is not.”†

We agree with this gentleman, that it would be extremely desirable “to simplify the thing.” As matters now stand, the law is a delusion and a snare. Country gentlemen, whose legal acquirements must be derived from the light of nature or by hereditary transmission, are called upon to administer a body of jurisprudence which it would puzzle the longest bewigged head in Westminster Hall to understand. The consequence is, that notorious malefactors escape punishment, and the offences of venal transgressors are often visited with undue and uncertain severity.

As is usual in cases of remissness on the part of the State, private enterprise has come forward to supply the deficiencies of Governmental activity. Associations have been formed in numerous instances for the protection of particular rivers. By means

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\* Report, p. 430.

† Ibid., p. 426.



of subscriptions and the sale of tickets, or permits, to fish in the waters under their supervision, they have raised a precarious fund for the payment of watchers and keepers and for the prosecution of poachers. It has been found that these Fishing Clubs, though useful in exciting local interest in the fisheries and in diffusing information, have been powerless to afford the organized protection to them which can alone be of permanent service. Owing to the confusion of the law, they have certainly had no fair chance of success, but it is also clear that they have been by no means free from the evils inseparable from associations destitute of authority and composed of persons all equally entitled and anxious to have their own way. Internal dissensions and jealousies, want of money, and illiberality upon the part of some deriving benefit from their exertions, have generally or always secured or hastened their decay. The only attempt at practical protection to the salmon fisheries made by the law has been the appointment of *conservators*, who have steadily opposed themselves, as a rule, to the efforts of the private associations for the preservation of the salmon. They are people virtually self-appointed, unpaid, and usually ready to compensate themselves for their gratuitous services by breaking the laws they are commissioned to enforce.

"We met," says the Report, "with cases in which the individual charged with this duty was the very person who, from his interest in the river, and his mode of fishing, required the watchful eye of a conservator over his own proceedings. In no case did any practical responsibility, either to the magistrates or any other authority, attach to the holder of this office, the incidents of whose tenure appeared to be, that he should hold the appointment as long as it pleased himself, and do or leave undone whatever he might think fit. We found, in many places, flagrant abuses going on under the very eyes of the conservator, and in some cases that officer himself was by no means free from participation in illegal practices."\*

Under the whole of the foregoing circumstances, the last conviction of the unfortunate, that "something must be done," has forced itself upon the minds of all who have inquired into the salmon fisheries of England and Wales. Our dilemma has but two horns, legislation and private exertion, upon one or other of which we are compelled to take our seat. The first, it is true, has in times past proved of little avail; the second has recently proved of still less use; we must, therefore, of necessity, choose the lesser evil of the two. Until the arrival of that bright future, when, as poets have sung and philosophers have prophesied, men shall be spontaneously fitted by their natures to live in complete

harmony with each other, and by implication with the salmon, our imperfections must ever drive us to seek refuge in legislation, whether for the protection of ourselves or of our fish. In the present case such a line of conduct is peculiarly appropriate, because, as the Commissioners are careful to assert, the Salmon Fisheries are public property, and because in Ireland especially, and to a minor degree in Scotland, the application of a judicious and plain code of fishery laws has already proved to be a very great benefit to them. Most of the recommendations made in the Report before us have been tried with success in Ireland or in Scotland, and in this fact we have security against the hasty enactment of any measure of which they may be the foundation.

The first thing to be done is to clear the road by sweeping away that ancient forest of salmon laws, whose roots are in Magna Charta, and whose branches are—Heaven knows where. In its place we want an intelligible Act (if an intelligible Act be consistent with the principles of the British Constitution), embodying, as it appears to us, the following provisions, which, after the evidence we have adduced, do not require any specific justification. That a free passage shall be permitted to the fish through or over all weirs, dams, dykes, or other obstructions placed in the course of the rivers for industrial, public, or private purposes; that under penalties no refuse from mines, mills, or manufactories shall be permitted to go into the rivers; that stake-nets, putcher, putt or butt stages, together with all other fixed engines for the taking of salmon, be prohibited; that the annual close time be throughout the kingdom from the 1st of September to the 1st of February; and that no salmon shall be offered for sale in any place in England or Wales after the 10th of September, although rod-fishing may continue until the 15th of October; that a weekly close time of not less than thirty-six hours be enforced; that illegal fishing or poaching be made punishable by fine and imprisonment, by summary process before the magistrates; and that the whole of the fisheries be placed under the supervision of a central board, whose duty it shall be to divide the same into districts, for the management of each of which a local board of conservators shall be elected by the proprietors, with power of raising funds, appointing water-bailiffs, and making bye-laws; the whole of whose proceedings, however, shall be subject to the control of the central board. These are substantially the measures suggested by the Commission, by the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Salmon Fisheries of Scotland, and which have been adopted and approved in the regulation of the Irish Salmon Fisheries. It has always been found in practice of immense advantage to have some means of relaxing the rigidity of a general law in its application to parti-

cular cases; and such a means for this end would be found in the central and local boards. In raising the necessary funds for carrying out the proposed improvements, in enforcing the protective ordinances of the law, and in using a certain discretionary power in the prosecution of offenders, their action would be found most desirable. For raising the necessary funds for the management of the rivers, two methods have been sanctioned by the Irish Act (11 and 12 Vic. c. 92). The great principle acknowledged in them is, that those who are directly benefited by protection should pay for it, and they provide for this—Firstly, by a rate upon the occupiers of the several fisheries; secondly, by a licence duty upon all engines used in the capture of salmon, whether weirs, nets, or rods. At present the depressed condition of the fisheries will render it difficult to raise the money required; but from the spirit which seemed to be diffused among the various persons interested in them, the Commission believe that their voluntary contributions will be such as to preclude the necessity of any extreme taxation at the commencement of the reformed system of management. The central board might be attached to the department of Woods and Forests, or rather the duty of controlling the salmon fisheries might be imposed upon that by no means over-worked body.

“Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo,  
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis.”

The local boards elected by the proprietors of fisheries would have the power of modifying the provisions of the law in the districts under their control, of assessment, of determining the close seasons, of preserving the fish and suppressing the poacher. The county constabulary and the coast-guard service might well be employed, among their other occupations, in assisting to prevent any injury being done to the salmon fisheries; for, notwithstanding the objections which have been made to this plan, we, looking upon them as national property, are of opinion that the guardians of the public peace are as much bound to protect this as they are to protect any other of our properties.

We hope to see an Act passed in this session of Parliament, which shall thus effectually prevent the threatened extinction of the salmon fisheries of England and Wales.

### ART. III.—THE CRITICAL THEORY AND WRITINGS OF H. TAINE.

1. *La Fontaine et ses Fables.* Par H. TAINE. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1861. 3ème Edition.
2. *Voyage aux Pyrénées.* Par H. TAINE. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1858. 2nde Edition.
3. *Essai sur Tite Live.* Par H. TAINE. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1856.
4. *Les Philosophes Français du Dix-neuvième Siècle.* Par H. TAINE. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1857.
5. *Essais de Critique et de l'Histoire.* Par H. TAINE. Hachette et Cie. Paris, 1858.

CRITICISM is an art limited in range and uncertain in result. The conclusions arrived at by critics are never final, and are sometimes contradictory. Yet this neither excites wonder nor calls forth censure. Nobody dreams of reproaching a critic for reversing or differing from the judgments of his predecessors and contemporaries. Such disagreement is not merely excusable, but inevitable, seeing that each one judges according to his lights, either comparing the subject of his criticism with some model believed to be inimitable, or else measuring it by an ideal standard in his own mind, which he considers infallible.

Should a critic be gifted with marvellous sagacity, and laden with the learning of every age, he may aspire to fill the post of literary dictator, and think himself entitled to issue decrees. It may even happen that his despotic sway will be patiently borne, provided it be justified by matchless erudition and tempered by common sense. Of this, Bentley was a conspicuous example. When he proclaimed the spuriousness of the "Epistles of Phalaris," there was not a dissentient voice. His authority as a critic over the productions of antiquity was acknowledged to be supreme. Notwithstanding his being thus exalted in power, his domain was limited. No sooner did he venture beyond it and stretch his prerogative, than his divine right to the critical sceptre was called in question. Instead of his emendations on the "Paradise Lost" being accepted with thankfulness they were rejected with scorn, and regarded as melancholy proofs that a man may be a profound scholar without possessing any taste for poetry.

Many of the exaggerated notions respecting the functions and position of the critic which once found acceptance are no longer

current. A critic is now looked upon as a man whose decisions are mere expressions of individual opinion. The public has ceased to believe that an author is necessarily good or bad because some learned man affirms him to be the one or the other. It does not raise Virgil in our estimation to understand that Joseph Scaliger rated him above Homer, nor do we value Homer the more from Mr. Gladstone having ranked him above all poets. Still less can we waver in our allegiance to Shakespeare because Byron thought him a humbug, or admire Pope's jingling verses because the same authority pronounced them to be produced by a perfect poet. All that a critic can do is to express his individual sentiments. Should they appear just and true, we adopt them. We require of him that he shall carefully study his subject; treat it with discrimination and impartiality. If he do this, he has performed his duty and deserved our thanks.

Such is the generally received opinion regarding criticism and critics. It is the very reverse, however, of the theory propounded by M. H. Taine, and which he has illustrated and supported with great ability in the works we are about to review. He is among the youngest of contemporary French critics. Seven years ago he made his first entry into the lists of literature equipped with a system of criticism, a philosophy, and a style of his own. According to him the results of criticism were no longer to be fluctuating and untrustworthy: he aspired to endow them with the rigorous precision and certainty of scientific formulas, thereby elevating criticism to the dignity of a science. The examples he gave of his new method have occasioned considerable stir among French literary men, and are sufficiently remarkable to merit discussion in these pages and the attention of our readers. Before entering on an examination of his achievements, we shall briefly consider his qualifications.

M. Taine was born in 1828, so that he is exactly the same age as M. About, whose writings are well known in England. Both distinguished themselves so highly at their respective colleges as to become qualified for admission into the Normal School, and might, if they had chosen, have been appointed professors in a French university. On the contrary, both renounced that career, became authors at an early age, and produced works which instantly attracted much attention. Each selected a different path to the temple of Fame: M. About wrote novels, and M. Taine essays. The former is a graceful and witty writer, deficient in depth of thought and variety of knowledge, capable of amusing rather than instructing, and satisfied with being admired for his extreme cleverness rather than envied for his learning. If he leave a name behind him, it will be that of a charming storyteller and fascinating writer. M. Taine has different powers and

flies at higher game. He, too, writes forcibly and pleasantly, and can weave incidents into an effective narrative. But these are secondary qualifications with him. His attainments as a scholar are exceptionally vast. With ancient and modern literature he is intimately acquainted, and few Frenchmen are equally well versed in the literature of our own country, and equally capable of appreciating its excellences.

In 1853 he produced his first work, an "Essay on the Fables of La Fontaine." Although merely a college thesis composed on taking his degree as Doctor of Letters, yet it contains the system of criticism which he claims as his own. Nearly all the views in philosophy, poetry, and art which he has since then developed, are enunciated in this work. M. Taine maintains that all the mental faculties are regulated and governed by a predominating tendency; and that if this principle be discovered, it is possible to explain why a writer selected certain subjects, and treated them after a particular fashion.

The essay on La Fontaine is an exhaustive examination of the causes which operated to make a poet of him, of the mode in which he composed his fables, and the purposes for which he destined them. The district of Champagne wherein he was born is described, and the peculiarities of its inhabitants are pointed out. M. Taine affirms that the natives of that province are purer Gauls than the natives of any other district of France, and that La Fontaine united in his own person the most salient peculiarities of that race. His easy-going, good-natured, and careless disposition are characteristic of the Gauls, and the climate, soil, and scenery of Champagne combined to develop and foster in him these distinguishing points. Hence it was that he purposely adopted the light and unconstrained versification which he employed so skilfully in his fables. Untainted by Latin blood, he could not be restrained by classical rules. Thus, when he essayed to copy the manner of the ancient versifiers, he utterly failed. Rabelais, Marot, the Queen of Navarre, were his favourite authors: all of them are genuine Gauls in sentiment and expression; and from their writings he imbibed a knowledge of the old French language which afterwards stood him in good stead. From having stored his memory with the words they used, he was able to put racy and natural phrases into the mouths of his peasants. In his conduct he was untrammelled by conventional rules, and the morality which he practised is the morality of his fables. "Do not be a fool, learn what life is, and avoid being duped," is the summary of his teaching. "Life on the whole is passable: to suffer is better than to die," is his principal maxim, and it is thoroughly Gaulish.

The philosophy which La Fontaine inculcates is Epicurean;

yet, though heathen in tone, it is that of his race. However greatly the French may be oppressed by any system of government, they bear their burdens with servile meekness. They know that if they emancipate themselves from the yoke to-day, it will be re-imposed to-morrow. They prefer to be ruled by a despot, as they cannot associate themselves together, and pursue a given course prudently and perseveringly. After having gratified their self-esteem by ridiculing their chief, they willingly obey him. "They accept *accomplished facts*; admire the successful, and laugh at the unfortunate, especially if they have been cleverly beaten."\*

Because he was intimately acquainted with the sentiments of his countrymen, and faithfully mirrored their feelings in his writings, La Fontaine became, and has always remained, a universal favourite. He is one of the very few eminent French authors whose works are read and understood by the common people. The great French classics are not really popular in France. In the seventeenth century French literature was that of Versailles; now it is the literature of Paris. A public of critics has supplanted a public of courtiers. "The dramas of Victor Hugo and the novels of Balzac are no more admitted into the cottages at the present day than were the tragedies of Racine and the portraits of La Bruyère."†

The distinguishing feature of these fables is their poetry. Those ascribed to Æsop and those by Lessing are mere moral lessons. In them animals speak and act, but are without individuality and life. The fox is always an example of roguery in the abstract. Everything is sedulously avoided which might in any way lessen the effect of the moral at the close. "They are but a collection of precepts, which are enforced by a collection of examples. The reader is convinced but unmoved by them." Take, for instance, the fable of the Fox and the Panther. Both disputed the palm of beauty. While the panther vaunted his fine skin, the fox contended that his beauty lay in his intellect. The conclusion being, that mental perfections are preferable to comeliness of body. Nothing can be drier or more meagre than this. But the version which La Fontaine has given of the same story bears the impress of a poet's genius. By him the text has been amplified and put into a dramatic form; and he has breathed life into the characters. "The simple idea falling on his mind, as on a prism, flashed forth in a thousand hues."

There are three kinds of fables. The fables ascribed to Æsop are heavy, learned, and sententious. Those produced by the unknown story-tellers of the Middle Ages are infantine and spun

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\* "La Fontaine et ses Fables," pp. 51, 52.

† Ibid., p. 60.

out. "A third sort, light, winged, and poetical, circle like the swarm of bees that rested on the lips of Plato as he slept, and which a Greek would have perceived alighting on the smiling lips of La Fontaine." (p. 342.)

"The fable, undoubtedly the humblest of poetical forms, resembles a tiny plant hidden in a vast forest. With our eyes fixed on the huge trees which grow around, it is forgotten, or if we lower our eyes, it seems but a point. Yet if we open it and examine the internal arrangement of its organs, we find as complex a structure as in the great oaks which cover it with their shadow: it can be more easily decomposed, better tested by experiment, and in it may be discovered the laws according to which every plant vegetates and is sustained." (pp. 346, 347.)

Before commenting on M. Taine's theory respecting La Fontaine and his works, we shall give a summary of his statements and conclusions. He maintains, then; that a certain race had received a special character from the influence of climate, soil, food, and the great transformations it had undergone. La Fontaine sprang from that race. In order to mould and fit him for what he accomplished it was requisite that he should have been endowed with the acuteness, sobriety, gaiety, and malice which are the characteristics of the pure Gauls, and the education and polish of manners which were acquired by those who mixed in the society of the seventeenth century. From his works being in harmony with his country's wants and the age in which they were produced, he became a truly national writer. He was at once the representative of his countrymen and the epitome of his time. His fables contain a gallery of more trustworthy and valuable portraits than the *Essays* of La Bruyère and the *Memoirs* of St. Simon. In fine, La Fontaine was a poet, and this is the key to his works.

Ingenious and cleverly written as this book unquestionably is, we hold it to be an elaborate mistake. The author has erred, in our opinion, by attempting to prove too much. Considering every "poetical fabulist a systematizer," he asserts that these fables were composed in accordance with a system, and upholds this opinion by applying to them a system of his own. In so doing he has laid himself open to the reproach levelled by Rousseau in his "*Emile*" against the would-be philosophers of his day, "who were all so smitten with the rage for system, that none of them tried to consider things as they were, but as they accorded with each one's pet system."

If it were possible for La Fontaine to peruse this commentary, he would be exceedingly puzzled and amazed. He would learn, probably for the first time, the real ends he had in view when he composed his verses; how under the guise of animals he had



portrayed his contemporaries, and how writings which were meant to amuse became to be regarded as of priceless historical value. Moreover, he would be made aware of the little personal merit he could lay claim to for what he had achieved, seeing that the accidental circumstances of his possessing a purely Gaulish temperament, and having been born and bred among a Gaulish race, combined with his having had the good luck to be admitted to the Court of Louis XIV., irresistibly biassed him in the method of treatment he adopted and the topics he chose. He was sufficiently vain of his talents not to feel flattered by reading that he was a man of striking originality and rare genius; but how bitterly would he be disappointed to discover that the possession of genius is of little importance, "because genius is nothing more than a developed force; a force which cannot be developed except in the country wherein it is natural and common, where it is nourished by education, strengthened by example, sustained by character, and elicited by the public taste."\* These assertions would unquestionably dissipate many of his old delusions regarding his exceptional powers and individual greatness. In reply, he might adopt the words of one of his epistles,† and say that he was merely a butterfly of Parnassus, resembling a bee in skimming every flower, and roving from object to object, mingling a little glory with many pleasures; that possibly he might have attained a higher niche in the temple of Memory had he devoted himself to one kind of work, but that in verse, as in conduct, he was volatile, ever following the bent of his inclination, solicitous above all things to enjoy himself and amuse his fellows. Nevertheless, he would add, though his aims were not lofty and his achievements comparatively trifling, what he had performed was to be ascribed to his capacity for the work he undertook and his determination to excel. So far from being altogether indebted to the accidents of birth and position, he alone of those born with like temperaments and reared under analogous circumstances, succeeded in composing fables of such celebrity and merit as to appear in the eyes of M. Taine worthy of this laboured commentary and paradoxical explanation. Nay more, supposing La

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\* "La Fontaine et ses Fables," p. 344.

† "Je m'avoue, il est vrai, s'il faut parler ainsi,  
Papillon du Parnasse, et semblable aux abeilles  
A qui le bon Platon compare nos merveilles.  
Je suis chose légère, et vole à tout sujet;  
Je vais de fleur en fleur et d'objet en objet.  
A beaucoup de plaisirs, je mêle un peu de gloire.  
J'irais plus haut peut-être au temple de Mémoire,  
Si dans un genre seul j'avais usé mes jours;  
Mais quoi! je suis volage en vers comme en mœurs."  
"Épître à Madame de La Sablière."

Fontaine versed in literary history, he might refute M. Taine's definition of genius by asking him whether the poetical genius of Dante, Burns, or Schiller, was merely a force developed by surrounding circumstances, or whether, on the contrary, it was not a mysterious faculty which enabled them, in spite of unpropitious training, adverse fates, and uncongenial situations, to produce poems which are at once inimitable and immortal? He would doubtless disdainfully repudiate the supposition that he followed a system. A system, he might answer, proved a stumbling-block to Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Dryden, Pope, and Wordsworth. Whatever defects the writings of these poets contain are attributable to their having foolishly adopted and blindly adhered to some ingenious system, and that, in so far as they wrote on that principle, they must be designated poets of culture as opposed to poets by nature.

Continuing our supposition of La Fontaine's acquaintance with the literature of all countries and times, he might cite the words of John Stuart Mill to the effect that, while "the poet of culture sees his object in prose and describes it in poetry, the poet of nature actually sees it in poetry,"\* and might contend to be ranked in the latter class, insomuch as he could not narrate even an oft-repeated fable without embellishing it with the graces, endowing it with the popularity, and securing for it the renown which are the distinguishing marks and sure portion of genuine poetry. He might add that whatever honour he had obtained was due to his having "sung as the bird sings," spontaneously and unmindful of system—that influence and reward such as his, a poet of any other cast could not hope to acquire and would not deserve.

Yet, after having raised several objections, and pointed out some important defects, La Fontaine would not be slow to admit the exceeding merits of this book. He would recognise in M. Taine both a native of the same province, and a man whose tastes and sympathies qualified him for having laboured at the same time as himself. The writers of the seventeenth century would undoubtedly have hailed in him a congenial associate. His fondness for paradox, and the cheerfulness with which he immolates himself on the altar of system, would have attracted much notice, and secured for him a wide reputation among the leading men of that age. The happy illustrations with which this commentary is adorned, and the extreme gracefulness of its style, would assuredly draw forth from La Fontaine very high commendation, and would almost atone, in his opinion, for the double blunder of its having

been written to advance a theory alike extravagant and untenable, and to enunciate a conclusion which is a truism.

M. Taine's next work was a "Journey to the Pyrenees." It is a rare thing for a book of travels to denote the possession of uncommon talents. Books of travel may be divided into two classes. In the first may be ranged those pretentious works wherein the writers dogmatically judge everything that falls under their notice, though utterly destitute of the requisite knowledge and aptitude for discharging that function. Equal proportions of platitude, vanity, and silliness are the chief ingredients of such works. In the second class may be ranged the shoals of books which are professedly humbler in aim than the former, while they are almost on a par with them in value. The authors of them content themselves with minutely copying from their guide-books descriptions of what they have seen, and devote themselves to entertaining the public with a full account of the hotels where the best dinners, most comfortable beds, and the cheapest accommodation may be enjoyed. Those books of travel which cannot be classed under either of these headings ought to be read with attention, and, as this "Journey to the Pyrenees" is an exception to the rule, we shall examine it at some length.

We have already remarked that M. Taine happens to be of the same age as M. About; that both were pupils of the Normal School, and are amongst the youngest and most popular of modern French authors. Moreover, we observed they differed from each other in this, that while M. About wrote like a clever, unconcerned man of the world, M. Taine, on the other hand, was essentially a scholar and a philosophical critic. These points of difference are more clearly discernible when we consider those books of the same class which they have severally produced. The former has written books of travel which deserve, like this one, an exceptional place. They deserve it, however, for different reasons. His travels in Greece, Italy, and the South of France, are filled with statistics showing the resources of these countries, and the condition of their inhabitants. When he finds a stock-exchange, opera-houses, banks, and railroads, he is convinced that a country is highly civilized, and rapidly advancing. Past history has little attraction for him, and traditions of bygone greatness are not accepted by him as adequate excuses for present degeneracy and inertness. In short, his opinions are those of a large shareholder in the Grand Modern Company for Accelerating the March of Improvement, which has its head-office at Paris, and Napoleon the Third for chairman. When he visits Bordeaux, for instance, his first business is to inquire what has been effected by the municipality; how the streets are lighted and paved, what taxes are levied. M. Taine, on the contrary, when he arrives at

that city, is struck with the appearance of the river, the picturesqueness of the houses. He regards everything with the eyes of a lettered critic, and delights in comparing the present which we know with the past of which we read. The chronicles of olden times afford him great pleasure, and he diversifies his narrative by citing a tale illustrative of the manners and people of bygone days. His critical tastes are curiously exemplified in descriptions of scenery. Not satisfied with reproducing, as he can do most effectively, the salient features of a landscape, he analyses the component parts of it, and points out why these produce an impression of beauty. He goes still further, and does not scruple to find fault with Nature for being in some cases a bad landscape-maker. This censure is not pronounced by him in person. A M. Paul is introduced, with whom he discusses various matters, and whose extreme opinions he generally combats, but in such a way as to allow him to have the best of the argument. In this manner, views which he does not choose to advance himself, are put into the mouth of M. Paul, and upheld by him.

As this imaginary personage is M. Taine drawn by himself, we shall mention a few of his peculiarities. He is described, then, as a bold traveller, an amateur of painting, rather eccentric, and accustomed to believe no one but himself; violent as a reasoner, extreme in his opinions, and prolific in paradoxes. His head is always in a ferment about some new idea which strikes him, and which, for a day or two, he thinks the finest in the world. He moves forward, being usually a hundred yards in advance of everybody else, seeking truth at all hazards, taking pleasure in being contradicted and in contradicting, and is occasionally led astray by his combative and adventurous nature. He is rather selfish, and, maintaining the position of a simple spectator, regards the world as a huge puppet-show.\*

Among other things M. Paul disapproves of ascending mountains for the purpose of getting a better view of the plain. At a great elevation colours and forms become indistinct. It may be useful for a surveyor to make an ascent, but a landscape is a picture, and can be enjoyed only from a proper point of view. It is generally supposed that to see an object from the height of a thousand feet is to see it to a thousand times greater advantage.

"I was once on the summit of a mountain along with a family, to whom the guide pointed out a hazy blue line, saying, 'There is Toulouse!' whereupon the father, his eyes glistening with joy, repeated to his son, 'There is Toulouse!' The son, seeing his father's joy, rapturously exclaimed, 'There is Toulouse!' They acquire a taste for the beautiful, as they learn to make a bow, by family tradition." (p. 209.)

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\* "*Voyage aux Pyrénées*," pp. 106—108.

M. Paul thinks we should climb mountains in order to view and understand them better. "These huge masses have as expressive a physiognomy, and represent an equally precise idea as an animal or a tree." To behold them aright we must be on the top of one. From the valley they are too massive and imposing to be thoroughly appreciated.

Many caustic remarks are interspersed throughout the book on the Pyrenean watering-places and their frequenters. The following observation on the waters of Eaux Bonnes may serve as an example:—

"In the time of Francis I., these waters cured wounds; they were called *blunderbuss waters*,\* and the soldiers who had been wounded at Pavia were ordered to drink them. Now, they cure affections of the throat and chest. A hundred years hence they will possibly cure something else, as medicine makes a step every century. Formerly, says Sganarelle, the liver was on the right and the heart on the left side, but we have altered that. A celebrated physician once told his pupils, 'Lose no time in employing this remedy while it effects cures.' Medicines, as well as hats, have their fashions."†

If French novelists are to be credited, life at a watering-place is diversified by romantic adventures. The same notion is fostered by English writers. No longer, indeed, do the attractions and gaieties of Bath form the staple of every novel, as the waters of Baden have been discovered to be more efficacious, and the allurements of that place better suited for the heroes and heroines of modern English fiction. M. Taine justly and cleverly ridicules the prevailing but most erroneous notion, that life at these places of resort is an exception to the rule that life everywhere is prosaic and monotonous; and also that men of letters, men of science, great statesmen, and renowned poets are to be met with recreating themselves and charming all with whom they come into contact. The truth is, that if life at a watering-place be a romance, it is so in books only. If the companionship of illustrious men be desired, they must be carried thither in the visitors' portmanteaus, bound in calf. "The sojourners for the most part wear out several hats, eat many peaches, talk a great deal; but as respects men and ideas it is nearly the same as anywhere else." (p. 273, 274.)

The condition of the dwellers among the mountains is frequently adverted to. M. Taine is doubtful whether civilization has in any way ameliorated their lot, but considers it probable that on the whole they have gained something. They have ceased to be the certain prey of leprosy and small-pox; are not liable to die from famine as under Montluc, or to be burned for sorcerers as was possible under Henry IV.; if they become soldiers, they

\* "*Eaux d'Arquebusades*."

† "*Voyage aux Pyrénées*," p. 195.

will learn to read and may rise to be officers; they have coffee, sugar, and linen, things which, however trifling our children may think them, our forefathers would have admitted to be very material benefits. (pp. 34, 35.) We incline to the less pleasing view. To our minds nothing is more saddening than the general condition of the natives of the Pyrenees. They are wretchedly poor, and, unless they can earn something from the summer tourists, are half starved during the long months of an inclement winter. Physically they are a deformed and degenerate race. Many of them are cretins, and those who are healthy are ill-favoured. It would almost seem as if the shadows of the sombre mountains lay heavy on them, stunting their intellects as well as their bodies. We may deplore the wildness of the Bedouins of the Desert, and endeavour to subdue and reclaim the not less predatory Arabs of our great cities; yet we must admit that those individuals are clever though wicked, and have nimble hands and sharpened intellects. They are wild plants, it is true, but they have the vigorousness of the bramble, instead of the sluggish growth and noxious properties of ivy and hemlock.

Every occasion is laid hold of by M. Taine to moralize on the changes brought about by the lapse of time and by altered habits in the inhabitants of the Pyrenees. Sometimes he gives way to lamentations over the deficiencies of the present age. At Pau, for example, he is struck with the disparity between the feeble invalids who now pace the silent chambers of its castle, and the lusty warriors who peopled it in the days of the Queen of Navarre. He cannot help regretting that it is no longer customary to live like the men of the sixteenth century, in the open air, engaged in hunting or fighting. Too much of our time, he thinks, is passed within doors in reasoning, meditation, or reading, and it is because our bodies are less muscular that our minds have become enfeebled. This complaint is neither unnatural nor unfounded when made by a Frenchman. An Englishman, however, could not give vent to it with equal justice, nor would he couch it in such sweeping terms. The decision of character, indomitable energy, and partiality for active bodily exercise which distinguish Englishmen, are fostered if not implanted in them by the games they delight in at school, and which are not merely never practised, but are almost unknown in France. So far, then, we sympathize with M. Taine, and agree with him that the violent passions and strong wills, the astounding excesses and unbridled fanaticism of the men of the sixteenth century were engendered by their modes of living. "They acted history, and we write it." (p. 76.)

Several theories have been framed in explanation of the disgust with which we now regard objects that were once thought to be very beautiful. Thus the style of gardening which was fashionable

a century ago, and was so much admired by our ancestors, is considered by us eminently tasteless and unnatural. Those who would explain our ideas of beauty by the law of association think it enough to say that our changed notions are the effect of custom, and result from contrast. M. Paul incidentally discusses the question, and adduces an explanation of his own which is both novel and ingenious. As we cannot quote at full length what he says, we shall condense his arguments. The old-fashioned gardens of Versailles are thought to be in bad taste from the shrubs being clipped into stiff rectangular figures, the walks being so straight, and the appearance of the whole so formal and prim. Such is the impression made on those who now go into a garden for recreation, but it was different when a garden was a place of resort for transacting business. Louis XIV. spent eight hours daily in the open air. He held his Court in the garden. Those ample walks were well adapted to contain the host of courtiers that followed him. Moreover, the regularity and neatness of the garden soothed and gratified the mind. Mountains and wild scenery were abhorred because the sight of them recalled scenes of famine, long journeys on horseback through snow or rain, detestable black bread, dirty inns swarming with vermin. The people of that day were as tired of barbarism as we are of civilization. Our cities and houses are so well-built and comfortable, our streets so well lighted and commodious, our manners are so polished and our lives so uneventful, that we satisfy our craving for change by admiring whatever is wild and startling. In literature the same thing is perceptible. Dissertations on gallantry and interminable romances have given place to spasmodic poetry and psychological dramas. Landscape, which is an unwritten literature, is likewise a kind of flattery addressed to our passions—an aliment for our needs. Were it not that we are so weary of our daily life, of our streets and our shops, we should detest mountainous scenery as heartily as did Madame de Maintenon. This theory is, at least, quite equal to the one devised by Lord Macaulay to explain why the Highlands of Scotland are as attractive now as they were at one time held in abhorrence, and which is, that travellers in those regions are no longer liable to be shot from behind a rock as intruders, or pounced upon by an emissary of Rob Roy's, and held captive till ransomed.

In describing the varied beauties of the Pyrenees, M. Taine displays unusual powers as a writer, combined with an intimate knowledge of what is most striking in natural scenery. His descriptions, though minute, are not mere pieces of word-painting; an art which has become so common, and which, when practised for its own sake, is so contemptible. He evidently feels the beauties he depicts, and admirably succeeds in embodying his

feelings in words. The most difficult of his undertakings was to describe the circle of Gavarnie; a spectacle than which anything more sublime is not to be found in Europe. The effect it produces is chiefly owing to its vastness and simplicity. It is a semicircular mass of naked rock, rising perpendicularly to the height of fifteen hundred feet, crowned with glaciers, and furrowed by tiny cascades. Painters have repeatedly tried to reproduce it on canvas, and innumerable writers have vainly essayed to convey an adequate notion of it. Of the latter attempts, this one is the most successful; still, the reality must be seen to be comprehended.

Not satisfied with recounting what he has witnessed, M. Taine must needs explain every appearance, and assign to everything its cause. He describes the origin of the Pyrenean chain, and notes the transformation it has been made to undergo. The soil, the aspects of the mountains, the beasts which inhabit and the plants which cover them, are shown to be in harmony, and to be linked together by necessary relations. Sometimes he generalizes, and then he expresses his views in lofty and sonorous language. We cannot more appropriately finish this analysis than by quoting, as a specimen of his style, his reflections on the chemical forces which have formed the Pyrenean mountains and rendered them so famous:—

“What is our life, bounded by the experience of a few years and the memory of a few centuries? What are we but passing excrescences, composed of a little fixed air, growing by chance in a cleft of the everlasting rock? What is our thought, so lofty in dignity and low in power? The true possessors and rightful masters of the globe are the mineral substance and its forces. Pierce the crust of earth on which we dwell, as far as the crucible of lava which tolerates us: it is there that mighty powers contend and are developed; heat and the affinities which have produced the soil, formed the rocks, which maintain our life, have fashioned for it a cradle and prepared its tomb. Everything is in motion there, and is transformed as in the heart of a tree, while our species, embedded in the bark, does not perceive the noiseless growth which has reared its trunk, spread its branches, and whose irresistible progress brings in turn, blossoms, fruit, and death. Meantime a grander movement impels this planet, with its satellites, around the sun, which is itself hastening towards an unknown goal in that infinite space wherein roll innumerable worlds. Who shall say that these are placed there merely to fill and adorn it? These huge whirling masses are nature's first thought and largest product, existing by virtue of the same title as ourselves, and in them we may recognise our relatives and friends.”\*

This book is by no means a commonplace one. It has its

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\* “*Voyage aux Pyrénées*,” pp. 338, 339.



faults. Nearly every paragraph is intended to elucidate or support some opinion which the author entertains. The hand of the critic is everywhere perceptible; of the young, ardent, and ambitious critic, who would reopen every question, and judge every cause on its merits. Although we dissent from some of the doctrines which the author is at great pains to inculcate, yet we must allow his views to be acute, comprehensive, and worthy of consideration. By introducing M. Paul he contrives to discuss many extraneous topics without wandering too wide from the subject in hand, or lapsing into tiresome dissertation. The style is never monotonous, and varies with the subject. Most Frenchmen of good education write neatly and clearly; but M. Taine writes exceptionally well for a Frenchman. He thinks more profoundly than the majority of his countrymen, is extremely sensitive to external impressions, and thus, with his mastery over language, he becomes truly eloquent where others would simply sink into bombast. We shall find these excellences still more conspicuously displayed, and his distinguishing peculiarities still more marked, in his next work, an "Essay on Livy."

The French Academy offered, in 1854, a prize for the best Essay on Livy. The conditions to be fulfilled were, that the circumstances under which he composed his history, and the events of his life, were to be detailed and discussed. The principles upon which he wrote were to be examined, and his place among historians determined. None of the competing works were thought worthy of the prize; the best, however, being one by M. Taine. Yet this "was deficient in gravity, and in a proper degree of admiration for the splendid name and imposing genius of him whom he had to criticise."\* Accordingly, the decision was adjourned to the following year, when M. Taine, having re-written his Essay, was adjudged the successful competitor. Even then, M. Villemain, secretary to the Academy, took occasion in his report to express his disagreement with him, at the same time that he congratulated him on his success and paid a high compliment to his abilities. The truth is that the essayist had gone farther and accomplished more than his judges desired. He treated Livy far too cavalierly for their taste. The method which he had employed to magnify the poetical genius of La Fontaine was now adopted to depreciate the historical genius of Livy. He analysed the writings of the former for the purpose of demonstrating that he was a great poet. In this Essay he starts with the proposition that Livy is an orator; that his beauties and defects spring from the same source, the purely oratorical character of his genius. The object of the Essay is to prove this. The author does not

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\* "Rapports Académique, Concours de 1854," p. 176.

make any secret of his intention, but on the contrary, boldly announces it at the outset:—

“It will afterwards be seen, I think, that Livy’s defects and merits proceed from the dominating principle of eloquence; that he has the orator’s gift and taste for amplification, for connexion and clearness of ideas; the talent of unfolding, proving, and concluding; the art of feeling and moving all passions, of neither thinking nor being affected, save to profit his cause, of clothing his arguments in a fluent and noble style in the manner of one who daily addresses the people on affairs of state; in fine, that uprightness, good faith, sincerity, love of country, and all the virtues without which an orator is but an advocate, nourished his thoughts and sustained his tone.”\*

“Born in a city, reared among men and business affairs, engaged in considering passions and interests rather than colours and forms, Livy became an orator and not a poet: understanding man better than nature, he recounted actions without describing countries; had he lived in the country, he would probably have learned that soil and climate contribute to influence character, and that the delineation of countries should form part of a history as well as the narration of events.” (p. 4.)

Livy’s inclinations were towards oratory. Quintilian records that he counselled his son to read the works of Demosthenes and Cicero, and those most resembling theirs. He occupied himself with writing history, because harangues in the Forum were prohibited under Augustus. In the preface his oratorical genius is displayed. “In its solemn periods, and the haughty accents of national pride, we hear the voice of the orator, who begins the recital of Roman victories by erecting a triumphal arch to the sovereign people.” For every statement he has an authority. But his authorities are those which are easily accessible and generally considered to be trustworthy. Wishing to be exact, he is not passionate for the truth. Hence he neglects both the oldest manuscripts and most ancient monuments. Few historians are less antiquarian in their tastes. A generation of scholars should have prepared the way for him by deciphering, verifying, and classifying the texts. Unfortunately, “in place of a Ducange, Mabillon, and Fréret, Rome had only the credulous compiler Varro.” Left to himself, Livy marches with a grand and careless step across the Roman conquests, treating the earliest documents as non-existing.

“His faults as a critic are, that he does not employ original manuscripts; neglects contemporary accounts of the earlier centuries; exhibits an involuntary partiality for Rome and the patricians; displays little research in the annalists he consults; understands salient events better than slow and vast changes; has no notion of the ancient barbarism;

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\* “*Essai sur Tite Live*,” p. 2.

does not, except accidentally, study anything save a battle, a dispute in the Forum, a decree of the Senate. Thus, in the character of a lettered orator and citizen, he avoids erudite researches, dwells on that only which furnishes matter for eloquence, and lauds his country and class before posterity." (p. 85.)

His history is deficient alike in philosophical views and arrangement. The facts are neither skilfully grouped, nor properly classified. Writing, as he did, the history of seven hundred years, he should have worked the scattered details into a harmonious whole, regardless of chronological sequence, and in this way, have erected a well-planned monument out of many detached stones. As it is, "he suffers events to drop from his hand one by one; to-day there is a war against the Volscians; the Sabines are conquered the following year, and a little later Fidenes is taken or revolts." He omits to inquire into and explain the causes of those incessant wars of which, at last, he becomes tired himself.

Individuals may be portrayed in three different modes. After long reflection the historian may compose a portrait, as did the philosophical Thucydides; or individuals may be represented through their actions, as in the manner of Tacitus and of poets. The third way is that of Livy and of orators—to make them express their sentiments in harangues. The fault of Livy's personages is that they want life; they are too much alike, being statues fashioned by the same skilful hand after the self-same model. Even their speech is monotonous. Their language lacks the variety and vividness which are produced by introducing old-fashioned words and phrases. Cato, according to Plutarch, was rough in speech—Livy makes him speak in noble periods, as if he had studied rhetoric under a Greek. The truth is, he paints qualities rather than personages. If he makes one of them speak, he thinks more of the cause than of the orator; renders the pleading more perfect than natural, by softening what is harsh, correcting what is careless, effacing what is ugly, mean, meagre, or excessive, and conceals truth under eloquence. Creations such as these are too fine to be real; the author gleams through the shadowy figures, and in this long gallery, the portrait of Livy is the most distinct and finished of them all.\*

His style betrays the orator. It has no striking defect. The words he employs are simple and expressive, chosen from the ordinary language of every-day life, words which all understand, but which detract a little from the relief of the recital. Sometimes he exaggerates in order to be more effective. His sentences, for the most part, are clear, natural, varied, and agreeable; frequently they are too redundant, and they are always oratorical.

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\* See pp. 230, 237, 238.

As a historian, Livy is to be classed above Herodotus, Xenophon, Sallust, and Cæsar, but on a level with Thucydides and Tacitus. Compared with modern histories, his work is vastly superior.

"At the present day, we doubtless think and feel strongly, and our historical works contain more science, and are more life-like than those of the ancients. But the art of writing has deteriorated. In spite of ourselves, we breathe the malaria. Every language becomes spoilt by use; our own is laden with metaphors, abstract terms, ready-made expressions, introduced by reflection, philosophy, and poetry, and the labours of our writers and thinkers. The majority of our authors write as in the fourth century, with the affectation and incorrectness of St. Augustine. We do not thoroughly comprehend what we say, and we try to express more than we feel. We strive to elevate rather than make ourselves understood. Our defects are those of St. Augustine. Let us strive to cure them by adopting his remedy, and recur to the study of Livy." (pp. 313, 314.)

We have thus endeavoured to reproduce, as much as possible in his own words, M. Taine's opinions regarding the historian of Rome. Having done so, we shall proceed to examine the truthfulness of his statements and the result of his arguments. His object in composing this Essay was to show that the place of Livy's birth, the manner of his early life, his youthful aptitudes, his tastes confirmed by habit and strengthened by study, the period during which he flourished, the events of which he was an eye-witness, all combined to mould him into an "oratorical historian;"\* that the form of his history, its want of method, the speeches in which it abounds, the sentiments expressed in it, its tone and its style, all go to confirm that hypothesis, and even endow it with the solidity and certainty of a demonstrated proposition. Now we do not mean to take up these points in succession, and discuss their accuracy. We shall content ourselves with asserting the possibility of starting from the postulate that such a work as this could be produced by no one who had not the genius of a painter or a poet, and of constructing a demonstration as plausible and unassailable as this one. But as it is no part of our business to engage in such a task, we shall confine ourselves to attacking M. Taine's logical fortress. That edifice he considers impregnable. However, if any of his deductions can be proved to be unsupported, or contradicted by facts, the foundation of the whole is sapped, and defence becomes impossible.

In the first place, then, we detect him in an inconsistency. He charges Livy with being a bad philosopher because he neglects to group his facts, disregards the proper order of ideas, and writes merely that he may give a striking picture, and pro-

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\* "Historien orateur."

duce a pleasing tale. What confirms this view is his omitting to put characteristic expressions into the mouths of his personages, and, when describing barbarous times, making no use of those telling barbarisms which, however they may grate on the fastidious ear, serve so well to stamp an era. His deficiencies in these particulars lay him open to the designation of an oratorical historian, thereby distinguishing him from the philosophical Thucydides and the practical Tacitus. But if the failings we have cited prove Livy to be an orator, they prove the latter historians to be orators also, seeing that both of them are equally chargeable with them. To make any distinction in this matter is to employ two weights and two measures. It is indisputable that Thucydides made of Pericles an orator after his own image, as much as Livy softened and polished the rude speech of Cato. Nor is it less certain that the uniform grandeur and forced conciseness of Tacitus equally denote an oratorical historian, as the sustained and long-drawn-out harmony of Livy's periods. Had not M. Taine been too anxious to prove his theory, he would not have rashly attempted to make facts square with his system. What he says of Niebuhr might be applied to himself. "According to the custom of innovators, he strains truth till it becomes error; to exaggerate is the law and misfortune of the human mind; the goal must be passed in order to be reached."\* We may add that in the above instance M. Taine has bolted from the course, and can never approach the winning-post.

The circumstance of Livy having disregarded original documents does not prove him to be an orator; but that he was indolent. David Hume borrowed largely from Carte in place of going to the fountain-head and scrupulously weighing authorities, and he composed the greater part of his *History of England* reclining on a sofa. His countryman, Dr. Robertson, on the contrary, grudged no labour, and neglected no available source of information to ascertain the truth. The former, notwithstanding he was eminently careless, has written a very readable history; a work which is utterly worthless as a register of facts, although the production of one who was not a rhetorician, and was assuredly a philosopher. On the other hand, the diligent and studious Robertson wrote histories which we are apt to undervalue from the tiresome grandiloquence of their style. Gibbon, a contemporary of both, was of a different cast from either. Inferior to Hume in depth of thought, he was equal to him in breadth of view. A more artificial writer and a greater rhetorician than Robertson, he rivals him in erudition and in fondness for pains-

taking research. Of the three, Hume, the philosopher, is decidedly the most careless and superficial historian.

The principal charm and nearly all the value of Voltaire's historical works consist in the perfect simplicity of their style, while they were produced by one whom M. Taine would probably rank far above Livy as a philosopher. In the historical writings of Montesquieu we find great sagacity and profundity; views indicating the grasp and the mind of a true philosopher expressed in a style which far surpasses in elaborate finish that of Livy. These examples are sufficient to show how little M. Taine's dictum is borne out by facts. The truth is, all the above writers chose their own methods, and wrote history according to their ideals.

It is not enough to state that Livy had no antiquarian tastes, no fondness for diligent research and philosophical generalization, and that hence he was an orator, *because* such deficiencies are the marks of one. The correctness of the latter assertion must be established. This can be done in no other way than by appealing to experience. If the result of careful examination should be to place the accuracy of M. Taine's opinion beyond all doubt, we shall willingly admit our error, and change our opinion. Till then, however, we must resolutely maintain that the above assumption is a fallacy. We contend that all the evidence is on our side, seeing that Robertson, Gibbon, and Montesquieu are neither hasty nor credulous compilers, although they were second-rate philosophers and thorough rhetoricians; because, moreover, Charles James Fox, Sir James Mackintosh, and Lord Macaulay, all of whom were orators by temperament and choice, have manifested their capacity for writing history in a way of which even M. Taine would approve, and who, notwithstanding their being orators, have shown a passion for research and investigation by which, according to him, Livy was not animated, and is *therefore* to be entitled an "oratorical historian."

While considering this author mistaken in his criticism, we hold that he is absurd in his requirements. A work so comprehensive and complete as that which he requires from Livy is beyond human capacity. We are surprised, indeed, to find a man of his discernment countenancing the vulgar error that any history can be faultless and perfect. The work he has criticised is emphatically Livy's History of Rome. It is not *the* history of Rome, any more than M. Taine's is *the* essay on Livy. The man who should do more would be supernaturally gifted, and be unaffected by human sympathies and passions. But as such a historian is an impossibility, we may regard such a history as a chimera.

Let us accept Livy's history for what it is worth. Unquestionably it is imperfect and untrustworthy. That indefatigable compiler, Sir Archibald Alison, does not puff his party more uniformly,

or arrogate for it the favour and support of Providence with greater pertinacity, than Livy is to be found magnifying his countrymen, and claiming for them the especial good-will and protection of the gods. The conquerors of the world are always immaculate and magnanimous: the Carthaginians are monsters of vice and treachery; Roman honour forming the constant antithesis to Punic faith. His style is very rhetorical. It is laboured and polished to the last degree; but his graceful and flowing periods contrast favourably with the pregnant yet puzzling sentences of Thucydides and Tacitus. After striking out the errors and fictions which teem in this history, making due allowance for unseemly partialities and unphilosophical views, Livy's work is still a splendid tale splendidly told. As such we can peruse it again and again with unabated interest and unsated pleasure. But a fragment of the magnificent whole remains to us, and that we prize as one of the grandest productions of antiquity; a work of which the deeds of the most remarkable of nations form the subject, and which gave to the writer his inspiration.

Dissenting as we are forced to do from the conclusions of this essayist, we are perfectly sensible of the great ability with which they are advanced. The stone, indeed, is only paste, yet the setting is costly and precious. Several of the casual observations are valuable and just. Instead of translating any isolated passage in proof of this, we shall give an abstract of M. Taine's views regarding the growth and decay of Rome.

The rise of the middle class was contemporaneous with Rome's greatness, and its extinction brought about her fall. Continual wars first created and then extinguished that class. The soldiers were drawn from it. They went forth to fight for a stated time, and when they returned home they were enriched by plunder. Thus they were enabled to add to their possessions. In process of time, however, the drain on the middle class became exhausting. Those who entered the army virtually ceased to be citizens. During long periods they were absent from home on distant expeditions. When absent their property either remained untilled, and consequently produced nothing, or else was appropriated by a wealthy and powerful neighbour, in which case it was lost to them for ever. New conquests were followed by the admission of new races to the privileges of Romans. Hosts of slaves were emancipated, and out of gratitude for this, were always at the beck of their former masters. Throughout the empire two classes were to be found, the very rich and the very poor; the former too effeminate to defend their liberty, and the latter too debased to struggle for it, and both fitted to bear the yoke of a master. The doom of both was sealed when to ward off attacks from without, they had to employ as mercenaries those

barbarians who had more than once reduced them to subjection. The Roman system of government was admirably suited for a progressive and conquering nation; but to perpetuate it three things were required—men to enforce it possessing the virtues and spirit of its framers, Roman soldiers to go forth to the conquest of new territory, and a world to subdue.

We have considered M. Taine's system as applied to poetry, natural scenery, and history, and have next to consider it as applied to philosophical doctrines. The book we are about to examine is styled "French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century." Only five have a place in it—Laromiguière, Royer-Collard, Maine de Biran, Cousin, and Jouffroy. These are by no means all the philosophers France has produced during this century, and they seem to have been selected by M. Taine because of the fame they have acquired, and also because their views differ sufficiently from his own to furnish grounds for animadversion. Laromiguière is regarded by him, in accordance with the general opinion, as the last disciple of Condillac, while Sir William Hamilton considers him to be the forerunner of Cousin, and to be tainted with the doctrines of Eclecticism. Royer-Collard introduced Reid's philosophy of common sense into France. Maine de Biran is the chief of the modern Spiritualists. Cousin is the founder of the Eclectic school, and Jouffroy is his pupil. From the conclusions of them all, M. Taine dissents, and enunciates his own system at the end of the book. This, however, is not so much a system of philosophy as a method for pursuing philosophical investigations; the same method, in short, as that which he employs in his critical examinations.

The book itself, though clever, is very unsatisfactory. It is written with too much levity. The author neglects no artifice to make his opponents ridiculous, and thereby lower the value of their systems and render his account of them entertaining. Far be it from us to maintain that philosophical discussions should be rendered as repulsive as possible by overcharging them with technical terms, and by using a jargon which only the initiated pretend to be intelligible; a pretension which is usually held to be evidence of their being ashamed to confess their inability to comprehend what others cannot understand. We do not wish any one to fall into Kant's error, who wrote books in a language which seemed to be German, but which could not be read by Germans until a lexicon had been compiled for their use. But the contrary mistake should be equally avoided. By dramatizing his personages, M. Taine has given a degree of liveliness to his book, at the same time making it seem rather childish, and bear an unpleasant resemblance to Mrs. Marcet's dialogues. It is philosophy made easy. We regret this the more, seeing that the author's clear and



effective style would have sufficed to give piquancy to his censures and attract attention to them.

The only one whom he praises is Laromiguière, and he does this more from admiration of his style than approval of his doctrines. That philosopher had few claims to originality; he differed from Condillac merely in drawing a distinction between active and passive sensation. He held that the confused impression or sentiment experienced on seeing an object was different from the distinct idea or sentiment after regarding the object. In the first case the mind is modified: in the second it acts. With regard to the origin of ideas, the chief point of divergence between Laromiguière and Condillac is, that the former distinguishes between the sensations produced by impressions made on our organs, and the modifications undergone during the action of our faculties. M. Taine thinks the psychology of this philosopher to be limited in range, yet good of its kind. He likens psychology to a book, of which the fore-edge was presented to the seventeenth century, the back to the eighteenth, and the fore-edge to the nineteenth again; but which hitherto no one has thought of opening. We are well acquainted with the manner in which it is bound, and Laromiguière's account of the binding is, and will remain, the best one. Before passing on, we shall quote a few remarks of M. Taine's on the means employed by the opponents of certain philosophical tenets to discredit them. They are made with reference to the manner in which the sensational philosophy has been treated; but they are equally true of other systems, and indeed, of opinions generally which are at variance with those commonly received.

"If you pit one psychology against another, you may convince four or five solitary thinkers, but you will not influence the mass. On the other hand, if you loudly proclaim that to believe your adversaries is to overturn God, truth, and public morality, your hearers will instantly prick up their ears; landowners will become disquieted for their possessions, public functionaries for their places; the philosophers thus denounced will be looked on with distrust, and, as a precautionary measure, their books will be kept out of the children's way, for no father of a family would allow his son to handle what may prove pernicious. That probability will, of itself, become certainty, and the unfortunate individuals, ashamed of their new reputation, will bend their backs to the storm, and silently remain apart, hoping that the doctrines of the most lucid, methodical, and thoroughly French intellects which have distinguished France, will, after the lapse of fifty years, cease to pass for the philosophy of simpletons or of suspicious characters."\*

The criticism on Maine de Biran is perhaps the most unfair in

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\* "*Les Philosophes Français du 19me Siècle*," pp. 5, 6.

the volume. His opinions are laughed at both on account of their extravagance, and also because they are fallacies expressed in obscure and lumbering phrases. We share M. Taine's antipathy to the spiritualistic philosophy of that writer. Much of his censure is well expressed and deserved. But we cannot admire or unite with him in heaping sarcasm, without making allowance for one who was an honest though very mistaken thinker. He inculcated the doctrine of forces. The will was elevated by him to the position of a real existence. This view was adopted after subjecting himself to a minute and morbid self-examination. An invalid in body, his sensations had the abnormal acuteness of impaired health. "When we possess a feeble spark of life we are disposed to observe internal phenomena. That cause made me a psychologist from so early a period." These are his own words, and they indicate, we think, the source of his errors. The chief reason why M. Taine has treated him so inconsiderately seems to be, that M. Cousin held him in high esteem and espoused some of his opinions. As M. Cousin is little better than a quack in M. Taine's eyes, he prepares the way for his discomfiture by rudely assaulting the doctrines of Maine de Biran. In a posthumous volume containing the diary and detached thoughts of this philosopher, and which was published after M. Taine's criticism, is to be found an opinion corresponding to that which it is the object of this critic's writings to enforce and apply. "Just as in music the dominant sentiment causes a musician to select from among a variety of sounds those which suit him and give a ruling tone to the whole piece, so ought an intelligent and moral being to have a sentiment, or dominant idea, as the mainspring of his sentiments and actions." By this dominant principle he means nothing more than a powerful incentive to exertion—an ideal to strive after. M. Taine, however, would regard it as the cause of every action and the explanation of every thought.

We shall omit a detailed account of what is said concerning Royer-Collard and Jouffroy, and limit ourselves to a description of the treatment M. Cousin receives. The chapter on him is the longest and most elaborate in the volume. A section is devoted to him as a writer, a historian and biographer, a philosopher, as the author of the *Theory of Reason*, and as a scholar and philologist.

M. Cousin is an orator. As such he masters, explains, embellishes, and propagates the ideas of others, which have been produced in Scotland and Germany during the seventeenth century. The questions he delights in are those relating to ordinary morality, art, politics, and history. He proclaims truths which satisfy common sense, and do not require scientific rigour or technical language for their discussion and demonstration. The phrases

he employs are, like those of the seventeenth century, exact, noble, and chosen from the conversation of every-day life. He is gifted with an exquisite art of composition, with ample and flowing language, a familiar yet lofty tone, a pure style, a rich but limited imagination; all of which are the gifts of an orator.\* When treating purely abstract questions, he becomes vague and obscure; makes a liberal use of Germanisms and hard words to cover untenable propositions. By examining him as a writer we discover him to be an orator, and an examination of him as a historian and biographer confirms that discovery.

In treating the history of the seventeenth century he confines himself to general expressions, saying everywhere—beautiful, perfect, sublime; but he neither describes nor defines what he speaks about.† The same turn for oratory which hinders him from being a good historian, hinders him from being a good biographer. He has devoted himself with the fidelity of a knight-errant to the cause of Madame de Longueville. Instead, however, of painting her after contemporary accounts, he cites all sorts of testimonies in praise of her beauty. He gives an account of her acquaintances and her places of abode. His book is filled with superfluous demonstrations and tirades, and all that he has succeeded in doing is to erect a fragile pedestal of dissertations and syllogisms, whereon he reverently places and lovingly contemplates the sheepish and frizzled head of Madame de Longueville.‡

Two kinds of philosophy, the product of opposite tendencies, are to be found in M. Cousin. His youthful and poetical imagination impelled him towards pure philosophy and the ideas of Germany. A partiality for eloquence—which age has increased—has obtained the mastery, and forced him into a sort of oratorical spiritualism. He first embraced the sensualistic philosophy, next the Scottish philosophy of common sense. After visiting Germany, and forming the acquaintance of Schelling and Hegel, he became a pantheist. Then he repudiated pantheism for spiritualism. Lastly, he has aimed at forming a philosophy of his own by collecting into a medley a portion of every system he is acquainted with, and this he terms Eclecticism. He has recommended this philosophy by styling it an adjunct to morality. By opposing the sensualistic school, he professed to have strengthened the throne of the Bourbons, and has asserted that those who adopt his doctrines are sure to become loyal and virtuous subjects.

Besides being a philosopher, M. Cousin is a scholar and a philologist. A scholar is a mason, a philosopher is an architect.

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\* "Les Philosophes Français," p. 86.

† Ibid., p. 122

‡ Ibid., p. 100.

When an architect, without necessity, devotes himself to hewing stones instead of inventing plans, it shows that under the guise of an architect he has the tastes of a mason.\* In this way M. Cousin has composed his histories of philosophy. He has heaped facts together, in place of discovering the laws which govern them. For example, in the seventeenth century, instead of finding ideas, he has found and published documents. His passion for unpublished manuscripts resembles the passion of a knight for his lady-love. To win her the knight had to slay monsters, break enchantments, overcome giants, and scale walls. M. Cousin invades convents, turns over libraries, bribes librarians, and dispenses much amiability, eloquence, and patience, in order to obtain possession of the precious documents.†

It is his misfortune to have been born out of due time. His biography should have run thus:—In 1640 he saw the light; he studied at the college of Navarre, devoting himself principally to theology and running a brilliant course. Admitted to the best society of the age, he became acquainted with Madame de Sévigné, Madame de Lafayette, Madame de Sablé, and once he saw Madame de Longueville. He was considered as one of the rising men among the French clergy; he attached himself to Bossuet, whom he loved and almost equalled. Like him he was at once theologian and philosopher; endeavoured to reconcile faith with reason; crushed with his powerful words the Materialists, who were then beginning to appear; loved liberty for its own sake, and defended against Rome the privileges of his country, and which he considered as his own. On Bossuet's ceasing to preach, he was regarded as the greatest of French orators. He sustained the spirit of Louis XIV. under the reverses of the Spanish war, thundered against the prevailing impiety, and retired from the world when he saw the current of public opinion turned backwards. In his retirement he refuted the first works of Voltaire, and died, leaving behind him twenty volumes which have become classics, and which the students of rhetoric carefully study along with Bossuet's funeral orations.‡

A chapter is devoted to explain why the Eclectic philosophy arose and was so successful. M. Taine views it as a necessary product of the times. At the close of the eighteenth century all old delusions had been exploded—every idol ground to powder. The image-breakers took pleasure in their work, and were satisfied when it was completed. But a new generation grew up, which was neither blinded by the old superstitions, nor gratified by the thought of being emancipated from them. The sons thirsted to

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\* "Les Philosophes Français," p. 175.  
‡ Ibid., pp. 192—196.

† Ibid., p. 181.

believe as much as their fathers had striven to cast belief to the winds. Thus it was that, surrounded by ruins, the new generation girded itself to the task of remodelling and rebuilding the shattered fanes. Eclecticism was the result of their labours. "Had it been imperative for them to believe that crocodiles were gods, they would as speedily have raised up altars to them."\* This philosophy occupied the same place and satisfied the same longings that the works of Chateaubriand did with regard to religion, and those of Lamartine to poetry.

We think that M. Taine would have disposed of the Eclectic philosophy more easily, had he applied to it that Socratic mode of arguing which he has employed against detached theories of M. Cousin. This course would have had one disadvantage, inasmuch as the same method of procedure might have been directed against his master Hegel, of whom he magniloquently says that "he is Spinoza multiplied by Aristotle."† Hegel cannot escape from this dilemma; his system is either the philosophy of the absolute, or it is not; if it be not, then it is a failure; if it be, then he has exhausted and limited the bounds of the absolute by determining them in his works, and has given us an absolute which cannot be *the* absolute, from the very fact of its being given to us. In like manner the eclecticism of M. Cousin must be a final and perfect system, or it is nothing. He founded it on the dictum of Leibnitz that all philosophers are right in their affirmations, but wrong in their denials; and jumped to the conclusion which Leibnitz would have repudiated, and denied it to be legitimately derived from his words, that the affirmations of all the systems not opposed and contradictory, when combined into a whole must result in one which is the only true system.‡ He guarded himself from the mistake of the Alexandrian philosophers who, in pursuit of the same object, vainly attempted to reconcile opposing doctrines. Still, the eclecticism of M. Cousin must be final; it must also be a philosophy of affirmation. If it be so, it is at the same time a philosophy of negation, as unqualified affirmation of certain things implies the denial of their opposites. It may, however, be compounded of affirmation and denial. In either case it is a failure; for if it be made up of affirming certain things and denying others, then it is in no respect superior to preceding systems, but is liable, like any of them, to be taken as a starting point by a philosopher, who, in turn, shall accept its truths and reject its errors. On the contrary, if it be purely a philosophy of affirmation, it is necessarily a philosophy of negation, and as such is liable to be rejected altogether as wholly false.

\* "Les Philosophes Français," p. 283.

† Ibid., p. 126.

See "Du Vrai, du Beau, et du Bien," by V. Cousin. 7th Ed., p. 10.

It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of M. Cousin's merits as a philosopher, our business now being with the manner in which M. Taine has treated him. In this, as in the other cases, his system has miscarried, and his application of it is unfair. J. S. Mill has justly remarked that "a doctrine is not judged at all until it is judged in its best form." This wise course has not been followed by M. Taine, who seems to have set out with the intention of refuting M. Cousin on every point, and has tried to accomplish this by ridiculing him. The truth is not eliminated by his system: the system is employed to bolster up a foregone conclusion. After having discovered by intuition that M. Cousin is an orator, he demonstrates by selected quotations and unsupported assertions, that hence he is a bad philosopher, a bad historian, and a bad biographer. These things may be true, but the reasons he has assigned do not put them beyond cavil. Standing apart, as we do, from the scene of controversy, uninfluenced, as we are, by prepossessions of any sort, we cannot be so unjust to M. Cousin as to affirm of him, or coincide in the opinion, that he is nothing better than an adroit and popular mountebank who can turn out fine periods. Whatever may be his demerits as a philosopher, his services to the cause of education and of free discussion should be frankly recognised. He yields to no living Frenchman in what he has done to instruct his contemporaries by able writings and laborious researches. This may be forgotten now; but posterity, rising superior to the blinding passions of the moment, will rank him as one of the foremost Frenchmen of the nineteenth century, and will regard him as a classic of France.

The last two chapters of this volume contain a sketch of M. Taine's own system of philosophy, or rather his method of philosophizing. He employs two lay-figures, M. Pierre and M. Paul, as his organs. They are both depicted with great minuteness, and their external appearance is in conformity with the principles which they entertain and unfold. M. Pierre is, in all respects, a pattern of neatness and regularity. Everything about him is in its proper place, and his ideas are as well ordered as his dress and furniture. "He is rather sceptical; given to raillery, and to dispel metaphysical and poetical illusions: his habits are those of an algebraist, and he has copied, with his own hand, the '*Traité des Calculs*.'"<sup>\*</sup> In other words, he swears by Condillac, and adopts his method of analysis. According to him, we must first analyse words, and then things. Thus, if we meet with the words, "vital force," we shall find, after having inquired into what those mean who use the phrase, and investigated the circumstances under which vital force is manifested, that it is nothing but a relation. Or take

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<sup>\*</sup> "*Les Philosophes Français*," p. 312.

this other phrase, "The genius of France is monarchical," and we shall find on analysis that it signifies that during five hundred years Frenchmen have been subjected to an absolute government; that being vain and sociable, they are incapable of inventing their opinions and choosing their courses of action; that being theoreticians and mockers, they are bad at making and respecting laws; that being lively and imprudent, they are too strongly, easily, and untimely excited and alarmed in their resolutions and their revolutions. The fatalistic axiom is thus resolved into a fact of political history and a group of moral habitudes; we can understand it, and hence it can be discussed, verified, proved, refuted, or limited.\* The next step is to translate facts. From the fact that an animal digests, a whole series of dependent facts can be discovered, all of which hang the one on the other, and are implied in the first. M. Pierre sums up his explanation by saying that his procedure is like what would occur were one in a library knowing Virgil's name. This knowledge would be no guide to the book; but on perceiving a book with Virgil imprinted on the cover, the name and the book would be associated together in the mind. Having opened and read fifty pages, these would be added to the notion of Virgil. Another generation will read more, and acquire a clearer notion. The task, however, is endless.

M. Paul next takes up his parable. He is described as being the antithesis of M. Pierre in dress, manners, and habits. "He walks with his head bent, and with hesitation; his legs have been ordered to advance, but are rather embarrassed to proceed alone." Everything about him indicates the visionary. His thoughts are always far away. Sometimes his visage is lit up with a sudden flash, but it generally betrays disquiet and suffering, as of a man worn out with the travail of an obstinate thought, and who patiently waits.† He admits what M. Pierre advances, and approves of bringing words face to face with the facts which generate them, and of multiplying facts; but after this has been done, the ground has merely been cleared for him. To the analysis of facts he would add the discovery of causes. An army is impotent without a head. Collections of facts can be of no service unless we establish their governing law. What is a cause? It is a fact also; a "fact whence the nature, relations, and changes of other facts can be adduced." For instance, from the fact of nutrition, we can deduce the nature and relations of the group of operations and organs in the animal. A change in nutrition brings about a change in the animal; thus nutrition is the ruling fact, the cause of a long series of minor operations. From any given group we disengage by *abstraction* a general fact,

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\* "Les Philosophes Français," p. 321.

† Ibid., p. 335.

admit *hypothetically* that it is the cause of others, and knowing the properties of causes we *verify* it. Abstraction, verification, and hypothesis are the three steps of this method.\*

"Supposing the method applied to all nations and histories, to psychology, moral science, zoology, physics, chemistry, and astronomy, the world such as now seen would disappear. Facts would be replaced by formulas, the world interpreted, and science perfected. Five or six general propositions would alone remain. We should have a definition of man, animals, plants, physical laws, the bodies of chemistry, and astronomy."†

We cut short M. Paul's prophetic dream very abruptly. The words come from M. Taine, but he has drawn his inspiration from Hegel. He, too, foretold how everything was to be explained, and every cause laid bare. But he has lived, laboured, died, and left us in darkness. M. Taine has caught the fever, and raves in turn. In believing, as we are sure he does, his own imaginings, he displays an amount of faith, compared with which the removal of mountains is as nothing, and working miracles a trifle. The methods of MM. Pierre and Paul are not novel. M. Pierre is a dapper little Frenchman who would resuscitate Condillac's philosophy. M. Paul is a slovenly German, who sees visions, and swallows Hegel's formulas. We have already said that M. Taine was too hasty in his censure of M. Cousin; we can now add that he has imitated him in framing an Eclectic philosophy on a small scale. Finding all other methods incomplete, he has contrived one, which he offers as efficient and certain to succeed, because in it are reconciled and combined the systems of Condillac and Hegel. Like their methods, this one will serve a purpose, and have its day.

Two things M. Taine has in common with Hegel; hardihood in advancing, and ingenuity in supporting the most extraordinary assertions. Those who are acquainted with the life of the German philosopher will be aware how early he formed this habit, and how tenaciously he clung to it. When he went to Jena, in 1801, to take his doctor's degree, he chose for his thesis on that occasion the "Orbit of the Planets;" he tried to establish Kepler's laws by *à priori* reasoning, and resolutely maintained there was no reason for seeking a planet between Mars and Jupiter. Shortly afterwards Ceres was discovered. Later in life he put his matured system to the strange use of proving, as he succeeded in doing to his own satisfaction, that the Constitution of Prussia was absolutely perfect. M. Taine has not been behind him in rashness and daring. Throughout all his criticisms he proceeds on the assumption that "man is a walking theorem," that "the

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\* "Les Philosophes Français," p. 354.

† Ibid., pp. 358, 359.



critic is the natural historian of the mind ;" in short, " that the forces which govern man resemble those which regulate natural objects ; that the necessities which regulate the successive states of his thought are equivalent to those which regulate successive states of temperature, and that criticism imitates physical science in having no other object than defining and measuring them."\* He starts with and acts on the assumptions contained in these sentences as if they were indisputable propositions ; thereby taking for granted what he ought to prove. We do not deny the possibility of doing so, though we greatly doubt its feasibility. We speak of the faculties of the mind as of the members of our bodies ; this we do merely because of our inability to conceive it otherwise than as a corporate existence. In like manner we explain why a poet or a painter is great by saying that he possesses genius ; that one less remarkable possesses talent, and that an ordinary individual is destitute of both. These phrases are simply formulas which serve to express our meaning ; but when it is asked what is mind, what are genius and talent, how are they compounded, whence are they derived, we are obliged to acknowledge our ignorance and lament it. This M. Taine will not do. For him there are no mysteries or difficulties ; he has a key to unlock every enigma, and a clue to guide him along the windings of every labyrinth. He composes a formula to the effect that the mind is ruled by forces like natural objects, and that one force dominates over the others and renders them subordinate to it. He then says of a writer that the dominating principle of his mind is eloquence, that this necessitates the minor forces acting so as to make him compose his works in a certain way, choose particular subjects, exhibit various peculiarities of style, and thus demonstrate unconsciously and unavoidably that he is an orator. Facts are not lacking to make out a plausible case. Indeed, M. Taine has the power of marshalling facts with great subtlety and skill ; of directing them against any given point, and obtaining to all appearance an easy and decisive victory. However, as he has well remarked, " Nothing is so pliable as facts ; nothing is more convenient than a system."† He has fabricated a system which serves to cut the knots he cannot untie. His conduct in this respect reminds us of the story told by Condillac of a philosopher who had discovered a principle which was to explain all the phenomena of chemistry. Having communicated his discovery to a celebrated chemist, he was informed that his scheme might be very wonderful, but that the chemical facts were the very reverse of what he had fancied. Nothing daunted, the philosopher requested to be informed of the facts, that he might explain them

on his system. With all our respect for M. Taine's abilities, we must say that he too, being an enthusiast, is sometimes apt to square facts with theories in his double anxiety to uphold his system and discover the truth.

It might be asked why we have discussed this author's works at such length, seeing that we disagree with him so fundamentally? Our answer and defence are that, although we are unable to accept his conclusions, we greatly admire the ability with which he forms and inculcates them, and can most heartily praise the earnestness of purpose he exhibits, and his desire to separate the true from the false. We value the man more highly than his system. That he possesses no ordinary capacity and considerable originality is evident, we think, from our account of his writings and opinions. In addition to the works already referred to, he has contributed several papers to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and *Journal des Débats*, all of which betoken great solidity and range of knowledge. A selection from these papers has been reprinted. It contains three papers, one on Macaulay, one on Dickens, and one on Thackeray, which are well worthy of perusal. Few of the mistakes usually made by foreigners, and Frenchmen especially, when treating English authors, are to be found in them. Perhaps the only glaring one is that he has greatly over-estimated Dickens, and supposed him to be, what assuredly he is not, a man of large imagination and a great poet. An effective writer he certainly is; but his chief merits consist in the liveliness of his fancy, the acuteness of his observation, and the ability with which he seizes and reproduces the grotesque side of objects. When we say that Mr. Gradgrind in "Hard Times" is instanced as a personage who truly represents one type of English character, we have said enough to show that M. Taine has disfigured an admirable essay by a gross and ludicrous blunder. Thackeray is much better hit off. His failing is well characterized by saying that he would make men a mere collection of virtues and vices, that he takes and reproduces with wonderful accuracy the surface view, to the neglect of those springs of feeling which lie deep in each human breast. Hence his personages are either contemptible rogues, or equally contemptible noodles. He errs principally in this, that while he professes to lay bare every motive, he maintains a prudish respect for morality, and decorously clothes the naked truth with a fig-leaf.

Among the Essays not yet collected are many on English authors. Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, the Comedy of the Restoration, the writings of Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Mill, and Mr. Tennyson, are all treated of by M. Taine and judged in accordance with his own system. We shall not specify his conclusions with regard to each of them, but recommend

them for consideration. In many respects the three last essays are the most remarkable ones he has written. It is always difficult for a foreigner to judge English authors with equity and discernment, but the difficulty is vastly increased when these authors are his contemporaries. A Frenchman who takes up the works of Shakespeare or Milton for the purpose of writing a criticism on them, has the advantage of being able to learn how they have been judged by his countrymen, and, if he place confidence in them, he may allow their views to influence his own. M. Taine has no such advantage when he undertakes an estimate of the powers of Carlyle, J. S. Mill, or Tennyson. Nor does he require it. Beyond all question, he can cope with all of them single-handed, and acquit himself with wonderful success. We do not hesitate to say that a better exposition and vindication of the philosophy of Mr. Mill has never appeared than the one by M. Taine. Perhaps his article on Mr. Tennyson is even more deserving of praise, seeing that the difficulties of the task are enormously greater. Certainly, he has communicated to his countrymen that a great poet is now living in England, who is in many things equal to the greatest of his predecessors, while differing essentially from all of them.

It cannot, we think, be disputed that for a Frenchman to succeed in comprehending Mr. Carlyle, to show himself aware of the singular powers and striking defects of that wonderful writer, is even more surprising than that he should appreciate and adequately commend the philosophy of Mr. Mill, and evince his ability to read the poems of Tennyson with genuine admiration, and note with precision and truth the causes of their popularity. We shall give a rapid sketch of M. Taine's Essay on Mr. Carlyle, in order that our readers may judge for themselves whether or not the above eulogy be deserved. He begins thus:—

“When Englishmen, particularly those under forty years of age, are asked who are the thinkers among them, they instantly name Carlyle; but at the same time caution us not to read his works, because we shall not be able to understand a word of them. As a matter of course we hasten to get the twenty volumes by him, containing his Essays, histories, pamphlets, fancies, and philosophy, peruse them with very strange feelings, our judgment of the preceding night being altered every morning, till at length we discover that we have to do with an extraordinary animal, the relic of an extinct race, a kind of mastodon astray in a world not made for him. Gladdened by this zoological treasure, we dissect it with curious minuteness, being certain that we shall never again find such another.”

At the outset we are dismayed. Everything is new to us, style,

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\* See *Journal des Débats* for the 30th and 31st October, and 6th, 7th, and 8th November, 1860.

ideas, and tone, the construction of the sentences, and even the vocabulary. Carlyle turns everything topsy-turvy, dislocates both expressions and things: by him paradoxes are set up as principles, good sense is disguised as absurdity; he seems to transport us into another world where the people walk on their heads with their feet in the air, appalled as harlequins, country squires, and madmen; where we witness contortions and summer-saults, are grievously discomfited by hearing successive and dissonant sounds, and find ourselves obliged to decypher a new language.

Those works, such as the "History of the French Revolution," which we should expect to be clear and intelligible, confound us by the grotesque headings of the chapters and the enigmatical character of the phrases. Mr. Carlyle does not reason; he paints. His history is like a feverish dream. He resembles an inspired Puritan, whose head teems with bloody and terrible notions, and who successively prophesies, exhorts, and curses. If we do not pitch the book aside in anger or from fatigue, we lose our heads and our ideas, and are seized with nightmare: a carnival of hideous figures runs riot in our brains; we hear the howlings of insurrection, the clashing of arms, and come to resemble the listeners to one of the fanatical Covenanters, who were roused to frenzy or filled with disgust by his invocations, and who broke the prophet's head if they did not elect him their general.

It is impossible for Mr. Carlyle to confine himself to one subject, or within definite limits. He bounds with a frantic jerk from one corner of the field of ideas to the other: he jumbles different styles, heaps together Pagan and Biblical allusions, Germanic abstractions, technical, poetical slang, mathematical and physiological terms, antiquated and foreign words. Everywhere he ravages and plunders. The symmetrical monuments of art and human thought are overturned and tossed about by him; they crumble under his hands into a gigantic mass of shapeless ruins, from the top of which, like a barbarian conqueror, he gesticulates and gives battle.

Yet this violence is always bridled by his fondness for the real and his sentiment of the sublime. His passion for what is precise and tangible is evinced in his "Life of Cromwell." No pains are grudged to arrive at the truth; but he is not satisfied unless he can pierce through the outer surface, and lay bare the hidden motives of men. He does this by a sort of intuition. Better than any Englishman, better even than Macaulay, he can fathom and sympathize with great mental changes. He is akin to a German in the force of his imagination, his antiquarian divination, and the largeness of his views. The intensity with which he conceives, enables him to become an eye-witness, as it were, of

those realities of another state, of which the appearances in this world are but the semblance. He passes his life in expressing or impressing veneration and fear, and all his books are sermons.

Some people think him presumptuous and farcical. They suspect that he regards himself as an underrated man—a sort of hero into whose hands the human race ought to entrust itself for guidance. Certainly he lectures us, and does so roundly. He despises his epoch, speaks in harsh and sharp tones, and goes on stilts. He disdains opposition. In his opinion, his adversaries are no match for him. He abuses his predecessors, and when speaking of Cromwell's other biographers, affects the air of a man of genius thrown among blockheads. He has the haughty smile and resigned condescension of a hero who knows himself to be a martyr, and when he casts these aside, it is to shout in ear-splitting tones, like an illiterate clown.

However, all this is more than compensated for by many advantages. It is with justice that he claims greater fecundity for minds such as his. Men of his stamp alone make discoveries. Simple classifiers invent nothing, for they are dry as sticks. To introduce German ideas into England has been Carlyle's mission. What he began, everybody, at the present day, is engaged in effecting. For half a century to come, our occupation will be to re-think the ideas promulgated in Germany between 1780 and 1830.

His ethical system is a narrow one. He would limit the human heart to the English sentiment of duty, and the imagination to the English sentiment of respect. But one half of the poetry of man would elude his grasp were he to succeed in doing this. For if one portion of our nature can rise to the height of self-sacrifice and virtue, another portion inclines towards enjoyment and pleasure. Man is Pagan as well as Christian: his nature has two sides, and some races, as the Hindoos, Greeks, and Italians, have been able to understand only one of them, consequently have taken for religion the adoration of shameless might, the ecstasy of an unbridled imagination, the admiration for harmony of form, the worship of pleasure, beauty, and happiness.

As a critic, Carlyle has availed himself of the large views of Goethe and Hegel, but has swathed them in the straitened bands of Puritanical discipline. Hence, though he has made himself the apostle of Goethe, has praised him beyond measure, and held him up as a pattern for the men of our age, yet he has shut his eyes on his Paganism, which is so apparent, but is also so distasteful to a Puritan.

His manner of writing history was suggested to him by Germans. He substitutes hero worship for Hegel's formula of the

idea. His heroes are the Puritans, with Oliver Cromwell at their head.

"It is hard for us to understand how discipline could be preserved in an army when a corporal might rebuke a lukewarm colonel. We think it strange that generals who sought the Lord with tears, should have acquired the sciences of war and government from the Bible. It startles us to find that idiots could be business men. But this was from their not being idiots but real men of business; all the difference between them and those we are acquainted with consisting in their having had a conscience that was their flambeau, and of which their mysticism and their dreams were the smoke. They desired the true and the just, and their long prayers, sermons drawn through the nose, Biblical quotations, their tears and their anguish, betokened their sincerity in this matter. They were convinced that the law of duty was imprinted within them, and the Bible merely assisted them to interpret it. They could disregard the Bible on occasion, if they wished to make its texts serve to sanction the desires of their hearts. It was the firm conviction of duty which united, inspired, and sustained them, which produced their discipline, their courage, and their daring, which raised Hutchinson, Milton, and Cromwell to a level with the heroes of antiquity, which prompted every decisive step and commanded success; the declaration of war, the condemnation of the king, the purging of Parliament, the abasement of Europe, the protection of Protestantism, the empire of the sea. They are the true heroes of England: in them her most original and noble traits are manifested; practical piety, the supremacy of conscience, manly will, and indomitable energy. In spite of the deterioration of modern manners, by the practice of duty, love of justice, unflagging labour, appeal to law, resistance to oppression, by conquering liberty and suppressing vice, they founded England amidst the corruption of the Stuarts. They have founded Scotland; they have founded the States of America; their descendants are founding Australia and colonizing the globe. Carlyle is heart and soul one of them, so that he excuses or admires their excesses; the execution of the king, the disruption of Parliament, their intolerant spirit, their inquisitorial conduct, the despotism of Cromwell, and the infallibility of Knox. He would foist them upon us as models, and judges the past and present by their standard."

But the society and opinions which Carlyle holds up for the admiration and guidance of the human race, lasted only an hour, and could not last longer. The asceticism of the Commonwealth produced the debauchery of the Restoration: Harrison prepared the way for Rochester, Bunyan raised up Hobbes, and the sectaries, by instituting the despotism of fanaticism, brought on the reign of a utilitarian spirit and the worship of sensual pleasure.

"Extreme circumstances produce extreme cases; great ills are required to call forth great men, and if we would view the saviours of human life, we must look about for shipwrecks. If enthusiasm be an estimable state, its consequences and origin are painful: it is but a

crisis, and health is better still. Of this Carlyle himself furnishes us an example. He probably possesses more genius than Macaulay; but when we have been nourished for a time on his exaggerated and demoniacal style, his extraordinary and morbid philosophy, his menacing and prophetic history, his sinister and frantic political views, we willingly return to the sustained eloquence, vigorous reasoning, the bounded foresight, the demonstrated theories of the generous and compact mind of him whose recent loss Europe has deplored, who was an honour to England, and whom no one will replace."

Whether or not M. Taine's future career will fulfil the promise of its opening, is of course uncertain. That he may accomplish great things is probable. He is young, and his powers are still in embryo. We not shall treat him as he has treated others, and affirm that the dominating principle of his mind is criticism, that he beholds everything through a critic's spectacles, and can never rise to the dignity of a creator. Believing, as we do, that every man of genuine and large capacity has many veins in him unknown to himself, and unsuspected by others, we think that he may yet open up a new one, and extract from it far richer ore—gold having the true ring, and resisting every test.

Desiring to attain certainty, he has adopted the demonstrative method and applied it to criticism. After all, we must retain the opinion expressed at the outset, to the effect that critical conclusions are mere matters of opinion, which are liable to be questioned and reversed. Every critic views objects by the light of his own mind—a light which is peculiar to himself in hue and brilliancy, and which tinges his opinions with its own colour. What M. Taine has attempted, has been often essayed before, but always miscarried. He has merely furbished up an instrument with which Spinoza very powerfully strove to make his system impregnable—an instrument which Dr. Adam Clarke employed to refute it; but which failed in the hands of each to demonstrate Pantheism on the one side, and the existence of necessary truths on the other. It is not enough to intersperse *because* and *therefore* in a paragraph to bestow on it the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. These words will effect this when used aright and in the proper place, and that place is the pages of Euclid. We earnestly hope that M. Taine may live to correct his mistakes and eclipse them by the splendour of his future success. As it is, he has acquired notoriety, the praise of some contemporaries, and the censure of others. We trust that he may aim higher, and have his name inscribed in that Golden Book wherein are registered all those who have been ennobled for ever by the voice of fame.

## ART. IV.—MR. MILL ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

*Considerations on Representative Government.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

A MAN is more completely judged by his desires than by his acts. The objects he has in view are more characteristic than any success in the attainment of them. When we say "Ye shall know a tree by its fruits," we do so because, in most cases, the fruits are all that we can possibly know; the frost, and wind, and storms, and inclemencies of nature, which have blasted many a fair germ before it could come to maturity, are beyond human calculation, and are of necessity set aside in all practical and summary conclusions. The Utopia and the New Atlantis affect but slightly our estimate of More and Bacon, but a judgment of either which should leave them out would be very incomplete. They bear the same relation to their influence on their cotemporaries that flowers do to fruit, that desire does to accomplishment. The aspirations of great men are the flowers of human thought, that an uncongenial time too often will not allow to do more than blossom. It is too often the case that these desires perish with those who entertain them. Their authors are above all men capable of estimating the amount of popular repugnance which their publications would arouse; the very form in which such ideas have hitherto clothed themselves is a confession of such insight. A philosophical fiction is invented that shall transplant to some region beyond the clouds the picture of a state of things which its delineator would willingly behold here below them. We are too apt to restrict our gratitude to the *visa* of the philosopher, and do not shrink from scorning the *desiderata* of the same mind. With the departure of the fashion for philosophical fiction, the old vehicle and shield is lost; and consequently a much greater amount of moral courage is required at the hands of a modern thinker, if he wishes to improve his cotemporaries by showing them not only the spoils, but also the aims and tendency of his thoughts. That it should require courage to adventure on the enterprise of benefiting one's fellows is surely a condemnation of our kind that should be warred against by every conscientious man. The greatest of English thinkers has just made such a courageous venture, and taken a public on many points unprepared into his confidence.



No living writer has exercised so great and profound an influence on his cotemporaries as John Stuart Mill. It is impossible to recall the attitude and tendency of English speculation twenty years since, with all its velleities towards German ontology, without at once attributing the remarkable change it has undergone to the publication of Mr. Mill's *Logic*. The violent effort made by Coleridge to naturalize a form of thought among us so foreign to our national instincts, great as was its temporary success, has proved quite ineffectual to sustain the conflict with this return to a more congenial philosophy. If this return to our intellectual forefathers—to Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke—may be considered as definitive, if speculation and *a priori* constructions are forever deposed to make room for science and inductive progress, to no one in England is the honour of the victory so justly due as to the author of the *Logic*. The first steps, too, of this progress itself were guided by the hand that pointed out the road. What was the condition of economical science before the publication of the "*Principles of Political Economy*"? From how many different books had the chief doctrines of that science to be gathered, and how great a power of mind was required in the student to bring the scattered and conflicting theories into a harmonious system! What exaggerations had to be discredited, what conflicts to be appeased, before the mass of economical literature could be reduced to the systematic order which its results assumed in Mr. Mill's second book! It is impossible fully to estimate the enormous influence of these two books. They have more than anything else that can be named produced that disintegration of political parties which is so often ignorantly complained of. The weakness of party ties at the present moment is the direct result of the destruction of party prejudices. The coherence which is so often regretted was the coherence produced by hereditary animosities, and ignorant misconceptions of the true nature of the points in dispute. The desire for a body of doctrine, which assumes the form of regret for those which are now discredited, is natural to every one, for it is but the expression of a need that is almost universal. Individual independence of judgment on every occasion is impossible, and some generally accepted theories, some common type of thought, is a necessity alike to the indolent and the over-occupied. Every era of progress, which is much the same as saying every age of the world's history, has been marked by its own peculiar conceptions of social and moral problems. That we are now on the verge of a revolution in many of those which have long ruled among us, is one of the most manifest signs of the times, and many are looking with anxiety in that direction, from which so much has come, for further impulse on the uncertain road of the future.

There is a rumour (how far justified we do not know), that Mr. Mill is engaged on a comprehensive review of all the sociological and ethical theories of the time. By such a work he would put the keystone to that great intellectual edifice he has been so long raising for his cotemporaries, and complete that claim to the acknowledgment of future times which can in no case be withheld from him. The shorter works which have appeared since the publication of the "*Principles of Political Economy*," all tend to support this rumour. The "*Essay on Liberty*," which has been called the gospel of the nineteenth century, is a lofty prelude to what we hope we may one day receive at the hands of its author; the pamphlet on "*Parliamentary Reform*," and the treatise just published on "*Representative Government*," are further samples of what we may expect. To the latter of these works we now invite the attention of our readers.

The greatness of a man's intellect is too often made an excuse for disregarding his opinions; great wit, it is glibly quoted, is to madness near allied, and the stigma of strangeness is accepted as a sufficient condemnation of doctrines that are not so easily set aside by any other means. It is undeniable that every improvement which has hitherto been made in human customs and institutions was once the solitary desire of some single individual. If Heaven reveals itself at any time to man, it is through one of his fellows; too often he is scoffed at, or at best set aside, with the complimentary pity implied in the assertion that "much learning has made him mad;" the eccentricity of one age is the wisdom of the next; and what, at the time of its first promulgation, was looked upon as an individual aberration, becomes the faith of succeeding ages. Before we proceed to the consideration of Mr. Mill's "*Representative Government*," it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the book is not, like his remarks on *Parliamentary Reform*, intended to produce an immediate compliance with the author's views, or to lead to prompt and practical alterations in the present system, but is confined to the consideration of *Representative Government* in itself, apart from any national or temporary peculiarities which may stand in the way of the realization of its absolute perfection. With that dry humour which so often relieves his arguments, Mr. Mill remarks, in his short preface, "that several of the opinions, at all events, if not new, are for the present as little likely to meet with general acceptance as if they were." Of the truth of this remark we shall have abundant proof before we conclude our survey of the opinions in question.

At the outset of the inquiry the two chief theories of speculators on government are subjected to a searching analysis. Politics are looked upon by one set of thinkers as an art, and

they are accustomed to consider that when they have excogitated the best form of government they have only to lay it before their fellows, and press its merits upon their consideration until they have succeeded in making sufficient converts to their views to allow of the experiment being made of putting it in force. "They look upon a constitution in the same light (difference of scale being allowed for), as they would upon a steam-plough or a threshing-machine."

The opposite party are those represented by the celebrated saying, that constitutions are not made but grow, and their view has a strong tendency to assume that the political institutions of a country are not simply conditioned, but absolutely determined by its social phenomena. Either of these views may be, and mostly is, pushed to a vicious extreme; they may be called respectively the mechanical and dynamical theories of politics, and usually correspond to the parties of progress and permanence. The idea of any improvement is always the birth of some individual mind in the first instance, and is of necessity, in some degree out of harmony with the state of things it proposes to improve. Its claims are always supported by appeals to reason and the fitness of things in themselves, and it is fairly called upon to show that its adoption would not disarrange the system it aspires to improve to a degree that would more than counterbalance the benefits it holds out as an inducement. These demands generally take the form of an appeal to the principle or maxim relied upon by the second party; who, believing the political institutions of a country to be the necessary reflex of its various social forces, are apt to wait too long for that natural crystallization which they look upon as the only means by which the true form of government can be arrived at. It is manifest that either party is in error only in proportion to the exclusiveness with which they advocate their favourite view. A little agitation makes the saturated solution crystallize the quicker, and reformers will not be deterred by the assertion that their projects are excellent in themselves, but inapplicable to the *status quo*. It would, indeed, be strange if they were, for every human institution is, in the last resort, a product of the human will. A reformer would be as much in error who disregarded the social condition of the community he wished to act upon, as the advocate of permanence would be who should shut his ears to anything but an universal call for change. The obstacles to progress are much oftener found in those moral sentiments which are in close connexion and harmony with existing institutions, than in any unwillingness of the mind to recognise better ones, when once adequately brought before its judgment seat. The moral feelings of mankind are like the mosses and lichens which will beautify the most

barren rock or unsightly ruin, and in a similar manner they too often rescue from destruction things which can lay no claim to any other than a sentimental consideration. Nothing is more curious and instructive than the manner in which social and domestic institutions, harsh and degrading in themselves, yet give birth to virtues so admirable, while the need for them exists, that they form an additional obstacle in the progress towards a more genial and elevating system.

These natural feelings and these transitory virtues are the stronghold of the Conservative party; they constitute a complete arsenal of party weapons, which cannot fail to be effective at the onset, like Charles's Cavaliers, who carried everything before them until the redoubtable Roundheads appealed to, and fought for, a more permanent moral code. When sentiment is set aside, and the calm considerations of reason alone are allowed to prevail, the advocates of either view find themselves but friendly adversaries, and are willing to recognise that they have a common aim. But if political authority relies upon opinion and belief, it reacts on both by the power of its organization, which is the expression of the will begotten of those beliefs. New convictions bring with them hostile wills, and must penetrate the educated portion of society before they can themselves acquire an organization which shall overcome the established ones. Social power is not material or muscular, but is founded on profound conviction and resolute belief. Stephen dying outside the walls of Jerusalem, and Luther escaping from the Diet at Worms, were but types of the greatest social powers of their day, whatever was thought of them by their cotemporaries. To advocate new opinions is to disturb the existing balance of political authority, and this cannot be expected from the partisans of institutions they believe to be the natural and inevitable expression of time-honoured opinion. Constitutions that grow are like trees in a state of nature; they produce fruit indeed, but all the more nutritious and succulent ones we owe to the gardener's care.

If a constitution complies with the following conditions, Mr. Mill lays it down that it must fulfil the requirements both of the scientific and historical school of politicians. The people for whom it is intended must be willing to accept it, to support it, and to co-operate with it, where required to do so, that it may fulfil its purpose. A form of government may be not desired from the repugnance of the people to all control, as with the North American Indians or the barbarians who overran the Roman empire; it may, however, be desired, but so feebly that the people will not defend at any risk to their immediate convenience the privileges it accords them from the assaults of a domestic or foreign enemy; or they may be unwilling to afford that

constant support and moral sanction without which no free government can subsist. In either of these cases the people is unripe for any regulated liberty, but where all these conditions are fulfilled, every harmony with their past history is of necessity included in an arrangement that will then lean upon the sentiments, and be supported by the reason of the nation. When it is admitted that those sentiments which support and prompt political action may be influenced and modified by a constant appeal to reason, it becomes at once evident that politics may be treated as an art, that the nature of the ends proposed, and the means by which they may be arrived at, is one of the most important subjects to which our attention can be turned, and that the inquiry as to what are the signs and marks of the best possible constitution, instead of being an unpractical discussion, is one of the most fruitful that can be entered on.

Although the aggregate interests of society may be assumed to be a proper test of any system of government, "the enumeration and classification of the constituent elements of social well-being is no easy task. The only step which has hitherto been taken in this direction, consists in a partition of the exigencies of society between the two heads of order and progress, or as Coleridge expressed it, of permanence and progression." That this division is inadequate, becomes evident so soon as either term is forced to define itself with any accuracy and completeness. Mr. Mill subjects both terms to the most searching analysis, and satisfactorily shows that order is but organized progress, that the same qualities are supposed in the advocates of either principle, that in fact an intelligent conception of either involves the other.

But as all government depends upon the qualities of the governed, "the first element of good government is the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, and the criterion of its excellence is the degree in which it tends to increase the sum of good qualities in the governed collectively. All government which aims at being good is an organization of some part of the good qualities existing in the individual members of the community for the conduct of its collective affairs." By this means government not only ensures the best attainable administration of the common interests, but becomes an instrument of national education of the highest order. It is on this latter point that free and representative governments exhibit their great pre-eminence; the laws of a despotic country may be as well administered as those of a free one, but are not likely to be so, while the preparation of the people themselves for another and a higher form cannot be expected from such a government. "Considered as instrumental to this end, institutions need to be radically different according to the stage of advancement already

reached :” no human institutions can be equally fitted for Negroes, Chinese, Hindoos, and Europeans. The manner in which systems of government at first excellently adapted to the people who adopted them, may yet from an excess of assumed authority become insurmountable obstacles to further progress, is strikingly evidenced in the condition of the Chinese and Turks of the present day. A government must not only be excellent in itself, but must have a door open to improvement on itself; it must be judged not only by its positive merits, but its tendencies must be taken into account; it must not be directed to some particular improvement, but must be able to promote all possible improvement.

Government must come before good government; and in many countries on the face of the earth the first requisite of civilization—obedience—must be attained before that intelligent co-operation of the governed can be hoped for, without which no progressive institutions can be arrived at. What institutions are best fitted for uncivilized or stationary societies forms no part of the inquiry before us, representative government being assumed to be that most fitted to civilized and progressive societies. The next question to consider is how far it is ideally the best form.

The benevolent despot, the usual theoretical rival of free institutions, but whose advocates quietly ignore the difficulty of finding him, is tolerable only in savage and turbulent states of society, and even then only in so far as he will consent to govern in such a manner as will prepare for the destruction of his own system. All things for, and nothing by the people, is a maxim that puts an effectual stop to progress.

“What should we have under such a system? One man of superhuman mental activity managing the entire affairs of a mentally-passive people. Their passivity is implied in the very idea of absolute power. The nation as a whole, and every individual composing it, are without any potential voice on their own destiny. They exercise no will in respect to their collective interests. All is decided for them by a will not their own, which it is legally a crime for them to disobey. What sort of human beings can be formed under such a regimen? What development can either their thinking or active faculties attain under it? On matters of pure theory they might perhaps be allowed to speculate, so long as their speculations either did not approach politics, or had not the remotest connexion with its practice. On practical affairs they could at most be only suffered to suggest; and even under the most moderate of despots, none but persons of already admitted or reputed superiority could hope that their suggestions would be known to, much less regarded by, those who had the management of affairs. A person must have a very unusual taste for intellectual exercise in and for itself, who will put himself to the trouble of thought when it is to have no outward effect, or qualify himself for

functions which he has no chance of being allowed to exercise. The only sufficient excitement to mental exertion, in any but a few minds in a generation, is the prospect of some practical use to be made of its results. It does not follow that the nation will be wholly destitute of intellectual power. The common business of life which must necessarily be performed by each individual or family for themselves, will call forth some amount of intelligence and practical ability, within a certain narrow range of ideas. There may be a select class of *savans*, who cultivate science with a view to its physical uses, or for the pleasure of the pursuit. There will be a bureaucracy who will be taught at least some empirical maxims of government and public administration. There may be, and often has been, a systematic organization of the best mental power in the country in some special direction (commonly military), to promote the grandeur of the despot. But the public at large remain without information and without interest on all the greater matters of practice; or, if they have any knowledge of them, it is but a *dilettante* knowledge, like that which people have of the mechanical arts who have never handled a tool. Nor is it only in their intelligence that they suffer. Their moral capacities are equally stunted. Wherever the sphere of action of human beings is artificially circumscribed, their sentiments are narrowed and dwarfed in the same proportion. The food of feeling is action: even domestic affection lives upon voluntary good offices. Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will not care for it. It has been said of old that in a despotism there is but one patriot, the despot himself; and the saying rests on a just appreciation of the effects of absolute subjection even to a good and wise master. Religion remains, and here at least it may be thought is an agency that may be relied on for lifting men's eyes and minds above the dust at their feet. But religion, even supposing it to escape perversion for the purposes of despotism, ceases in these circumstances to be a social concern, and narrows into a personal affair between an individual and his Maker, in which the issue at stake is but his private salvation. Religion in this shape is quite consistent with the most selfish and contracted egotism, and identifies the votary as little in feeling with the rest of his kind as sensuality itself."

A benevolent despotism, by relaxing and enervating the energies of the people, prepares them for helpless subjection or future conquest by a more barbarous race. It was Augustus who sapped the last barrier which stood between Rome and ruin.

Unless the supreme controlling power be vested in the aggregate of the community itself, the people have trusted their fortune to a single cast with the dice most terribly loaded against them. The arguments which support the theory of the desirableness of a benevolent despotism never look beyond present exigencies; they are mostly found, too, in the mouth of indignant reformers who are exasperated by the ignorance and short-sighted selfishness of their contemporaries, and who would be the chief sufferers

were their wish granted them; their aspiration is like that of the frogs who were discontented with King Log. Many people are deluded by the national splendour which has sometimes accompanied a despotic administration—by the comparative calm and mental concentration which they have sometimes appeared to produce; but the following remarks by Mr. Mill are fatal to such theories:—

“Some of the most fatal changes in human affairs have been, as to their more immediate effects, beneficial. The establishment of the despotism of the Cæsars was a great benefit to the entire generation in which it took place. It put a stop to civil war, abated a vast amount of malversation and tyranny by prætors and proconsuls; it fostered many of the graces of life, and intellectual cultivation in all departments not political; it produced monuments of literary genius dazzling to the imaginations of shallow readers of history, who do not reflect that the men to whom the despotism of Augustus (as well as of Lorenzo de Medici and of Louis XIV.) owes its brilliancy, were all formed in the generation preceding. The accumulated riches, and the mental energy and activity, produced by centuries of freedom, remained for the benefit of the first generation of slaves. Yet this was the commencement of a *régime* by whose gradual operation all civilization which had been gained insensibly faded away, until the empire which had conquered and embraced the world in its grasp so completely lost even its military efficiency, that invaders whom three or four legions had always sufficed to coerce, were able to overrun and occupy nearly the whole of its vast territory. The fresh impulse given by Christianity came but just in time to save arts and letters from perishing, and the human race from sinking back into, perhaps, endless night.”

A parental government, as it is called, requires a nation of children to reign over, and is quite unable to adapt itself to the requirements of adolescence, much less to the claims of manhood with all its fresh experience. “A completely popular government is pre-eminent in both departments between which the excellence of a political constitution is divided; it is both more favourable to good government, and promotes a better and higher form of national character than any other polity whatever.” The habits of self-reliance produced in the people by such a government are the best security for present good and future improvement. To the objection brought against such a view, that it reposes on a theory of universal selfishness, Mr. Mill makes the following most pertinent reply:—“Whenever it ceases to be true that mankind, as a rule, prefer themselves to others, and those nearest to them to those most remote, from that moment Communism is not only practicable, but the only defensible form of society, and will, when that time arrives, be assuredly carried into effect.” This is not only true as a speculation, but has often been



proved so in fact. When men's minds have been filled with any ideas which have dwarfed their own personal interests, some form of Communism has always shown itself, to perish, it is true, by the means of some Ananias or Sapphira, but not before delivering its great protest against mankind. "But such opinions as these," continues Mr. Mill, "are so little popular among the defenders of existing institutions who find fault with the doctrine of the general predominance of self-interest, that they may be assumed in reality to believe that most men consider themselves before other people." The beneficial influence, however, of free institutions on the social well-being of those who have enjoyed them is too evident, the historical testimony of every age and country is too overwhelming, to be set aside by exclusive reference to occasional turbulence and popular violence; while the influence they exert on individual character is so decided that the only course open to the advocates of more restricted systems is to decry the vices which attend a habit of self-reliance, to denounce self-assertion as incompatible with the graces of humility and content, and to endeavour to enlist a general sympathy for a type of character which is but too apt to confine its aspirations to such things as subserve its individual ease and comfort. Nothing speaks more loudly in favour of the educative influence of free institutions than the intellectual character of the addresses which the great orators of antiquity deemed best calculated to act with effect on their free auditors. It may fairly be assumed that no degree of participation in the work of self-government should be withheld from a single member of the community who is in any way qualified to exercise it; as representative government alone aspires to this ideal, its claims are paramount to those which can be brought forward by any other form of national polity. But the necessary sympathy and support of the general body of citizens, on which alone representative institutions can be firmly founded, presupposes an amount of education and self-control without which they could not exist. There are, and have been, many conditions of society in which they could not endure for a moment. When any nation is governed by a superior race who have established themselves by conquest or otherwise, it is but too probable that the overwhelming influence of the local magnates would cause them to be returned to any assembly which aspired to the regulation of the national interests. In these circumstances, a monarchy, more or less limited, is a necessary stage through which the people may advance to free institutions. The whole history of France up to the first Revolution is an instance of this, and it is probable that were it not for the despotic power of the Russian emperors, the subject classes of that empire would have to wait much longer for any prospect of

elevation. A nation, however, may be incapacitated for free institutions by other things besides its external circumstances ; in fact, there are few vices which do not militate against the efficiency of representative institutions, or indefinitely retard the period of their acquisition.

“ Among the tendencies which, without absolutely rendering a people unfit for representative government, seriously incapacitate them from reaping the full benefit of it, one deserves particular notice. There are two states of the inclinations, intrinsically very different, but which have something in common, by virtue of which they often coincide in the direction they give to the efforts of individuals and of nations ; the one is the desire to exercise power over others ; the other is disinclination to have power exercised over themselves. The difference between different portions of mankind in the relative strength of these two dispositions, is one of the most important elements in their history. There are nations in which the passion for governing others is so much stronger than the desire of personal independence, that for the mere shadow of the one they are found ready to sacrifice the whole of the other. Each of their number is willing, like the private soldier in an army, to abdicate his personal freedom of action into the hands of his general, provided the army is triumphant and victorious, and he is able to flatter himself that he is one of a conquering host, though the notion that he has himself any share in the domination exercised over the conquered is an illusion. A government strictly limited in its powers and attributions, required to hold its hands from over-meddling, and to let most things go on without its assuming the part of guardian or director, is not to the taste of such a people ; in their eyes the possessors of authority can hardly take too much upon themselves, provided the authority itself is open to general competition. An average individual among them prefers the chance, however distant or improbable, of wielding some share of power over his fellow-citizens, above the certainty, to himself and others, of having no unnecessary power exercised over them. These are the elements of a people of place-hunters ; in whom the course of politics is mainly determined by place-hunting ; where equality alone is cared for, but not liberty ; where the contests of political parties are but struggles to decide whether the power of meddling in everything shall belong to one class or another, perhaps merely to one knot of public men or another ; where the idea entertained of democracy is merely that of opening offices to the competition of all instead of a few ; where the more popular the institutions, the more innumerable are the places created, and the more monstrous the over-government exercised by all over each, and by the executive over all. It would be unjust, as it would be ungenerous, to offer this, or anything approaching to it, as an exaggerated picture of the French people ; yet the degree in which they do participate in this type of character, has caused representative government by a limited class to break down by excess of corruption, and the attempt at representative government by the whole male population to end in giving one man the power of consigning any number

of the rest, without trial, to Lambessa or Cayenne, provided he allows all of them to think themselves not excluded from the possibility of sharing his favours. The point of character which, beyond any other, fits the people of this country for representative government, is, that they have almost universally the contrary characteristic. They are very jealous of any attempt to exercise power over them, not sanctioned by long usage and by their own opinion of right; but they in general care very little for the exercise of power over others. Not having the smallest sympathy with the passion for governing, while they are but too well acquainted with the motives of private interest from which that office is sought, they prefer that it should be performed by those to whom it comes without seeking, as a consequence of social position. If foreigners understood this, it would account to them for some of the apparent contradictions in the political feelings of Englishmen; their unhesitating readiness to let themselves be governed by the higher classes, coupled with so little personal subservience to them, that no people are so fond of resisting authority when it oversteps certain prescribed limits, or so determined to make their rulers always remember that they will only be governed in the way they themselves like best. Place-hunting accordingly is a form of ambition to which the English, considered nationally, are almost strangers. If we except the few families or connexions of whom official employment lies directly in the way, Englishmen's views of advancement in life take an altogether different direction—that of success in business or in a profession. They have the strongest distaste for any mere struggle for office by political parties or individuals, and there are few things to which they have a greater aversion than to the multiplication of public employment; a thing, on the contrary, always popular with the bureaucracy-ridden nations of the Continent, who would rather pay higher taxes than diminish, by the smallest fraction, their individual chances of a place for themselves or their relatives, and among whom a cry for retrenchment never means abolition of offices, but the reduction of the salaries of those which are too considerable for the ordinary citizen to have any chance of being appointed to them."

But when that practical supremacy of the representative assembly, which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of free institutions is happily attained, the question arises, what should be the precise functions of such a body? These may vary greatly. "There is a radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it." This distinction is embodied and exemplified in the constitutional doctrine that money can only be granted on the proposition of the Crown; this principle, if followed as far as it will go, is a guide to the limitation and definition of the general functions of representative assemblies. It is founded on the maxim that numerous political bodies ought not to administer—a maxim of very wide application. The details of administration call for a peculiar training, and are governed by a multitude of rules which would never enter

into the thoughts of those unacquainted with them. Mr. Mill says that "he has known public men, ministers of more than ordinary capacity, who, on their first introduction to a department of business new to them, have excited the mirth of their inferiors by the air with which they have announced as a truth hitherto set at naught, and brought to light by themselves, something which was probably the first thought of everybody who ever looked at the subject, but given up as soon as he had got on to a second." If, too, the strong responsibility attendant on the nomination of individuals to employment by the minister for the time being is found inadequate to enforce the selection of the most fitting person, what might we not expect if such appointments were made by a body on whom no responsibility could possibly be fixed? The formation of the Cabinet itself has at no time been thought a proper function of the House of Commons, but only the determination of who should be entrusted with that power. The conviction that a numerous assembly is but little fitted for the business of administration has given practical efficiency to these rules, but the principles on which that conviction is based would lead equally to the conclusion that the general business of legislation is as little fitted to their powers. How can the laws of a country be amended by any but those who are intimately acquainted with the details of those already existing? Ludicrous instances of the effect of clauses introduced in debate are constantly amusing a profane public, and even well-meant amendments are too often found incompatible with the working of the acts into which they have been introduced, and have to be repealed by a subsequent amending one. Perhaps the most important and immediately practical suggestion of the volume we are considering is contained in the following extract:—

"Any government fit for a high state of civilization would have, as one of its fundamental elements, a small body, not exceeding in number the members of a cabinet, who should act as a commission of legislation, having for its appointed office to make the laws. If the laws of this country were, as surely they will soon be, revised and put into a connected form, the commission of codification by which this is effected should remain as a permanent institution, to watch over the work, protect it from deterioration, and make further improvements as often as required. No one would wish that this body should of itself have any power of *enacting* laws; the commission would only embody the element of intelligence in this construction; Parliament would represent that of will. No measure would become law until expressly sanctioned by Parliament, and Parliament or either House would have the power not only of rejecting, but of sending back a bill to the commission for reconsideration and improvement. Either House might also exercise its initiative, by referring any subject to the commission, with directions to prepare a law. The commission, of course, would have no

power of refusing its instrumentality to any legislation which the country desired. Instructions, concurred in by both Houses, to draw up a bill which should effect a particular purpose, would be imperative on the commissioners, unless they preferred to resign their office. Once framed, however, Parliament should have no power to alter the measure, but solely to pass or reject it, or, if partially disapproved of, remit it to the commission for reconsideration. The commissioners should be appointed by the Crown, but should hold their office for a time certain—say five years—unless removed on an address from the two Houses of Parliament, grounded either on personal misconduct (as in the case of judges), or on refusal to draw up a bill in obedience to the demands of Parliament. At the expiration of the five years, a member should cease to hold office unless reappointed, in order to provide a convenient mode of getting rid of those who had not been found equal to their duties, and of infusing new and younger blood into the body."

There seems to us but one objection to the plan, but that is a very obvious one; the power of delay which it would put in the hands of the proposed commission might become a stone of offence which would be fatal to its continued existence. A rough and ready palliative, which can be had at once, has always been more to the taste of the English people than any scientific accuracy, for the attainment of which time must necessarily be allowed. Lord Eldon, on such a commission, would have been looked upon as a national calamity. The thoroughly English "what a shame," which Mr. Mill so justly admires, would have to give place to the French *il faut de la patience*. There would be considerable danger, at the least, of the business itself being sacrificed in an endeavour after an unattainable perfection, and as the members of the commission would, before long, represent every shade of political opinion to which at any time they had owed their appointments, the discussions of the commission might even come to a dead lock, and the general progress of legislation be greatly impeded, if not absolutely arrested. If, however, the practical working of such a commission could be ensured, the taunts of superfluous talk with which the enemies of popular assemblies decry them, would be no longer applicable, as such taunts are just only so far as the discussions interfere with the discharge of the business before them.

"There has seldom been more misplaced derision. I know not how a representative assembly can more usefully employ itself than in talk, when the subject of talk is the great public interests of the country, and every sentence of it represents the opinion either of some important body of persons in the nation, or of an individual in whom some such body have reposed their confidence. A place where every interest and shade of opinion in the country can have its cause even passionately pleaded, in the face of the government and all other interests and opinions, can compel them to listen, and either comply, or

state clearly why they do not, is, in itself, if it answered no other purpose, one of the most important political institutions that can exist anywhere, and one of the foremost benefits of free government."

Much talking is not the infirmity or danger which most easily besets representative assemblies, such shortcomings as they usually display are nowhere so well set forth as in the chapter which Mr. Mill devotes to the subject. The evils arising from the assumption of the actual functions of governing, in lieu of that of criticising and checking those who govern, have been already alluded to. Those which result from the ignorance or incapacity of the members themselves, are defects which popular government shares in common with all others; and the same may be said of the possibility that mere class interests may be more powerful in the assembly than the general ones of the nation at large; but though equally exposed to these dangers, a representative government is not so in an equal degree with any other form of polity.

A rough and barbarous society, by its very restlessness and insubordination, often educates its monarch into a necessity of self-reliance, which, with the consequent ability it produces, becomes a justification of that form of governing; but when this pressure is withdrawn by softened manners and social progress, it is very rare to find a monarch with qualities which in any way rise above mediocrity. Aristocratic governments have often been praised for their firmness, energy, and consistent pursuit of the national grandeur and power, but very few have concerned themselves with any consideration of the well-being of those subjected to them. Foreign policy has flourished under aristocracies in a manner that leaves them without rivals; Rome and Venice show what can be done by such institutions. But it should not be forgotten that their aristocracies were of a very peculiar character; the governing bodies consisting either of public servants who have become officially acquainted with the duties of the State, or of a select number of a larger aristocracy devoting itself exclusively to the arts of government—in either case an elevated bureaucracy. Monarchical institutions have often, and on the Continent do now, largely call in aid a similar arrangement, and there are many points in which a bureaucratic administration contrasts favourably with that by a popular assembly. It is of course distinguished by all the good qualities which result from special training and appropriate knowledge; but, on the other hand, it is attacked by the inevitable disease of routine and immobility. Men who are brought up to a profession very seldom look beyond the maxims in which they have been educated. "A bureaucracy always tends to become a pedantocracy." The additional efficiency which is arrived at by the employment of a trained body of

public servants may be as easily attained by a popular assembly as by any other form of government.

The danger of undue interference with the administration by such functionaries, although it is much less in weight and gravity under a popular government than any other, is yet likely to arise more frequently and to be exercised more frivolously, from excited class and party interests which from time to time may rise to a temporary influence. But the remedy for this characteristic evil is to be found in the proper carrying out of the system reproached with it. The difficulty with which any limited party could acquire an undue influence will be in direct proportion to the number of interests represented in the assembly; not only will opposing claims be then urged with every necessary warmth and energy, but the fullest opportunity be offered for a full consideration of the grounds on which the claims themselves are made to rest. How, then, are the two evils, of too low a grade of intelligence in the representatives and the danger of class legislation, to be best avoided? This is usually attempted by limiting the democratic character of the assembly. The government of the whole people by the whole people equally represented would be the sacrifice of all classes to that of the lowest, in consequence of their overwhelming numbers; such a democracy as this, it is needless to say, is no object of Mr. Mill's aspirations. Relative education and intelligence have hitherto been sufficient to ensure their possessors the general government of national concerns.

The minority, however, who have possessed the power have not brought forward that only justification of their claim to it. With the spread of knowledge the same minority finds its position assailed, and is forced to fall back on the true grounds of their predominance. The rights of minorities promise for some time to come to be the asylum of national liberty, and should be carefully guarded by every intelligent liberal until the progress of education in some degree obviates the necessity of constant watchfulness against the dangers of that general deluge called universal suffrage. The evils consequent on the sacrifice of the minority at every election have been hitherto met by an artificial distribution of the seats, but this distribution is not only liable, from the movement among the population, to become every day less able to answer its purpose, but would be at once rendered nugatory by any considerable reduction in the qualification for the franchise. After noticing the various projects of single and cumulative voting which have from time to time been brought before the public, Mr. Mill decides, with all the weight of his formidable authority, in favour of Mr. Hare's plan of contingent voting, with the details of which we have already made our readers acquainted. There can be no doubt that Mr. Hare's project is

one of the most original and valuable of modern political speculations, but the object it has in view of setting free such elements of local intelligence and patriotism as find themselves outvoted in their own neighbourhoods, presupposes for its successful attainment an amount of both which can hardly yet be safely relied upon. We are afraid that the English people are as little prepared to give the necessary support which such a system requires as many other countries are for representative government itself. In the present low state of political morality, we should in a very short time have a system of electioneering agency which would take advantage of the opportunity offered to patriotism and intelligence in a manner that would but little conduce to the growth of either. The privilege offered to minorities of carrying their votes from a place where their defeat would politically extinguish them, to another where they could come in aid of their own principles or partisans, is one as open to abuse by ignorance and selfishness as it is available for the liberation of their opposites. It must be admitted that the list of contingent votes would in the majority of cases contain but few names except those of well-known political leaders, unless some party organization supplied lists to its adherents, the use of which would be a considerable hindrance to that progress in political intelligence, on the general spread of which the system must depend for its successful application.

In the strength of Mr. Hare's appeal to the educated classes lies the weakness of his system as an electoral machinery. It is greatly to be feared that we have not the straw wherewith to bake his bricks. The objections which have been raised to the proposal, or at least such as have pronounced it unworkable, have been based upon an exclusive consideration of the change proposed in the nature of the ultimately returning constituencies. This substitution of a personal instead of a local constituency, if absolute, might be found unworkable from the number of votes which would most likely be lost, owing to the probable paucity of contingent names on the polling papers. No change, however, of this complete character is advocated by Mr. Hare, but only that a personal element should be introduced, which might indeed overwhelm but could not set aside local views and interests. By preserving the priority of local voters in the constitution of that quota required for the election of every member, every advantage of the present system would be secured, and every inducement to local abuses be withdrawn. There is no part of Mr. Hare's scheme so attractive as the host of collateral advantages which it would bring in its train to any community prepared to carry it out. All motives for the undue influence of individual electors would be at once annihilated by the destruction of the local omni-



potence of a club in a closely-contested borough, and what would be effectual in this strongest case would of course be fatal to bribery or intimidation in less aggravated ones.

The weak point, however, of the scheme will in our opinion be found in the complicated rules which become necessary for determining the order in which the contingent votes shall be taken, and in the necessary reference of all the papers to the manipulation of the Registrar-General's clerks. The absolute confidence required in this administrative machinery cannot be expected to spring up at once, but yet it must be relied upon at the first experiment. One incidental but necessary defect of the system is its inapplicability to the filling up of single seats that become vacant during the continuance of any particular Parliament. That the individuals forming the quota of any particular member should during the continuance of any Parliament form the close constituency of his seat, is a temporary departure from the principle of the measure itself, which destroys its symmetry and leaves an occasional door open to most of the evils it was designed to cure.

We are far from flattering or truckling to prejudices which we do not share, and we think very highly of the ability displayed by Mr. Hare in his project; we regret that there is so little prospect of its speedy execution, but we cannot hide from ourselves our strong fear that until a much higher general level of national intelligence be attained, it must remain a project and no more. It is a leap beyond our powers. We too would fain jump over the dirty ditch of political corruption, but we mistrust our forces at this spot, and walk along the bank in hope of finding a more practicable one.

The extension of the suffrage is a question that touches us more nearly; the rapid growth of democratic opinions makes this one of the most practical of questions. It is beginning to be felt that the man who is compelled to obey the laws and to pay taxes, cannot be fairly called upon to do either, much less to fight for the institutions of his country, in the constitution of which he has no share, and in the actual working of which his interests receive no direct consideration, or not that consideration which alone seems sufficient to himself. That any one should be excluded from a vote in the management of the affairs of his country is an unquestionable evil; the consideration of national concerns is one of the most efficient means of elevating men above the petty routine of their daily occupations, and there is no doubt that the privilege is one of the most educational influences exercised by popular forms of government.

The greater political intelligence of the lower orders of the inhabitants of the United States, when compared with the same

class in other countries, is not, indeed, solely attributable to this cause, for it would not operate to the same extent were it not for the excellent machinery of primary education which they also enjoy. The question of education lies fatally in the way of our progress; and if a very great advance be not soon made in this direction, we shall be overtaken by a retribution we shall be more apt to declare than able to prove excessive and disproportioned. But if education were as general with us as it is in the United States, their example alone is sufficient to warn us against the evils of an unrestricted or equal suffrage. The power which it throws exclusively into the hands of the lower orders produces for the whole nation those very evils which Mr. Hare's system hopes to obviate in our more populous boroughs. The whole country has become Tower-Hamletized, and equal suffrage has become the destroyer of equal representation. That forfeiture of the suffrage should be made a penalty for several social delinquencies, we think most desirable, and against plural voting we can see no objection but the difficulties in the way of establishing the electoral hierarchy. These difficulties will become less formidable as they become more familiar; and unless they are in some manner successfully met, the English Constitution will soon have to encounter a more formidable adversary than any it has in times past prevailed against.

To Mr. Mill's eloquent advocacy of the justice of granting the suffrage to women, nothing can be added. The only answer that can be offered reposes on a theory of the family which, though it is still sometimes appealed to, is every day losing its force. If there be little doubt that in the infancy of society the family formed the political unit, there is as little that every step of modern progress has tended to the substitution of the individual for the family group. Whatever may be said of the insufficiency of the grounds on which this change has been advocated, it is indisputable that the change itself appeals to our highest moral feelings, in direct proportion to their development. There are many persons now living who were brought up to address their parents as "Sir" and "Madam," who were educated in principles of mysterious filial obedience, grounded on an absolute authority but little short of the power of a Roman parent. It is so few years since this power was exercised in a manner which nothing but the social support it received could have rendered possible, that we are but little justified in supposing that the incapacities of women will be much longer maintained against the spread of a more consistent morality. That criticism which has successfully deprived parental authority of its despotic power, and made it dependent on the mode of its exercise rather than on the single fact of its natural origin, will no doubt operate, and perhaps more speedily than is at present supposed, on the nature

of that other domestic relation which has hitherto suffered from the same causes. Every possessor of irresponsible power is under the constant temptation to abuse it to his own detriment, as much as to that of those who are subject to it. No one can for a moment suppose that family ties are weaker, that children are less willing to render respect and obedience, where it is due to their parents, than they were in the days of Sir Anthony Absolute. The necessity for some appeal to reason has made the tie itself more reasonable; and the same necessity has as much strengthened family affections by a common allegiance to a rule of justice as it has weakened the old authority so often appealed to in vain. So great a revolution as this, so silently brought about, and in so short a time, is full of promise of further change in the same direction, which cannot but bring with it consequences as much to be desired. The question of woman's rights has been too often damaged by rhetorical treatment and ill-considered proposals; the cause has been more injured by its partisans than by its adversaries. It is deeply to be regretted that the accomplished author of a paper in this Review on this subject no longer lives to give the aid of the most powerful intellect and the widest knowledge that have yet been devoted to the immediate consideration of this subject.

In discussing the question whether voting at elections should be secret or open, Mr. Mill extends and enforces that triumphant answer to the advocates of the ballot which he gave in his "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," in 1859. Every progress in freedom is an argument against a system which is only defensible on the supposition that existing obstacles to that progress are insurmountable by any other means. The power of the upper classes has not only decreased, but is so evidently decreasing, that the corrupt influence to be in future guarded against is much more the class interests of the middle ranks than the overwhelming authority of the upper. The ballot would be much more likely to serve as a cloak to malice, pique, and private interest, than as a defence against a power which every day becomes less oppressive. The great increase of bribery is the fullest proof of the falling-off of local influence. The advocates of the ballot have, too, completely changed their ground, and contend for it as a protection to the voter in the exercise of a right, rather than in the discharge of a trust. The suffrage is only in so far a personal privilege as the call to determine what is best for the public must always be so considered. But acts which profess to be directed to the public good ought never to be withdrawn from the influence of public opinion. To interpose anything between a man and the consequences of his own acts, except where those consequences assume the shape of an irresistible tyranny, is to enervate his

character and to stand between him and that education which the facts of life give to every one. Nothing so purifies a man's belief as the ever-present necessity of giving a reason for the faith that is in him. Every beneficial influence of the non-voters on those who are in possession of the suffrage would be sacrificed by the ballot at a time when the necessity for it is daily becoming less, and its adoption less desirable.

The false view of the suffrage which looks upon it as a right has a direct tendency to produce in the mind of the voter that celebrated reflection which caused such an outcry at the time of the Reform Bill, when expressed in a very different quarter, viz., "that a man may do as he likes with his own." What a peer is not allowed by public opinion to do with his family borough, it is strange that the advocates of the ballot should contend the voter may legitimately do with his vote. So long, however, as Parliament abstains from clear and definite legislation against bribery, so long will the noxious crop of corrupt voters encumber the ground. Mr. Mill proposes that each member of the House should be required to assert, on his honour, before taking his seat, that no voter has been bribed by him, directly or indirectly. This is a very simple expedient, and would no doubt have great effect so long as those principles of personal veracity endure which now so honourably characterize the English gentleman.

Unless some steps be taken in this direction, the demoralization of constituencies will gradually bring about an exchange of an aristocracy for a plutocracy, a change which results only in the elimination of every good quality that was peculiar to the former, and the last acquisition of liberty will be the privilege of taking it to market.

The constant pressure of public opinion is alone sufficient to attain the object of representative institutions, which should be "to bring together the best members of all classes under such a tenure as shall induce them to lay aside their class prejudices and pursue jointly the path traced by the common interest, instead of allowing the class feelings of the many to have full swing in the constituencies, subject to the impediment of having to act through persons imbued with the class feelings of the few." It is but too natural that a man who has bought his constituents' votes should look upon himself as entitled to sell their interests.

The latter part of Mr. Mill's volume is filled with discussions on the detailed working of representative governments, and forms a most valuable handbook of liberal doctrine, which will exercise, we doubt not, the greatest influence on political discussion. We cannot now do more than indicate the various topics: it is quite needless to say that they are all treated with that consummate mastery and full command of his subject which characterizes all

his works. On the subject of pledges required by constituents of candidates for a seat in Parliament, and on the general delegatory theory, the most complete investigation will be found. In sum, Mr. Mill considers that when representative institutions are properly worked, when constituents are only anxious to select the most capable man to represent their opinions in Parliament, the less they bind his hands the better; that nothing but peculiar individual circumstances can justify a mixed and general body of electors in tying down their representative to any line of conduct that he does not fully approve of; that the mutual confidence should be complete, and that those qualities which induce them to return him ought to be a sufficient guarantee for his conduct in all contingencies. Pledges are only warrantably required where the choice of members is so restricted, that the best must be taken with some qualification. It would be a public misfortune if the fashion should become more general, for it could only tend to lower the general character of those who would offer themselves to a more democratic body of electors: of this the experience of the United States offers a full proof. Anything which stands between men of the highest cultivation and their candidature for a part in carrying on the government of the country, must be looked upon as a public misfortune, and that restriction on perfect liberty of action which it is of the nature of electoral pledges to impose, is one of the most fatal of such influences. A democracy without confidence in its leaders is but one step from anarchy. The question of the proper constitution of a second chamber, Mr. Mill considers to be of but little importance: unless it be supported, like the House of Lords, by great social influence, it is almost impossible to emancipate it from the control of the more democratic assembly. If, however, the best form of such an upper house is to be sought, it is, he thinks, to be found in the Roman senate, which represented "personal merit tested and guaranteed by actual public service, and fortified by practical experience." Such a counterpoise as this Mr. Mill thinks alone valuable as a check on popular feeling and short-sighted mistakes.

There is nothing a popular assembly should so studiously abstain from as any appointment to an executive or administrative function. The distribution of the branches of government once made, the whole responsibility should be left on the shoulders of the chiefs of departments, and that greatest of all responsibilities the appointment of their subordinates; there is no public duty discharged with so little sense of its importance as the nomination of persons to any Government appointment. The free power of criticism—the highest function of a representative assembly—would be interfered with, if not destroyed, if it

took this office on itself. The business of every department should, in Mr. Mill's opinion, be carried on by a specially educated body of officials, who should hold their appointments for life, that they might securely give themselves to the acquisition of those accomplishments necessary to the due discharge of their office, and who should be promoted by a mixed system of seniority and merit; the former being the rule where the functions to be discharged do not go beyond routine and a careful discharge of ascertained duties. Each department should be under the absolute control of its head, on whom the undivided responsibility should rest. "Boards," as was said by Bentham, "are but screens; what a board does is done by nobody, and nobody can be made to answer for it." This applies, of course, to the administrative functions only; the executive head must be some practical politician, who has to rely for his information on such bodies; and for the military and naval ministers, and perhaps some others, councils should, in Mr. Mill's opinion, be provided, who, on the model of the Indian ones, should have a consultative voice, and a power of stating their objections when their opinions are overruled. In his concluding chapter, *On the Government of Dependencies by Free States*, Mr. Mill gives vent to his mournful apprehensions of the consequences of the recent transference of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. There is, perhaps, no one so well qualified to speak on this subject; a long, intimate, and even it may be said hereditary acquaintance with Indian affairs, gives his opinion an overwhelming weight. The greatest dangers to which India is exposed arise from English ignorance of Indian history, manners, and life. It can hardly be denied that this ignorance is in some degree to be attributed to the closeness of the Company's two services. Independent of the great and arousing shock of the mutiny, there has been more information offered to the public, and a much more lively interest in Indian affairs, since the general opening of the services, than has ever before been displayed at home. In the great quarrel between the covenanted servants of the Indian Government and the European traders, we are not prepared to give every advantage to the former. The theory of benevolent despotism and protection of the native is complete and full, but it may be questioned whether the practice has come up to it. One result, however, of the recent alteration must be a greater familiarity with Indian affairs; the change by which civil appointments are thrown open to public competition will of itself familiarize a large and increasing body of the public with Eastern wants and claims. The special knowledge of the Company's servants must shortly be attainable by all, and is not likely to be less accurate because the fruit of a more extended discussion.

Our hope of better things for India is indeed strong when it maintains itself in the face of Mr. Mill's despondency.

In his preface, Mr. Mill says that his volume contains little that is new; but there are few doctrines maintained in it that are not illustrated by some refined distinction, or firmly founded by some fresh analysis that gives them a new life and fresh vigour. If the noble metal of truth was scattered about the field of his investigations, he has here gathered it together and made it current among men by an image and superscription that is recognised by every serious inquirer.



#### ART. V.—THE COUNTESS OF ALBANY.

*Die Gräfin von Albany.* Von ALFRED VON REUMONT. Berlin, R. Decker, 1860.

(*The Countess of Albany.* By ALFRED VON REUMONT. 2 vols. &c.)

CHARLES EDWARD STUART, the young Pretender, was married in 1772. A quarter of a century had then elapsed since the total rout of Culloden, and a deathblow had been given to the hopes he nourished of ascending the throne of his ancestors. Adversity had not improved him. By nature he was incapable of meeting hardships with fortitude, and of bearing up against unavoidable disappointments with a dignity which commands respect. The esteem which had been universally accorded to the gallant and aspiring youth, was exchanged for cordial detestation of the debauched old man. Like all those who are at once cowardly and feeble-minded, he sought for solace and a temporary alleviation of his misery in the wine-cup; he began each day by drinking, and long before night was in a state of drunken insensibility. His father and brother considered it as an exceptional thing for a day or two to pass away without receiving any tidings of his having indulged in deplorable excesses.

On his return to the Continent, after escaping from his pursuers in the north of Scotland, he was frequently pressed by his adherents to marry, but turned a deaf ear to their solicitations. When, in addition, they tried to convince him of the propriety of discarding his mistress, Miss Walkinshaw, he haughtily and peremptorily forbade them to busy themselves with his private affairs. He had made this lady's acquaintance in the Highlands. She joined him and lived with him during his sojourn in the Netherlands, and elsewhere, and by her he had a daughter. Miss Walkinshaw's sister was one of the attendants on the widow of

the Prince of Wales, and it was suspected that much information relative to the Pretender's movements was communicated to the English Court through that channel. The pair seem to have lived a very unhappy life. Miss Walkinshaw suddenly left him and fled to Paris, where the king took her under his protection. The Chevalier de St. George, Charles Edward's father, approved of the step, and granted her an annual allowance out of his income. It was said that mutual disagreements, and ill-usage on his part, had forced her to leave him. There can be no question that the habits of the young Pretender made it impossible for any woman to associate with him for a lengthened time without repugnance.

In the year 1770 he had a last chance for retrieving his character, and of succeeding in his projects. At that time he resided at Rome. He was summoned to Paris by the Duke of Choiseul, then chief minister of France, in order to confer with him concerning a descent on England; but, as he appeared at the first interview helplessly drunk, the French minister would have nothing to do with him, and gave up the scheme of invasion.

The Bourbons did not wish that the Stuart race should die out. So long as a member of it survived, they could at any time thwart and annoy the Hanoverian dynasty by supporting his pretensions. Accordingly, the French Court made overtures to Charles Edward, in 1771, to persuade him to take a wife, and, as an inducement to do so, named a bride, adding the promise of a yearly pension of 240,000 livres in the event of his espousing her. He instantly closed with the proposal. His opinions had undergone a complete change since 1748, when his father intreated him to marry for the purpose of perpetuating his race. The reply which he then gave was to the effect that, as his family had been so unfortunate, and exposed to so many vicissitudes, he thought it should become extinct, and that he, at least, would not render another wretched by linking his lot with hers. On the present occasion the necessary preparations were soon made. At Macerata, on the 17th of April, 1772, Charles Edward was united to Louisa, Princess of Stolberg. He was then fifty-two years of age, while she was in her nineteenth year.

The tender victim of this unholy sacrifice is generally known as the Countess of Albany, and Baron von Reumont has written her life. It being admitted that she is one of the few who really deserves a longer and more enduring record than an obituary notice, we do not believe any one could have taken that task in hand having greater facilities for discharging it than her biographer. He has resided for the greater portion of his life, as Prussian Ambassador, at the Court of Tuscany, and continued to



discharge the functions of that office until Tuscany was happily united to the kingdom of Italy. Several works which he has written on Italian history testify to his fondness and qualifications for historical research. Among his friends he numbers his illustrious countryman Leopold Ranke, whom he rivals in painstaking investigation, but whom he cannot compete with in grouping and stringing his materials together so as to mould them into a comprehensive and effective whole. In the present instance he has spun out his story with details which, though interesting in their way, are wholly irrelevant. The matter contained in these two volumes would, if compressed into half the space, have made an interesting volume. So painfully attached is the author to Court etiquette, that he cannot name an individual without giving his titles in full, and adding an unnecessarily minute account of his life and achievements. Thus he proves himself an inimitable master of the ceremonies at the very time that he shows himself a clumsy and incompetent literary artist. There are few minor errors of taste in the volumes. The writing is above the average. Even the metaphors and similes are in general appropriate and well-applied. This is no mean praise. Indeed, we seldom meet with a German historical work of any celebrity, in the course of which the phoenix and the sword of Damocles do not make their appearance. With us, that remarkable bird has not survived the scorching ridicule of the "Rejected Addresses," and no writer or orator of eminence has invoked that menacing sword since Sheridan tried to dismay Pitt with its terrors. In place of wasting time by dwelling on the shortcomings, or criticising the work of Baron von Reumont at greater length, we shall endeavour to bring within the compass of a few pages the new information which he has scattered over hundreds.

Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, was born at Mons, in 1752. Her family was a German one, residing in Belgium. It was not in any way remarkable, except that the notorious Count Horn was a member of it, and he certainly made himself a name in history, from being the first nobleman who was broken on the wheel: he was her great uncle. Her father had been in the service of Austria, and had distinguished himself as an officer. When she was five years old he was killed in action, whereupon the Empress Maria-Theresa took his family under her especial care, and provided handsomely for each member of it. Austria had, at this time, possessions in Flanders, in which there were several richly endowed convents. The female heads of these establishments were chosen from among the nobility. To become an abbess it was necessary to have been born a princess, and a canoness had to prove her noble descent on both sides during eight generations. Those who obtained such appoint-

ments had no more severe duties to perform than to bear an honorary title and pocket a yearly pension. When Louisa of Stolberg was six years of age, she was made canoness of St. Wandru, one of the richest and most notable of these establishments. A sister-in-law of the Empress of Germany was at the head of it. Princess Louisa did not, however, begin to reside there till she was seventeen; in other words, it was not till then that she took part in the gaieties of society. Those who occupied similar posts generally made good matches. Many of them found in all likelihood, as Princess Louisa did by bitter experience, that the nominal offices of devotion were far pleasanter and more easily discharged than the serious duties of matrimony.

In some respects she appears to have been more advanced than other girls of her rank and age. She was a good musician, could draw fairly, and was an assiduous reader. Her appearance was prepossessing without presenting any remarkable points of attraction. She was lively in manner, and her cleverness enabled her to shine in conversation, thereby pleasing those who saw no comeliness in her features. There is no reason for supposing her averse to the match with Charles Edward. On the contrary, she would appear to have been delighted with the prospect. She knew the husband who had been chosen for her, by report only, yet report had said nothing of him but what was most favourable. He had made himself an European reputation by the daring manner in which he had landed, with a few adherents, on the Scottish coast, had rallied an army around him in a few weeks, succeeded in a short time in defeating the English army and making himself the master of several strongholds, had threatened London with attack, and had only succumbed to a force overwhelming in numbers and superior in discipline. For the present he was uncrowned; but he had an incontrovertible claim to be the head of the first monarchy in Europe, and it was not impossible that he might one day succeed in making it good. It would be only natural if the hopes of the young princess were exalted, and if her vanity induced her, as it would do most girls of nineteen, to accept with eagerness and joy the empty honour of becoming the bride of the Pretender to the throne of England.

A medal was struck in commemoration of the marriage. On the one side was the image of Charles Edward, on the other, that of his wife, with these inscriptions:—"Charles III., born 1720, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, 1776," and "Louisa, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, 1772." The newly-made Queen may have acknowledged, in after life, that the only return she got for her expectations was the silly gratification of beholding her effigy and mock title on a medal.

The married pair hastened to Rome, which they reached on the fifth day after the performance of the wedding ceremony. They entered the capital of Christendom with all the pomp they could command, and in a style according with their assumed rank. Four outriders led the way. The Pretender's carriage followed after, and next to it came a carriage drawn by six horses, in which he and his bride were seated. The Cardinal of York's carriage was next in the procession, while others, filled with their luggage and attendants, brought up the rear. On arriving in Rome the Cardinal greeted his sister-in-law with great cordiality, and gave her, as a wedding gift, a box set with brilliants, in which was a draft for twenty thousand Roman crowns. It was immediately notified to the Pope that the King and Queen of England had arrived. To this message he paid no heed. In fact, Clement XIV. was far too wary and astute a man to run the needless risk of embroiling himself with England by recognising the Pretender as her rightful monarch.

Charles Edward refused, however, to abate any of his pretensions, or to forego a tittle of the ceremonial due to his rank. He got a few sham courtiers to assist him in playing at the game of royalty and in keeping up a mock Court. There were not many of the noble families of Rome who would treat him as a king, so that he was forced to remain within doors for the greater portion of the time in solemn and undisturbed state. Life at Rome was then very monotonous and dreary. Gaiety, in the ordinary sense of the word, was unknown. As for dinner-parties, they were never thought of. This absence of hospitality impressed the President de Brosses, who was sojourning there. He did not approve of it, yet he thought that the Italians were less in the wrong than many might suppose. When moralizing on this subject, he draws a contrast between the habits of the two nations. He points out that the richer classes of his countrymen are wont to spend their substance in riotous and sumptuous living, and fancy themselves repaid if they get credit for keeping a splendid table and being open-handed. A wealthy Italian seems a niggard in comparison. He entertains little company and gives no grand feasts. His money is expended in the erection of a handsome dwelling, an imposing monument, in laying out extensive grounds, in filling a gallery with costly paintings; so that in this way he hands down his name to posterity as a patron and fosterer of the arts. In the President's opinion, the Italian acts more sensibly than the Frenchman, as he thinks it is far nobler to aim at gratifying the intellect than in tickling the palate; that a man deserves praise who erects a beautiful pillar, rather than one who keeps open table and loads it with all the delicacies of the season.

The probable suppression of the Jesuits was the only thing of importance which agitated the minds of the Romans while Charles Edward was a resident in their city. This took place on the 23rd of July, 1773. The next great event was the approaching jubilee of 1775. He was desirous of taking part in it; but would not do so on any other than a kingly footing. He redoubled his efforts to induce the Pope to recognise his title. Failing in this, he resolved to quit Rome. He selected Florence as his next place of abode; but, previous to removing thither, he visited Sienna. This visit gave rise to a report which has been frequently repeated since then with many additions. It is well known that the chief end of his marriage was to beget an heir. More than once it had been incorrectly rumoured that this expectation was about to be fulfilled. The story which now became current ran thus:—A young Scotch physician, named Beaton, being on a visit to Italy, and having been informed that the wife of the Pretender was pregnant, went to the neighbourhood where they were staying, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth and of rendering any assistance in his power. He came to the locality where they occupied a house, which was not far from the Convent of St. Rosalie, on the high road between Pisa, Lucca, and Parma. One evening he lingered in the convent chapel after vespers had been said, when a gentleman entered, accosted him, and asked if his name was Beaton. Replying in the affirmative, he was requested to accompany the stranger. A carriage was at hand, which they entered. The doctor was informed that he must allow the blinds to be closed, and his eyes bandaged before entering the sick chamber. After some time, the carriage stopped at a handsome house. Immediately on entering it, a servant informed them that medical aid was no longer required, as the lady who was to have been the object of it had been prematurely but safely delivered of a son. Nevertheless, Dr. Beaton was taken to see her. On his way to her bedroom, he passed through one containing several pictures, among which he recognised the portraits of James VIII. of Scotland and the Duke of Perth. When he entered the bedroom he saw a newly-born infant in the arms of a nurse, and, behind the partially closed bed-curtains, the pale countenance of its mother. Having felt her pulse and expressed his desire to write a prescription, he was conducted into an adjoining room wherein was a writing-table on which he observed a miniature of Charles Edward. After taking an oath not to divulge what he had witnessed, he was suffered to depart. Shortly afterwards he left Tuscany. Before embarking he caught a glimpse of the stranger who had accosted him, and a woman, proceeding towards the seashore in a carriage. A boat was in waiting, into which they stepped, and as they did so a child's cry was heard by him.

This boat carried them to an English frigate lying in the offing. It was supposed that the captain of it was a Jacobite, who lent his aid in carrying off the infant son of the Pretender to the coast of Scotland, where the child was landed. He lived, afterwards married, and had a family, so that heirs to the English crown are still in existence. They might be alive if the tale were authentic ; yet it is not merely a fiction, but a ridiculous one. Had a child been born to the Pretender, instead of making a secret of it he would have proclaimed the fact, and chiefly because if any mystery attached to its birth, an opening would be given for the report that it was a fictitious one. Moreover, one of the parties concerned lived to a period when reticence had become superfluous, still no such statement was made. But the strongest ground for questioning the probability as well as the truth of the story is, that the English Government had so closely surrounded the unfortunate pair with spies as to render it impossible for them to go anywhere, or engage in anything, without a circumstantial account of their movements being transmitted to London.

When the Pretender and his wife settled at Florence, they found the Grand Duke Leopold still more disinclined than the Pope to accord to them the honours of royalty. They now assumed the titles of Count and Countess of Albany, which they retained during their lives, and by which they are generally known over the continent. Many houses were thrown open to them, and they received a good deal of company. Since his marriage, Charles Edward had not changed for the better. He continued to drink like a fish. His digestion had long ago been impaired, and he was now threatened with dropsy. During the Carnival he took part in the usual amusements ; attended the public balls, and sometimes danced. On one occasion he excited the derision of the company by his drunken merriment : he forced a young lady to dance a minuet with him, notwithstanding he was so helplessly intoxicated as to require the support of an attendant to keep him from falling. Every evening he went to the Opera, and was in the habit of carrying a bottle of Cyprus wine with him, which he emptied, and then slept on a sofa throughout the performance. At its close, two servants carried him to his coach.

In the autumn of 1777, Vittorio Alfieri made the Countess of Albany's acquaintance. He was then sojourning in Florence for the purpose of acquiring pure and idiomatic Italian. French was the language in which he had been educated ; consequently, on making his first essays as a dramatic writer, he discovered that in order to create a national drama for Italy it was necessary to be a master of the Italian language. Hitherto, he had led a dissipated and unprofitable life. At fourteen he had become his own master, with a handsome income at his disposal. The first use he

made of his liberty and wealth was to scamper through Europe. He visited, in succession, France, England, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Spain, and Portugal, and he might justly apply to himself the boast of the Earl of Peterborough, that he had seen the backs of more postillions than any man alive. In spite of this incessant change of scene, he was miserable and unsatisfied; was anxious to do something, but he knew not what, and to distinguish himself in some manner, but he could not tell how to begin. He suddenly resolved to become a great poet, and to regenerate his countrymen through the medium of dramas. It was soon after this determination had been formed that he saw the Countess of Albany, became ardently in love with her, and found in the love which she manifested for him a stimulus to vigorous effort and balm for all his misery.

The habits and disposition of the Pretender were such as to make it impossible for his wife to enjoy any happiness in his society. Her life was often in actual danger during his drunken bouts. He watched her with all the jealousy of a man who has merely sense enough to be aware of his own unworthiness, and has not the loftiness of soul which would lead him to release from bondage a wife whom he was unfitted to associate with. Never for a moment did he suffer her to quit his sight, or if he went out alone he locked her up until his return. His treatment of her was the scandal of Florence. In a letter written from that city, by Sir Horace Mann, on the 12th of December, 1780, the following passage occurs relative to this matter:—

“Of late, the intemperance of the Pretender’s behaviour, especially when he was heated with wine and stronger liquors, has been vented against his wife, whom he has for a long time treated in the most indecent and cruel manner. On St. Andrew’s Day, which he always celebrated by indulging himself in drinking more than usual, he ill-treated her in the most outrageous manner by the most abusive language and beating her, and at night by . . . attempting to choke her. Her screams aroused the whole family, and their assistance prevented any other violence.”

It is evident that separation from such a brutal tyrant as he had proved himself to be, was rendered imperative. Alfieri lent his aid to obtain her emancipation from the intolerable thralldom in which she was held. He communicated with the Grand Duke of Tuscany on the subject, and obtained his sanction to a scheme which he proposed. A stratagem was to be employed in order to detach the Countess from her watchful guardian, and lodge her in a place where she should be safe from his interference and beyond his control. The arrangements were completed, and a day was fixed for giving effect to them. In the morning a female friend breakfasted at their house, and suggested in the Count’s

presence that they should pay a visit to the convent of the White Ladies. He made no objection, and they set off, being accompanied by an Irishman named Gehegan, who, though a friend of Charles Edward's, was also a sharer in the plot. The carriage stopped before the convent, when the Countess and her friend stepped out of it, tripped rapidly up the steps, and passed through the open gate, which was instantly closed behind them. Meantime the Count having clambered up the steps, was taken aback to find the gate slammed in his face; he battered against it with his stick, and loudly demanded admittance or else the restoration of his wife. After a time the abbess came to the wicket, and informed him that his wife had put herself under the protection of the Grand Duke, who approved of her determination not to cohabit with him again. He returned home in a towering passion, and is said to have offered a thousand zechins to whoever should kill the gentleman who assisted his wife in her escape. An attendant was despatched to the Grand Duke, complaining of what had been done; but returned without any expressions of regret, or promises to interfere in his behalf.

The Countess immediately sent off a letter to her brother-in-law, the Cardinal of York, in which she gave her version of the affair and requested him to aid and counsel her. She got an instant reply, to the effect that the step which she had taken did not surprise him, and met with his entire approval. He added, that the Pope was of the same mind as himself, and had desired him to request that she would proceed to Rome and take up her abode in the Convent of the Ursulines, wherein her mother-in-law had once resided, and in which the inmates knew how to live comfortably.

"Do not fear," he went on to say, "that unless a miracle be wrought, I shall counsel you to return to your husband. As God has probably suffered what has happened to occur for the purpose of inducing you to lead a life of devotion, and thereby vindicate the purity of your motives and goodness of your cause in the eyes of men, so He may in like manner bring about the conversion of my brother. But it is true that if I cannot flatter myself with the hope of the latter event, the conviction which I have of the former greatly mitigates my sorrow."

In accordance with the above invitation, she hastened to Rome. It was feared that the Count, hearing of her departure, might make a desperate attempt to recover her. The greatest secrecy was observed, and her carriage was guarded by an armed escort, while Mr. Gehegan and Count Alfieri occupied the box with loaded pistols in their hands. These precautions turned out to be superfluous; not only was there no attempt made to molest

her, but her husband was most likely wholly unaware of her intention to leave Florence. In order to avert suspicion, Alfieri speedily returned, and engaged in his ordinary pursuits. As soon as he could do so with propriety, he went and settled at Rome, where he visited the Countess daily on the most intimate footing. She did not at all relish being immured in the convent of the Ursulines, and succeeded in obtaining the Pope's permission to leave it and reside in the Cardinal of York's palace.

The abduction of his wife preyed on the mind of Charles Edward, and drove him to commit greater excesses than ever. To use the words of one of his own servants, "No street porter was so drunken as he." The natural result followed: his feeble health entirely gave way, and he was brought to the point of death. Extreme unction was administered, and his brother was summoned from Rome. Without a moment's delay the Cardinal proceeded to Florence; however, before his arrival the Pretender had rallied, and was no longer in imminent danger. During the time which the brothers spent together, the Cardinal was probably informed of the other side of the story relative to his sister-in-law, and heard for the first time that her flight had been prompted by the double motive of escaping from her husband's power and indulging her passions. In consequence of this, on his return to Rome he frowned on the prolonged visits which Alfieri paid to the Countess of Albany, so that the poet came to the determination to quit Rome for a season. After visiting several Italian cities, he directed his steps towards England. He passed through Paris, which he styled a "huge sewer." The chief purpose of his visit was to buy horses, for which he had always entertained a violent passion. He purchased fourteen, being one for each tragedy he had composed. With great difficulty he managed to take them across the Alps to Turin, where he remained for a short period. Five years before this journey he had renounced his allegiance to his sovereign, Victor Amadeus, King of Piedmont. Nothing can be more striking than the present condition of that State as compared with what it was eighty years ago. At that time the government was a military despotism. A law was then in force similar to that which till recently was rigidly carried out in Russia, and which still prevails in Japan—the king's vassals were forbidden to leave his territory without a written permission from him. Another law ordained that whoever should publish anything in a foreign state without leave of the Censor was liable to a fine of sixty scudi; and to corporal punishment besides, if it were deemed necessary to make a public example of the offender. Alfieri, finding it impossible to fulfil the duties of a vassal and at the same time enjoy the privi-



leges of an author,\* resolved to rid himself of the shackles imposed on him as a subject of the king, and accordingly made a surrender of two-thirds of his property to his sister, reserving to himself a small annuity. Thus he became denationalized, and was free to do as he pleased, while he was practically a stranger in the land of his birth. Now that he revisited it, he was requested to settle there, and accept a place in the Government. This he declined, thinking it a nobler thing to write tragedies than State papers.†

In 1783 Gustavus III., King of Sweden, came to Italy, and travelled through it under the name of Count of Haga. He made the acquaintance of Charles Edward, who confided his complaints and sorrows to him. So moved was the Swedish king by his representations, that he promised to use his utmost efforts to bring about an arrangement between him and his wife. He also said that he would employ his interest with the Court of France to get the whole of the pension paid to the Pretender, a portion of which had been withheld from him, and no notice taken of his letters of remonstrance. When the king was in Rome, in the spring of 1784, he received a letter from Charles Edward formally authorizing him to take steps for obtaining a divorce. The conditions were agreed to; the necessary formalities were gone through, and the Pope pronounced a decree of divorce *à mensa et thoro*, so that the Countess of Albany was now free to go whither she pleased, and to reside wherever she liked; it being understood, however, that she was not to leave the Papal States without the Pope's sanction. In the summer of that year she went to Colmar, in Alsatia, where she was joined by Alfieri. Returning to Bologna, she spent the winter there by herself, and rejoined Alfieri at Colmar the year following. In 1787, they went to Paris together, and settled there. An edition of the poet's works was then in course of publication by Didot, and he required to be at hand to superintend it.

Shortly after the Pretender had been divorced from his wife, he sent for his natural daughter by Miss Walkinshaw, to live with him. He declared her legitimate, and got the parliament of Paris to register the act. In addition, he conferred on her the title of Duchess of Albany. This was not the only case in which he exercised his assumed prerogative, as not long afterwards he made the master of his household a baronet, and the patent ran thus:—"Given at our Court at Florence, in the nineteenth year of our reign." He likewise made his will and appointed the Duchess his heir. Meantime his health declined daily. He was attacked by epileptic fits. The Florentine climate was pronounced too raw for him, and he removed to Rome. A reconciliation was

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\* "Vita," ii. pp. 61, 62.

† Ibid., 129.

brought about between himself and his brother the Cardinal of York, and he spent some happier days than he had done for many years. Mr. Greathead, the friend of Charles James Fox, paid him a visit at this time. He turned the conversation to the rebellion of 1745; but without at first succeeding in drawing from the Pretender any account of his doings during that eventful period. Suddenly, however, he brightened up, and recounted with extreme animation the battles he had fought, the marches he had made, the perils he had escaped when chased by his enemies; extolled the devotion of his Highlanders; expressed his sorrow for the hard fate which many of them had met with, and became so affected by the latter consideration, that his voice failed him and he sank fainting on the floor. The noise brought his daughter into the room, who instantly exclaimed that he must have been speaking of his youthful exploits and sufferings, subjects which were never alluded to in his presence.

His days were numbered. On the 7th of January, 1788, he had a stroke of paralysis. He partially recovered, but had lost the use of one side. Other attacks followed, and on the 30th of that month he died. The Cardinal of York, who was the last of the Stuarts, assumed the title of Henry IX. A year afterwards the Duchess of Albany followed her father to the grave.

When the Countess of Albany learned that she was a widow, she did not express much regret, nor did she become the wife of Alfieri. On the contrary, they continued to live at Paris on the same footing as before. She had many acquaintances there, whom she received at her house. Sir N. W. Wraxall gives the following account of her establishment:—

“In the year 1787 I have passed the evening at her residence, the Hôtel de Bourgoyne, situated in the Faubourg St. Germain, where she supported an elegant establishment. Her person then still retained many pretensions to beauty; and her deportment, unassuming but dignified, set off her attractions. In one of the apartments stood a canopy, with a chair of state, on which were displayed the royal arms of Great Britain; and every piece of plate, down to the very teaspoons, were ornamented in a similar manner. Some of the more massy pieces which were said to have belonged to Mary of Modena, James the Second's queen, seemed to revive the extinct recollections of the Revolution of 1688. A numerous company, both English and French, male and female, was assembled under her roof, by all of whom she was addressed only as Countess d'Albany: but her own domestics, when serving her, invariably gave her the title of Majesty. The honours of a queen were in like manner paid by the nuns of all those convents in Paris which she was accustomed to visit on certain holy days or festivals.”\*

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\* “Wraxall's Memoirs,” vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

They were in Paris when the Revolution broke out. Alfieri witnessed the storming and destruction of the Bastille, and applauded those acts. But as matters became more threatening, he thought it prudent to leave France, and decided to pay another visit to England. Accordingly, he crossed the Channel for the fourth time. Although he still admired the amount of freedom enjoyed by the English people, yet he was not so impressed with this as he had been on previous occasions, while the damp climate and the modes of living were more distasteful to him than ever. He could not bear the protracted repasts, the late hours ; and he thought that the manner in which the day was divided, rendered mental labour impossible, as well as injured the health. During his stay he was tormented by gout, which he styled one of the plagues of the island. To the Countess of Albany everything was novel ; but there was little which pleased her. Before she had been long in the country she became sick of it, and longed to return to France. This step was made imperative for both of them on pecuniary grounds. The principal part of their income was derived from the French funds. Payments were no longer made in coin, but in assignats, which were at a ruinous discount ; indeed, their property became depreciated in value every week. As the wretched paper money had no currency save in France, it was necessary for them to go thither that they might procure the means of subsistence.

Previously to their doing so they visited some of the chief towns. These pleased them better than the metropolis. The reason why the Countess was so dissatisfied, was that she judged everything by a French standard. For example, after having seen Blenheim and Stowe, she makes this reflection :—

To enter these mansions is like entering the wilderness ; the occupants of them nestle in their respective corners, and the greater portion is untenanted. A French dwelling is very different. If only three persons are therein, it seems better filled than an English one.\*

She thought the English an unimaginative race ; morose, and busied in making money ; destitute of all taste for the fine arts, and buyers of pictures out of mere ostentation. Her good sense enabled her to detect one thing of which Englishmen are most proud, and which she considered their chief glory, and this is that their country is emphatically the home of freedom ; and she justly remarks that England, if governed by a despot, would sink very low in the scale of nations. Perhaps the strangest event which happened to her was her being presented at Court. Walpole thus describes it in a letter to Miss Berry :—

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\* "Die Gräfin von Albany," vol. i. p. 294.

"Well! I have had an exact account of the interview of the two queens, from one who stood close to them. The dowager was announced as Princess of Stolberg. She was well dressed, and not at all embarrassed. The king talked to her a good deal; but about her passage, the sea, and general topics; the queen in the same way, but less. Then she stood between the Dukes of Gloucester and Clarence, and had a good deal of conversation with the former, who, perhaps, may have met her in Italy. Not a word between her and the princesses; nor did I hear of the prince; but he was there, and probably spoke to her. The queen looked at her earnestly. To add to the singularity of the day, it was the queen's birthday. Another odd incident: at the opera at the Pantheon, Madame d'Albany was carried into the king's box, and sat there. It is not of a piece with her going to Court, that she seals with the royal arms."\*

We may add, that on the 10th of June, the anniversary of the birth of her father-in-law, the Chevalier of St. George, she was present at the prorogation of Parliament, and sat on the steps of the throne. Whether Alfieri approved or disapproved of these proceedings we cannot tell; but it is a significant fact that he makes no allusion to them in his Autobiography.

After leaving England they proceeded to Brussels, and visited the mother and two sisters of the Countess. On returning to Paris they took possession of, and furnished a new house, but which they did not long occupy. The Revolution was in full swing, and they became apprehensive for their lives. When the Palace of the Tuileries was stormed on the 10th of August, and the royal family thrown into prison, it seemed foolhardy to remain longer in that city, so that they resolved to remove to Florence. The 20th was fixed for their departure; but, as Alfieri experienced what he called a presentiment of peril, they started on the 18th. We cannot do better than give the description of this in the poet's own words; the passage being one of the liveliest and most dramatic in the rather solemn and monotonous memoirs of his life:—

"Our chief difficulty lay in procuring passports that we might quit Paris and leave the kingdom. We got them after a few days' delay; I obtained one from the Venetian, and the Countess from the Danish Ambassador, these being nearly the only foreign representatives who had remained by the shadow of a king. It was with still greater trouble that we procured others from the authorities of our district, which was that of Mont Blanc; we got one for each of our party, containing particulars of each one's stature, hair, age, family, and I know not what besides. Being furnished with these 'tickets of leave,'† we proposed starting on Monday, the 20th; but a correct presentiment

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\* "Correspondence of Horace Walpole," vol. ix. p. 317. Ed. 1859.

† "*Schiavesche patenti*"—literally, badges of slavery.

made us hasten our departure, and having got everything ready, we set off on Saturday afternoon. The *Barrière Blanche* was the nearest outlet to the St. Denis road, leading to Calais, by way of which town we could the most easily depart from this unhappy country. At the barrier we found an officer and three or four soldiers of the National Guard, and who, after examining our passports, were about to open the gate, and allow us to escape from this gigantic prison. A beerhouse was at hand, and about thirty of the hangdog populace—shirtless, drunken, and infuriated—issued from it. As soon as they perceived our two heavily-laden carriages, containing our suite of three male and two female attendants, they began to bawl out that all the rich people were flying from Paris, taking their property along with them, and abandoning the poor to misery and starvation. A struggle ensued between the few and miserable guards and the beggarly mob; the former aiding and the latter opposing our departure. I jumped down from the carriage among the crowd, the seven passports in my hand, and I struggled, screamed, and stormed still louder than they did; a sure way to get the better of French people. Those who could read perused the passports and studied the description of our persons. Thoroughly roused, and neither knowing or heeding in the passion of the moment the risk which I ran, I thrice snatched back my passport and roared out, 'Look here, and listen! My name is Alfieri; I am Italian, and not French; tall, spare, pale, red-haired; see if the description does not tally. Your own authorities have given me a passport in the proper form. I wish to proceed, and, by God, I will.' The tumult lasted for a quarter of an hour: I was resolute, which proved the saving of us. Meantime a multitude had gathered round the carriages: some desired to burn them, others shouted for stones, while others exclaimed that we were wealthy and noble fugitives who ought to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville, that justice might be done. At length the feeble aid of the four National Guards, who occasionally put in a word for us, my stentorian voice, and incessant appeals to the passports, above all, the exhaustion to which the tiger-monkeys were reduced by the half-hour's altercation, enabled me to come off victorious. The guard signed to me to mount the carriage, wherein I had left the Countess in a state of mind which can easily be fancied: the postillions spurred their horses, and galloped through the unbarred gate amid the yells and execrations of the rabble.'\*

They had a narrow escape. Two days afterwards an order was issued to seize and imprison the Countess of Albany. Their house was plundered, and their other property confiscated. At the end of a few weeks the horrible massacres of September took place. Had they continued in Paris and passed safely through these dangers, they would probably have been among the earliest victims of the Reign of Terror, which began the year following. They went, in the first place, to Brussels, thence by way of

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\* "Vita," vol. ii. pp. 199—202.

Frankfort, Augsburg, and Innsbruck into Italy. When they reached Florence they purchased a house on the bank of the Arno, and occupied it.

It was now that Alfieri composed his *Antigallican*. The object of this work was to brand the authors of the French Revolution with infamy; in some things it resembles the "Reflections" of Burke, both in exaggeration of statement and bitterness of invective.

In March, 1799, the French troops occupied Florence. During this occupation, Alfieri and the Countess removed to a house in the neighbourhood of the city, where they wholly gave themselves up to literary occupations. He says that

"His sweeter half had a fair knowledge of German and English, knew Italian as well as she did French, and was intimately acquainted with the literatures of these four countries. As I could converse on all sorts of topics with her, and thereby relax and soothe my mind, I was never happier than when shut up alone with her, and far removed from the bustle of worldly affairs. It was so in this house, which few of our Florentine acquaintances visited, as they were unwilling to draw upon themselves the suspicions of the mixed military and legal government, than which a more monstrous, ridiculous, sad, and intolerable one cannot be formed, and which seemed to me to resemble a tiger guided by a rabbit."

About this time they made the acquaintance of a young painter, who afterwards was closely associated with the Countess of Albany. This was François Xavier Fabre, a native of Montpellier, and who had come to Rome to study his art. At first he entered their house as an artist, painted the portraits of both of them, and gave the Countess lessons in drawing. By degrees he grew more and more intimate, until he became the bosom friend of Alfieri. Although the poet hated the name and sight of a Frenchman, yet he made an exception in the case of Fabre. We have the testimony of Paul Louis Courier that he was an agreeable and well-informed man; moreover, he had a violent antipathy to Bonaparte and the Revolutionists, and was thus the more worthy in the poet's estimation.

After Alfieri had attained his fortieth year, he set himself with great diligence to the study of Greek. It was not long before he had acquired sufficient mastery over that language to be able to read it with ease, and even to translate the works of some of the Grecian poets. The poems of Homer gave him especial delight. To such a pitch did he carry his admiration for that poet, that he founded an order of Homer, and elected himself the first companion. Advancing years did not soften the harshness of his manner, or make him less eccentric in character. He rode or

walked alone. When indoors, he passed his time among his books, and would neither pay visits nor receive them. A card was often affixed to the door of his house, intimating that the Count Alfieri was not at home: his acquaintances alleged that this card was never removed. What rendered him so unsocial was his bad health. From early life he had been a martyr to gout, and repeated attacks of that malady had shattered his frame. With the view of warding off such attacks he had restricted himself, since his twentieth year, to the simplest diet, never indulging in coffee, wine, or any other stimulant. But he had pushed this abstinence too far, and had lowered the tone of his system so greatly as to make himself the constant prey of the disease which he tried to escape from. He once remarked, with perfect truth, that if his stomach could tell its own tale, it would stigmatize him as a wretched niggard. In spite of all his sufferings he refused to alter his mode of life, or take that relaxation he so much required. On the contrary, his industry redoubled as his bodily powers failed him. The last months of his life were principally occupied in translating from the Greek. When doing so he got an assistant to read the passage aloud and give a literal version in Italian as he went along, while the poet paced up and down, pencil and notebook in hand, and wrote out his translation.

At the beginning of autumn, 1803, he had a severe attack of gout, which, unknown to his physician, affected his chest. He thought himself in a precarious, but not in a dangerous state. The Countess of Albany watched by his pillow during the greater portion of the night of October 7th. Towards morning he felt better; raised himself with the intention of getting out of bed, when he instantly sank backwards and expired. He was then in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Without neglecting our main purpose, it may not be out of place to sum up here the leading characteristics of the poet whose life was interwoven with hers, who derived nearly all the happiness he enjoyed from her companionship, and owed his inspiration to her love.

Alfieri was the founder of modern Italian tragedy. As a writer of tragedies he has had no rival in that country; no one had pre-occupied the field, nor has his glory been eclipsed by the more exceeding fame of a greater successor. Yet he has accomplished little. His tragedies are splendid dramatic poems: they are not plays teeming with life and fraught with enduring interest. They were never acted in public during his lifetime, and since then have been seldom put on the stage. He composed them with the twofold object of beating Racine on his own ground, and of regenerating his countrymen through the medium of dramatic performances. In both of these things he had miscalculated, and

failure was the result. The distinguishing feature of his system, as compared with that pursued by the French dramatist, consists in the substitution of interminable monologues for insipid confidants. It is very questionable whether it be the more absurd for the hero of a play to communicate to a friend or attendant, matters which are solely intended for the enlightenment of the audience, or for him to stalk up and down the stage and do the same thing by making speeches to the walls. In real life, the one is as uncommon as the other. Nor can he be said to have created a national drama, although he is the most notable dramatist that Italy has produced. A national drama means one which reflects the peculiarities of a people and is an embodiment of its spirit. In this sense Shakespeare is emphatically the dramatic poet of England, Racine of France, Calderon of Spain, and Goethe of Germany. Each of them is primarily an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, and a German; not, indeed, in an exclusive and unworthy sense, not as regards the opinions entertained or the philosophy inculcated by each, but in the subjects chosen and the treatment pursued. Each gave expression to truths which have found general acceptance; but clothed them in a garb denoting the country of their origin. The most striking passages in the writings of any one of them, are striking even when translated, yet half their virtue goes out of them during the process; the racy flavour which recommends them to those for whom they were intended, is lost. What remains behind is certain, however, to meet with universal admiration and everlasting approval. The greatest poets, then, are made for their countrymen and mankind. They are at once the representatives of their nation and the chiefs of the human race. Poets by accident or education are neither national nor universal: they cannot become the delight of their nation and the favourites of the world. Ben Jonson in England and Voltaire in France are examples of this. The former was a clever imitator of the classics, and the latter a skilful copyist of Racine. So it was with Alfieri. He stored his memory with passages from his idol of the hour: now it was Dante, and now Homer. In addition to their other faults, his plays have this prominent defect—that they do not seem to have been produced by an Italian and addressed to Italians. Translated, they would be as suitable for any other stage as that of Italy. They are essentially hot-house plants, owing all their beauty to cultivation—plants which, if properly tended, are equally fragrant in any soil and lustrous under every sky.

The truth is, that he determined to become a dramatic poet, and succeeded in this attempt as well as any man could do under the circumstances. Conscious that he was not gifted with the true poetic faculty, he tried to remedy this by inverting his



language, and he strove to produce a strong effect by laborious concision. In the matter of language he was a foreigner in Italy. French was the language which he learned at school, which he spoke with the greatest fluency, in which he thought, and in which he composed all his works. After he had made a version in French, he turned it into Italian. Under such disadvantages, it argues for him astonishing capacity that he wrote so well as he did. It was not any fault of his that he did not become a great dramatic poet. Much of his poetry is beautiful and powerful; but it is poetry which springs from the intellect and does not appeal to the imagination; the poetry of a man who possessed everything except the genius of a poet.

Critics of no mean note have drawn parallels between Alfieri and two English poets. Macaulay, in his "Essay on Byron," has endeavoured to show how greatly he resembles Cowper, while admitting that the points of resemblance are not more obvious than in the parallel drawn by a Presbyterian minister between George II. and the Prophet Enoch. M. Villemain, in his admirable lectures on the "Literature of the Eighteenth Century," has likened Alfieri to Byron. For our own parts, we place no value on parallels: they prove nothing, and are, at best, but amusing literary pastimes. Did we choose to try our hands at them, we should select the cases of Alfieri and Schiller, because we think that a closer and more remarkable resemblance between the lives of two men of letters does not exist than between the Italian and German poet. The education they received, the views of life they adopted, the attempts which they made to disseminate political principles through the medium of plays, their mistakes and their shortcomings, are almost identical. On some points they differed very widely, and then it is that the superiority of Schiller is most conspicuous. He knew less of life, but he depicted what he knew with more truth and simplicity than Alfieri. The latter is too constantly on stilts; too artificial and affected a writer. He aspired to judge men with the dignity of a Brutus; but he merely attained to the insolent self-sufficiency of a ranting demagogue. He mistook abuse for censure. Crowned heads were the objects of his especial loathing and hatred. He seemed unaware of the fact that kings are but men, resembling their fellows in possessing the nobler as well as the baser qualities of human nature, and that it is a libel on human nature to portray them as no better than monsters of wickedness, in the language of towering passion and withering invective. We cannot help fancying that, if there had been no tyrants to denounce, Alfieri would have been the most wretched of men.

His death was a heavy blow to the Countess of Albany. Her love for him was sincere, and her admiration for his talents

approached to idolatry. They had lived together very happily. Three years before his death, he said of her, in a letter to his friend Caluso, "She continues well; she is my stay, my consolation, and the anchor of my life, as I am possibly of hers." They had been faithful to each other on the whole. Although Alfieri formed other attachments during his residence at Florence, they did not last long, or interrupt the harmony of their lives. She may have been on too intimate terms with M. Fabre, but she did not give her lover any reasons for jealousy. What her feelings were after his loss will be best understood by perusing one of the letters which she wrote at the time. We shall quote the greater part of one, in which she gives some interesting details respecting Alfieri. The letter is addressed to M. d'Ansse de Villoison, and was penned two months after the poet's death:—

"You know from experience how grievous it must be for me to lose one with whom I have lived during twenty-six years, who never caused me a moment's unhappiness, whom I have always adored, esteemed, and venerated. I am the most unfortunate creature alive, having lost what was dearest to me, him who was my solace and my companion. I stand alone in a world which has become odious to me. The greatest and only pleasure I could have would be to go and rejoin my incomparable friend. He killed himself through excessive study and toil. During the ten years that he dwelt at Florence he taught himself Greek. He translated into verse a play of each Grecian poet—the 'Persians' of Æschylus, the 'Philoctetes' of Sophocles, the 'Alcestis' of Euripides; besides, he composed an 'Alcestis' of his own, on the model of the latter, as well as 'Abel,' a choral tragedy, for the purpose of implanting a taste for tragedy in the Italians. These will be the first things of his I shall publish, in order to complete his dramatic works. He also translated the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes, the whole of Terence, the 'Æneid' of Virgil, into verse, and the 'Conspiracy of Catiline.' He composed seventeen satires, and a volume of lyrical poems. He brought the memoirs of his life down to the 15th May of this year, and in the last two years he set himself to produce six comedies, a task which induced his death, from his working so hard to finish them; while he only succeeded in doing five and a half, as he fell ill when in the middle of the third act of the fifth. On the morning of October 3rd he was well, and worked as usual; at four o'clock I came in to dinner, when I found him feverish: the gout was gnawing his entrails, which he had weakened for some time by abstaining nearly altogether from food, on account of the badness of his digestion, and he could not bear to be more uncomfortable after than before meals. At length, on Saturday, the 8th, after having passed a better night than usual, he grew weaker, his eyes failed him, and, without any symptoms of fever, he expired as quietly as a bird, unconscious of his state. Alas! What a misfortune for me! I have lost everything: it is as if my heart had been torn out of me. As yet I cannot convince myself that I shall never see him again. During ten years I have never quitted

him: when he worked I was at his side. I vainly exhorted him not to overtax his strength; however, day by day his passion for study deepened, and he sought to banish the remembrance of worldly affairs by being incessantly occupied. His brain was always busied with important matters, and in this country there are few opportunities for distraction. I shall always reproach myself with not having forced him to seek relaxation in travel. It was impossible for his busy mind to dwell any longer in the body it had destroyed. He is happy, having ceased to be the spectator of so much wretchedness; his fame will continually increase. I have lost him who was the delight of my life. I cannot occupy myself with anything. Formerly the days seemed too short: I spent seven or eight hours in reading; but now I cannot open a book—books have become distasteful to me. . . . I do not purpose moving elsewhere: I live on from day to day, am happy when one is ended, and in despair when I have to begin another. Death would be really welcome to me; as I detest life, the world, and all that is therein. I lived but for one object, and it is gone. Farewell, dear sir; have compassion for me, as I am most miserable. I cannot sever myself from the locality where we lived together and in which he is buried.”\*

It may surprise many who read the above lines to be told that a few months after they were written, the Countess of Albany gave a successor to Alfieri, in the person of his bosom friend, M. Fabre. The latter took up his abode with her: they lived together till her death, and she bequeathed all her property to him, including the manuscripts and books which she had received from Alfieri. It was no sudden impulse which made her seek consolation for the loss of the great Italian poet in the arms of the French painter. A close intimacy had prevailed between them during Alfieri's lifetime, yet there is no proof of her infidelity to him, and he had no suspicion of any such thing.

It has been thought very extraordinary that Alfieri did not espouse the Countess. After the Pretender's death there was nothing to prevent him from doing so. Yet there was an obstacle to this—a fanciful and absurd one, it is true, but sufficiently strong to hinder the marriage taking place. This was created by their mutual vanity. Alfieri was flattered to have a queen for a mistress, while the Countess was vain of her regal title, and gloried in having for her lover the greatest Italian poet of his time. Such we believe to have been the true state of the case, although neither confessed it in so many words. As it was, they were virtually man and wife, and fortunately no children were born to them, to become the innocent victims of the unsparing condemnation which society passes on the offspring of such connexions.

The years that the Countess survived Alfieri were very u

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\* “Die Gräfin von Albany” vol. ii. pp. 353—355.

eventful. She published the greater portion of the manuscripts he had left behind him. In 1809 Bonaparte summoned her to Paris, and obliged her to reside there for a year, under the pretext that she had intrigued against him in Florence. Her house in the latter city was resorted to by all the most noteworthy personages of the day. When peace was concluded between France and England, and travelling on the Continent resumed by the English, Italy was among the countries first visited by them, and Florence was the city in which many of them sojourned for a time. Nearly all who did so got introduced to the widow of the Pretender. Her biographer has compiled a list of all who were so honoured, and among them we find the names of Lady Morgan, the Duchess of Devonshire, the Misses Berry, Lord Broughton, Samuel Rogers, Thomas Moore, and Lord John Russell. In his anxiety to be exhaustive, he has done a thing which reminds us of a saying by Horace Walpole. The fashion among the Macaronis of the period, who correspond to our "swells," was to wear two watches. Walpole being requested to explain the reason for this practice, said that, as two watches never kept together, he fancied one was to show what time it was, and the other what it was not. In like manner Baron Reumont has given the names and particulars of those who, being at Florence, had an interview with the Countess of Albany, and likewise a list of those who were there, but did not have one. Mr. Trelawny, Leigh Hunt, Byron, and Shelley were among the latter.

Her tastes, though by no means frivolous, were far from being those of a blue-stocking. She was a real lover of art and literature, and could appreciate what was excellent in both. Her letters denote that she was a sensible and unaffected woman; one who, on occasion, could make very acute remarks. She wrote simply and to the purpose, without employing either tawdry ornaments or unmeaning expressions. That she was a judge of good writing is evinced by a remark, in a letter to Ugo Foscolo, to the effect that, "Italian authors do not adapt their language to their matter, but aim at being always poetical." In another letter to him she says of Italy in 1816, that it is much too corrupt to be endowed with liberal institutions,—that such things were fine visions, which, however, their great-nephews would convert into realities. Among the papers which she left were a parallel between the Prince of Macchiavelli and the Prince of Alfieri, extracts from Mosheim's "*Ecclesiastical History*," and from the "*History of the Jews*," by Josephus; remarks on Archbishop Martini's "*Translation of the New Testament*;" an analysis of "*Madame Roland's Life and Letters*," of Adam Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*," Locke's "*Essay*," the "*Henriade*" of Voltaire, Roscoe's "*Life of Lorenzo de Medici*," and Milton's "*Paradise Lost*." At the

close of 1799, she remarks in her diary that she had perused thirty-nine works in the course of that year, and of which she could give a good account. Among them were Larcher's "Translation of Herodotus; the "History of Greece," by Dr. Gillies; a pamphlet against the French Directory, De Maistre's "Considerations on France," and Mrs. Radcliffe's "Mysteries of Udolpho." In addition to this extensive reading, she kept up a correspondence with many celebrated personages, particularly with Sismondi, the historian, and the famous Madame de Staël. We think it unfortunate that none of the correspondence between her and Alfieri has been preserved. These and other letters were either destroyed by herself during her lifetime, or by M. Fabre and her executors after her death, which occurred in January, 1824. She enjoyed good health, and her faculties were unimpaired to the last. She had attained the ripe age of seventy-two, and had survived Alfieri twenty-one years. They buried her by his side in the Church of Santa Croce, the Westminster Abbey of Italy.

When we look back, and consider the apprehensions which were so rife in England towards the middle of the last century, lest the Jacobite party should successfully conspire against the reigning dynasty, we are struck with amazement at the rapidity and completeness with which those fears were allayed, and that party vanished. Long before the century closed there was not an avowed member of it, of any note, in existence. What is stranger, still, is that the Cardinal of York, the last of the Stuarts, became a pensioner of the English king, and when he died, shortly after the present century opened, a monument was erected to him in the Cathedral of St. Peter's at the expense of England. A portion of the pension he had received was continued to the widow of the Pretender. The Stuarts outlived their cause. It was not until the last of them had been buried, that Sir Walter Scott arose and added a fresh and an unfading lustre to their names, by reciting their adventures and magnifying their achievements. The party which had espoused and defended their cause went over in a body to the dynasty which displaced them. When Addison made the Tory squire assert that there had been no fine weather since the Stuarts ceased to occupy the throne, he gave an epitome of the opinions of that party in his day: it was the same party which a few years afterwards was most servile in its homage to George III., and professed its readiness to sacrifice the interests of England to gratify his whims. So entire had been the transformation, that the upholders of the doctrine of divine right became the bigoted defenders of the prerogatives of the family of Brunswick against the supposed encroachments of the people.

Had Charles Edward ousted George II., all this would have been

reversed. He would then have died a king, and even had he drunk himself to death, his memory would have been honoured by those who are too dazzled by the divinity that hedges a crown, to be able to perceive the vices or crimes of its wearer. During his lifetime fawning courtiers would doubtless have made the discovery that he possessed some paltry accomplishment, such as wearing a white waistcoat without creasing it, or a wig without disarranging a curl, and would have trumpeted forth that he was beyond all question "the first gentleman in Europe." His queen would have found countless adorers and eulogists. Indeed, by virtue of her gifts and education, her affability and gracious demeanour, the Countess of Albany was better qualified for sitting on a throne than the majority of those who have occupied that position.



#### ART. VI.—EQUATORIAL AFRICA, AND ITS INHABITANTS.

1. *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa; with Accounts of the Manners and Customs of the People, and of the Chace of the Gorilla, Crocodile, Leopard, Elephant, Hippopotamus, and other Animals.* By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. With Map and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1861.
2. *Egypt, the Soudan, and Central Africa, with Explorations from Khartoum on the White Nile to the Regions of the Equator, being Sketches from Sixteen Years' Travel.* By JOHN PETHERICK, F.R.G.S., her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Soudan. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1861.

OF the numerous and vast territories of Africa which, still untrodden by the white man, invite his exploration, none surpass, either in extent or interest, that broad central region stretching through thirty degrees of longitude, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and several degrees of latitude on either side of the equator. Starting from Zanzibar, on the east coast, in latitude 6° south, Captain Speke and Major Burton have been rewarded by the discovery of the great lake or inland sea, Tanganyika, which is believed to be at least 250 miles long, and from 30 to 35 miles broad. This lake is nearly 600 miles in a direct line from the coast. Proceeding from it in a north-easterly direction, Captain Speke, after a sixteen days' journey, had the happiness of being the first white man whose eyes rested on a second great

fresh-water sea—Lake Nyanza, or, as the loyal Captain has named it, the Victoria Nyanza. Its area is not yet known: one of the sable sultanas dwelling near its southern shore declared that she had never heard of there being any end to it, and did not dream of the possibility that any one could go round it. In fact, its northern extremity is supposed by the natives to reach to the end of the world. Meanwhile Mr. Petherick, who, as a merchant, has passed fifteen years in the territories of the Upper Nile, advanced in a south-western direction along the Nile, and reaching a vast lake-like expansion of the river—the Bahr-el-Gazal, or Sea of the Gazelles—landed himself and men, and proceeded due south in quest of ivory. During the last of several expeditions, he reached the most southern point of his explorations—a village called Mundo, inhabited by a cannibal tribe named Neam Nam. Mr. Petherick had no instruments by which he could determine the latitude of Mundo, but he believes it to be quite close to the equator. There can be no doubt that Captain Speke and Mr. Petherick, starting from opposite points, have each approached very nearly the same spot; indeed, Captain Speke is disposed to believe that Lake Nyanza and the Bahr-el-Gazal are connected with each other. To settle this interesting question, to explore Lake Nyanza from south to north, and then to proceed northward as far as Gondokoro, situate on one of the branches of the White Nile, and said to be in lat.  $4^{\circ} 30' N.$ , and long.  $31^{\circ} 50' E.$ , where Mr. Petherick is to meet him in November next, is the adventurous and exceedingly interesting task which Captain Speke has now undertaken. Mr. Petherick proposes to form a depôt of grain at Gondokoro, under the charge of his own men, in order to insure to the Captain means of subsistence and security from violence whenever he may reach that place; to assist him in passing through the hostile tribes between Lake Nyanza and the Nile; and also to extend his own explorations. The Royal Geographical Society is deserving the utmost praise for the spirited manner in which, depending on private subscriptions, it has determined to send out Mr. Petherick at a cost of 2000*l.* Certainly, as they justly observe, “he is beyond any other Englishmen peculiarly fitted for carrying out the expedition he proposes;” and we sincerely hope that in 1863 or 1864 we may learn of its more than expected success.

Towards the southernmost part of Mr. Petherick's last journey, the country became undulatory, and even mountainous: he speaks of being among granitic mountains and of going through mountain-passes. Possibly these form the eastern extremity of a vast range of mountains which, in the opinion of M. du Chaillu, extends “nearly across the continent without ever leaving the line of the equator more than two degrees.” This

gentleman tells us, that proceeding from the west coast in an easterly direction, and crossing the mountainous ranges of the Sierra del Crystal, which runs parallel with the coast, he reached the equatorial range just mentioned, and advanced along its southern slopes until between the 14th and 15th degree of east longitude, or to a point about 330 miles from the coast in a straight line. In confirmation of his opinion as to the extent and direction of this central range, he says:—

“Some of the slaves of the Apingi (an inland tribe) are brought from a distance to the eastward, which they counted as twenty days’ journey; and they invariably protested that the mountains in sight from their present home continue in an uninterrupted chain far beyond their own country—in fact, as far as they knew.”

M. du Chaillu thinks it probable, he says, that “in the northern slope of this great range originate many of the feeders of the Niger, Lake Tchad, and the Nile;” and that its impenetrable forests and its savage inhabitants together put a stop to the southward course of the Mohammedan conquest; which, as he observes, never advanced south of the equator. In a geographical point of view, the discovery of the western part of this mountain range, and the reasonable hypothesis of its relation to the Nile and other African rivers, as well as of its agency in arresting the southward course of Mohammedanism, are in our opinion, if M. du Chaillu’s statements may be relied on, the most important and interesting results of his explorations. Certainly, this vast and mysterious *terra incognita*, equatorial Africa, now gives promise of appearing wholly unveiled at no distant date; and we wait with eager curiosity to learn whether the knowledge about to be acquired by Captain Speke and Mr. Petherick in their new expeditions will corroborate M. du Chaillu’s assertions and conjectures.

We confess that the evidence adduced in justification of the doubts which have been expressed concerning the accuracy of M. du Chaillu’s narrative are painfully perplexing. Dr. Gray, of the British Museum, asserts that “the frontispiece is copied from M. I. Geoffroy St. Hilaire’s figure of the gorilla, published in the *Archives du Museum* for 1858, from the specimen in the Paris Museum;” that “the figure of the young gorilla at p. 206 is copied from tab. 7, fig. 2, of the same paper;” that “the illustration of the skeleton of the gorilla at p. 370 is copied from a photograph made by Mr. Fenton for the Trustees of the British Museum, from the skeleton of the animal in the British Museum;” that “the figure given at p. 232 (which is given as the young of the new species called *Nskiogo Mbouvé*) is copied from the photograph of the well-known young *Chimpanzee*, in the Jardin des



Plantes at Paris, engraved by M. I. Geoffroy, in the paper above referred to (pl. 7, fig. 4);" that "this same figure (reversed in the copying) is given again as the young of the same species at the bottom of the plate at p. 359; and that the animals in the trees, or 'in his shelter,' at p. 423, are evidently from the same figure."

M. du Chaillu, in the notice to the second edition of his work, alludes to these charges in the following words:—

"Four out of the seventy-four plates in this work have been copied, with some slight alterations, from other works. I regret that the original sources were not stated on the plates themselves, but I have repeatedly referred to these works in my text. The skeleton of the gorilla (p. 370) is not copied from the English photograph by Fenton, but is from a drawing of my own large specimen, and differs essentially from the other, as any comparative anatomist or careful observer may detect."

This being the whole of M. du Chaillu's reply, we are compelled to infer that Dr. Gray's charges, except the one referring to the skeleton of the gorilla, are too well founded to admit of refutation. So far as the mere copying without acknowledgment is concerned, M. du Chaillu regrets that the original sources of the four plates admitted to have been thus copied were not stated on the plates themselves. If he feels this regret, it would, we think, have been "better late than never" to make atonement by indicating those sources in his new edition. He has no right to presume that all his readers have seen Dr. Gray's letters, and therefore have no need of information from himself, as to the source of the plates in question. We hope he does not presume that many of his readers will never see those letters, and therefore intends to save them from any examination into the subjects to which they refer; but certainly the very brief and general terms of his reply will not fail, in some quarters, to suggest this interpretation. Copying plates without acknowledgment is, we believe, an offence so common as to derive palliation from custom; therefore, while regretting that M. du Chaillu has sinned in this respect, we are not disposed to regard the offence as one justifying doubts of his general veracity. It is not pleasant, however, after contemplating the supposed portrait of a young gorilla in whose biography we have been interesting ourselves, to learn that the picture, instead of being a likeness of our lively young friend, is, in fact, the mere representation of a lifeless skin stuffed and preserved in the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. The same remark applies to the alleged portrait of the *Nahiego Mbouvé*. But though we can forgive these minor deceptions, which are mere "trifling with our feelings," we cannot so easily forgive M. du Chaillu's trifling with scientific truth when he presents us with copies of drawings which are alleged to be

portraits of a new species of ape, the *Nshiego Mbouvé*, but which in reality are copies (one direct and one in reverse) "from the photograph of the well-known young *Chimpanzee* in the Jardin des Plantes at Paris!" His silence being his only reply to this grave charge preferred by Dr. Gray, admits of but one conclusion. M. du Chaillu's employment of the likeness of one species of ape to represent that of another, has perhaps seemed to him in the first instance a more than ordinarily cogent reason for copying plates without acknowledgment, and may also explain why, in his second edition, he is still silent as to where the originals of those plates are to be found. Clearly, he would not be anxious to direct his reader's attention to the original plate of a *Chimpanzee* which he had copied for the purpose of representing an *Nshiego Mbouvé*.

The chronology of M. du Chaillu's narrative we cannot but characterize as exceedingly vague, loose, and unsatisfactory. There is, in respect to dates, two seemingly incompatible narratives. The apparent discrepancies are so complex, and M. du Chaillu's explanation is so incomplete, that we shall neither attempt to state the whole of those discrepancies, nor to "explain his explanation," which is as follows:—"I ought to have mentioned, in my original preface, that in order not to take my readers backwards and forwards, I completed my description of the northern region, including my expedition to the Fans, before beginning my southern journey to Cape Lopez, which in reality was the first exploration I made in 1856."

He then gives a brief chronological table of his journeys, the date of the journey to Cape Lopez being placed, according to the above statement, early in 1856. Altering the date of this journey from 1857 to 1856, makes it possible also to assign the date of 1857 to one of the two narratives, both of which seem to refer to the same months of the year 1858, and which, therefore, were incompatible. But we confess ourselves still puzzled: M. du Chaillu tells us that near the end of October, 1856, he ascended the Moondah river, and then crossed to the Gaboon country. The chapter containing the narrative of that journey ends with these words:—"From the Ikoi Creek I returned, without incident or adventure, to the Gaboon" (p. 126); and the opening words of the next chapter are,—“My stay in Gaboon was only long enough to enable me to secure my specimens, and send them on, and to prepare myself for a trip to Cape Lopez” (p. 127). Certainly these words leave the impression on the reader's mind that the journey to Cape Lopez followed immediately after the one up the Moondah. But M. du Chaillu now assures us that he started for Cape Lopez in April, 1856. In his chronological table, he says he reached Africa in December, 1855, and stayed

at Gaboon to acclimate himself during January, February, and March of 1856; so that the Cape Lopez journey was the first he made. If so, and if he had been staying, as he states, three months at Gaboon immediately before starting on that journey, what is the meaning of the passages—"My stay at Gaboon was *only long enough* to enable me to secure my *specimens*, and send them on, and to prepare myself for a trip to Cape Lopez?" What specimens? He had as yet, according to his own showing, not begun even his first exploration, and therefore had procured no specimens, we suppose, unless by purchase. Two quite different reasons are given by M. du Chaillu for this stay at Gaboon before the Cape Lopez journey: one, that he might acclimate himself; the other, to secure his specimens. The first agrees with his recently-made statement that his journey to Cape Lopez was the first he made; the second is only intelligible when we assume, as we were first led to believe, that his Cape Lopez journey followed his ascent of the Moondah. We should like to know which of these two statements is the true one. According to Dr. Gray, there is a paper bearing date 1855, in the "Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia," from which it appears, that previously to that date, M. du Chaillu "traced the river Moondah to its source;" and traced "the existence of three ranges of mountains at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from the coast." If, during the years "which were chiefly devoted to commercial pursuits," he accomplished these journeys, did he really repeat them in the period over which his narrative is said to extend? Will not the ascent of the Moondah have to be eliminated from 1856 altogether, as the journey to Cape Lopez has been from 1857? But enough of this strange chronological jumble. We are, we repeat, thoroughly puzzled, and seem likely to remain so. We certainly think M. du Chaillu would only evince due regard to his own reputation, were he to give a *full* and accurate chronological account of his movements during the four years of 1856—9, instead of the meagre statement which he has appended to the preface of the second edition of his work; and also such explanations or acknowledgments of the misstatements in his itinerary, indicated by "R. B. S." and his severer critic Dr. Gray in the *Athenæum*, as are likely to assure impartial judges of his uniform truthfulness.

Notwithstanding the facts just indicated, which preclude us from feeling that implicit trust in M. du Chaillu's narrative which otherwise we should place in it, we cannot help believing it to be substantially true. It is pervaded by an air of verisimilitude, reality, and good faith, which generate confidence. Moreover, it presents such abundant evidence of the general good sense and enlightened intelligence of the writer, that we feel assured he would be too wise, if he were not too honest, to attempt to de-

ceive the English and American public by a monstrous fabrication, the falsehood of which must speedily be demonstrated and cover him with infamy. Indeed, we do not believe the numerous narratives in the volume could have been invented: if they were, all we can say is, they rival in ability and interest the great fiction of Defoe. To us their general truthfulness is a far more credible hypothesis. To this, therefore—in common with Sir Roderick Murchison, Professor Owen, and Professor Huxley—we hold; and proceeding upon it, we shall, without further adverse criticism, make our readers acquainted with the more important results of M. du Chaillu's explorations in the western part of equatorial Africa.

His very interesting narrative of his travels and adventures abounds in original information respecting the rivers, animals (including the man-like gorilla), and human inhabitants of the regions which he visited. Interested in, and evidently attaching great value to, the labours of Christian missionaries in Africa, he is wholly free from religious superstition, or the blind fanaticism of Exeter Hall, and impresses us as peculiarly qualified to investigate wisely and impartially the ideas and usages of a savage people, and especially to acquire and communicate a correct knowledge of the rude notions and beliefs of the natives respecting the "spirit-world," and the supposed invisible agencies which preside over and control their lives. An American gentleman of French descent, he was, he says, associated in business with his father during four years, on the African coast, and thus had the immense advantage of obtaining an acquaintance with the languages and customs of the natives around him, and of inuring his constitution to brave the dangers of the climate before he began his explorations, the object of which was, not only to acquaint himself with the region lying between lat. 2° north and lat. 2° south, and extending eastward as far as he could penetrate, in the interests of geography and natural history; but also to ascertain if in the interior there might not be found a region fertile and populous, and at the same time healthy, where missionaries, who, on the low coasts, too often fall victims to their pious zeal, could labour with safety and advantage, and where trading stations beneficial alike to whites and natives might be established.

The three large streams which pour themselves into the Atlantic, on the African coast, between the equator and lat. 2° south, and which are respectively designated on the maps as the rivers Nazareth, Mexias, and Fernand Vas, have been hitherto supposed to be distinct rivers; but the explorations of M. du Chaillu prove them to be only separate mouths in the vast delta of one great river—the Ogobai; the three chief tributaries of which are the N'gouyai, the Okanda, and that part of what has hitherto<sup>a</sup> been called the Fernand Vas which for the last forty miles of its course runs in a north-westerly direction, parallel with and very

near to the coast. This branch, which at twenty miles from its mouth is three miles wide, and which in its upper part is called the Ovenga, he appears to have traced to its source in the Ashaukolo Mountains—part of the range nearest to the sea. Ascending one of the chief outlets of the Ogobai—the N'poulounay; and then, after passing some distance up the Ogobai itself, exploring one of its small tributaries—the Anengue—M. du Chaillu entered a splendid lake, "at least ten miles wide, and dotted with various beautiful wooded islands." On one side it is bounded by hills which come close down to the shore. Many of these hills are crowned with native villages. The whole country around is filled with the india-rubber vine. In the month of May the lake was everywhere deep enough for steamers of moderate draught; in August "it was still a beautiful sheet of water, and good enough for navigation;" but all over it the dry season had brought out, as also in the "noble stream" of the Ogobai, an eruption of black mud islands, on which reposed hosts of crocodiles. "Wherever the eye was turned, these disgusting beasts, with their dull leer, and huge, savage jaws, appeared in prodigious numbers. Though in this season the Ogobai had sunk fifteen feet lower than it was in May, it was still deep, and navigable by vessels of good size; and the shallower N'poulounay was "yet quite practicable for a steamer of light draught." The river N'gouyai, a chief tributary of the Ogobai, runs westward, and is fed by the mountain range already mentioned as traversing the continent in the line of the equator. The scenery along its course M. du Chaillu describes as growing "grander and bolder" as he advanced. "Every mile of downward progress," he says, "seemed to bring us to a more magnificent country." Before its junction with the Okanda, its course is broken by splendid falls, called by the natives *Samba Nagoshi*, and named by M. du Chaillu, in honour of the French Empress, the *Eugenie Falls*. But though he thus baptized them he never saw them. Having descended the river to a point about five miles above them, where he halted, and where their "mighty roar" sounded in his ears all night, he was prevented from reaching them by the resolute refusal of his men to accompany him: they alleged that a hostile tribe living in the forest on the way would kill them. "That the fall of Samba Nagoshi is a majestic sight," says M. du Chaillu, "all the descriptions of the Negroes go to prove. It is the great marvel of which all the tribes have heard, even those who live at a distance, and of which all speak with awe and wonder." The upper part of this river is called by the natives the *Apingi*; it runs in a northerly direction, and at the highest point of it reached by M. du Chaillu, he found it "300 yards wide, and from three to four fathoms deep in the channel." The Okanda, said to be the largest

by far of the tributaries of the Ogobai, and which runs in a south-westerly direction, M. du Chaillu did not explore.

The river next in importance to the Ogobai, which was examined by M. du Chaillu, is the Muni, already known, and whose chief tributaries are the N'tongo, the N'dina, the Noya, and the N'tambounay which is the principal stream, and into which a smaller river—the Moondah—empties itself. Most of these tributaries of the Muni have their source in the coast range of mountains—the Sierra del Crystal—and are of no great length, the longest being not more than about eighty miles long. The Muni enters the sea in  $1^{\circ} 2'$  north lat., and is, like most of the rivers of the coast, bounded by mangrove swamps; but near the mouth the highlands are visible in the background, and make up a picturesque scene. Ascending the N'tambounay, the river continues wide, being for the first twenty miles at least 200 yards across all the way. The course of the stream is dotted and interrupted by many small islands, whose shores are bordered with graceful palms, and its banks form a most charming landscape. "The Moondah, which enters the sea about half a degree north of the equator, is," says M. du Chaillu, "a most disagreeable and unhealthy river, one vast swamp, which seems little likely ever to be useful to man. I was forced," he adds, "to take quinine twice a day while going up; and the few natives who live near its banks are a poor set, sickly, and with little energy."

The country traversed by M. du Chaillu presents great variety of aspect: extensive swamps, rich prairies, woods almost impenetrable, hills of considerable height, and the mountain ranges of the Sierra del Crystal, reaching 5000 feet above the sea, as well as the great range running eastward, and called by the natives the *Nkoomoonabouali*; these several features, intersected by the numerous rivers before mentioned, constitute a landscape combining tropical exuberance and Alpine beauty.

The mineral riches of the country remain wholly unexplored: iron is seen, however, to be everywhere plentiful. Among the more important vegetable products we may mention the ebony tree, the india-rubber vine, and the oil-yielding palm. The ebony tree is found in abundance, and its wood is an article of regular native traffic. In almost every direction M. du Chaillu encountered the india-rubber vine, the juice from which might become an unfailing source of wealth, were it carefully collected for exportation. Not less abundant is the oil-yielding palm. Referring to the country of the Apingi tribe, M. du Chaillu says:—

"I never saw such vast quantities of palms, all hanging full of ripe nuts. Thousands of tons of oil might easily be made here, and transported on rafts by water to the seaboard, if only the trade could

once be opened. The Apingi eat the nuts, and seem to thrive upon them."

In the same region grows also another exceedingly valuable palm. The fibrous parts of its leaves are woven by the natives into a beautiful texture known as grass-cloth, which is generally preferred by the natives to our common cottons. Even the Apingi who manufacture it evinced unwillingness to exchange it for the cloths which M. du Chaillu offered.

Among the animals encountered by M. du Chaillu, the most remarkable, always excepting the gorilla and his near relations, is the Bashikouay ant.

"It is the dread of all living animals, from the leopard to the smallest insect. I do not think that they build a nest or home of any kind. At any rate they carry nothing away, but eat all their prey on the spot. It is their habit to march through the forests in a long regular line—a line about two inches broad and often several miles in length. All along this line are larger ants, who act as officers, stand outside the ranks, and keep this singular army in order. If they come to a place where there are no trees to shelter them from the sun, whose heat they cannot bear, they immediately build underground tunnels, through which the whole army passes in columns to the forest beyond. These tunnels are four or five feet underground, and are used only in the heat of the day or during a storm.

"When they grow hungry the long file spreads itself through the forest in a front line, and attacks and devours all it overtakes with a fury which is quite irresistible. The elephant and gorilla fly before this attack. The black men run for their lives. Every animal that lives in their line of march is chased. They seem to understand and act upon the tactics of Napoleon, and concentrate, with great speed, their heaviest forces on the point of attack. In an incredibly short space of time the mouse, or dog, or leopard, or deer, is overwhelmed, killed, eaten, and the bare skeleton only remains.

"They seem to travel night and day. Many a time have I been awakened out of a sleep, and obliged to rush from the hut and into the water to save my life, and after all suffered intolerable agony from the bites of the advance-guard, who had got into my clothes. When they enter a house they clear it of all living things. Cockroaches are devoured in an instant. Rats and mice spring round the room in vain. An overwhelming force of ants kills a strong rat in less than a minute, in spite of the most frantic struggles, and in less than another minute its bones are stripped. Every living thing in the house is devoured. They will not touch vegetable matter. Thus they are in reality very useful (as well as dangerous) to the Negroes, who have their huts cleared of all the abounding vermin, such as immense cockroaches and centipedes, at least several times a year.

"When on their march the insect world flies before them, and I have often had the approach of a bashikouay army heralded to me by this means. Wherever they go they make a clean sweep, even

ascending to the tops of the highest trees in pursuit of their prey. Their manner of attack is an impetuous *leap*. Instantly the strong pincers are fastened, and they only let go when the piece gives way. At such times this little animal seems animated by a kind of fury, which causes it to disregard entirely its own safety, and to seek only the conquest of its prey. The bite is very painful.

"The Negroes relate that criminals were in former times exposed in the path of the bashikouay ants, as the most cruel manner of putting them to death. Two very remarkable practices of theirs remain to be related. When on their line of march they require to cross a narrow stream, they throw themselves across and form a tunnel—a living tunnel—connecting two trees or high bushes on opposite sides of the little stream, whenever they can find such to facilitate the operation. This is done with great speed, and is effected by a great number of ants, each of which clings with its fore claws to its next neighbour's body or hind claws. Thus they form a high, safe, tubular bridge, *through* which the whole vast regiment marches in regular order. If disturbed, or if the arch is broken by the violence of some animal, they instantly attack the offender with the greatest animosity. . . . Their numbers are so great that one does not like to enter into calculations; but I have seen one continuous line passing at good speed a particular place for *twelve hours*."

The lake Anengue, and the several rivers visited by M. du Chaillu, abound, he says, in fish which attract vast numbers of water-fowl to prey upon them. When at the lake, he sent out his net, and in a few minutes his men caught fish enough for supper and breakfast. Sharks are held sacred by the natives inhabiting at least one part of the coast near the equator, and, of course, swarm there in frightful plentitude. The mouth of a stream, appropriately named Shark River, is described as "actually alive with huge sharks."

"The Negroes boast that they can swim the river without danger if only they have nothing red about them; and, in fact," says M. du Chaillu, "all my men swam across without accident, first carefully concealing those parts of their scanty dress which might have the obnoxious colour. . . . The natives believe that if they should kill one [of these fish] there would be no safety from their attacks thereafter. It is certainly very singular that they should not attack men in the water, for on any other of the numerous points on the coast where they abound, a man would be instantly killed did he venture among them."

Cape Lopez and the adjoining coasts are famous for turtle, many of which, on some occasions, may be overturned and secured in a few minutes. Unlike the shark, the crocodile is not protected by a halo of sanctity, but is devoured with eagerness by the natives, who have a special fondness for his flesh. But though constantly hunted as a choice article of food, "they do not decrease



in numbers, nor, strange enough, do they seem to grow more wary."

Hippopotami are constantly met with in the principal rivers which M. du Chaillu explored. They were abundant in the Fernand Vaz, but still more so in the Ogobai and other of the interior streams.

"They are very combative among themselves, and bear marks on their bodies of desperate conflicts. . . . The young males suffer particularly in these encounters, as they are much imposed upon by the grown males, who are jealous of them. . . . It was my good fortune once to be witness to a combat between two hippopotami. It occurred in broad daylight. I was concealed on the bank of the stream, and had been for some time watching the sports of a herd, when suddenly two huge beasts rose to the surface of the water and rushed together. Their vast and hideous mouths were opened to their widest possible extent, their eyes were flaming with rage, and every power was put forth by each to annihilate the other. They seized each other with their jaws; they stabbed and punched with their strong tusks; they advanced and retreated; were now at the top of the water and again sank down to the bottom. Their blood discoloured the river, and their groans of rage were hideous to listen to. They showed little powers of strategy, but rather a piggish obstinacy in maintaining their ground, and a frightful savageness of demeanour. The combat lasted an hour. It was evident that their tusks could not give very dangerous wounds to such thickly-protected bodies as theirs. At last one turned about and made off, leaving the other victorious and master of the field.

"My observations lead me to believe that in general the hippopotamus will not wantonly attack a canoe passing on the river. They either do not seem to notice it at all, or else avoid it by diving under water. They are troublesome beasts, however, to the traveller paddling along in a frail canoe, for they are very apt to rise suddenly under a boat and throw it over, to their own alarm, as well as to the inconvenience and danger of the passengers. In some instances, the huge beast becomes desperate from fright, thinks himself attacked, and with great rage demolishes the canoe. But even in such cases I have not heard of their ever touching the swimming passengers, who have only to keep away from the canoe to make sure their escape. . . . The negroes who hunt the hippopotamus are sometimes killed. The animal, if only wounded, turns most savagely upon its assailant."

M. du Chaillu may be right in believing that, as a general rule, the hippopotamus never attacks man unless in self-defence. But Mr. Petherick records a terrible instance to the contrary. As he and his party were passing down the Upper Nile, one of these animals suddenly rose close to the boat, and seizing in its frightful mouth the cook of the expedition, who was sitting on the gunwale, instantly carried him under water. Of course it is possible that in this case the animal had been enraged by the sudden contact of the boat; but Mr. Petherick does not seem

to be aware that the boat touched it, and there is no evidence that it did.

The meat of the hippopotamus is said to be not unlike beef, though of a coarser grain, and not fat. It makes a really wholesome and welcome dish, and is very much liked by the natives. It is evidently far superior to the meat of the elephant, which M. du Chaillu, who could never acquire a taste for it, declares to be the toughest and most disagreeable meat he ever tasted. He says we have no flesh that tastes like it, that its flavour is not unpleasant, but that when it has been boiled for two days, twelve hours each day, it is still tough. Nevertheless, the Fan tribe of natives are very fond of it, and hunt the elephant as much for the sake of its flesh as for its tusks, which are mostly sent to the coast for sale to the white man. Indeed, according to Mr. Petherick, the Neam Nam tribe, who dwell in about the same latitude as the Fans, hunt the elephant for the sake of its flesh only, which they devour apparently with almost as much enjoyment as they can be supposed to have when they feast on human victims. On his arrival among them, they were wholly ignorant of the value of ivory, and left the precious tusks lying in the forests where their owners had been captured and slain. We cannot help wishing that the Negroes generally could have remained as ignorant of the commercial value of ivory as were these poor Neam Nams before they were visited by Mr. Petherick: the vast and continuous destruction of the most magnificent denizen of the forest—the animal which is capable of becoming at once the most docile and the most powerful of man's servants—bids fair to effect, at no very distant date, its total extinction. As soon as this tribe found that with elephants' tusks they could buy the much-coveted beads which Mr. Petherick exhibited, their eagerness for wholesale slaughter of the noble beast was suddenly and immensely intensified. The first result of the white man's revelation is seen in the following revolting narrative by Mr. Petherick, who, after a fortnight's sojourn at the village of Mundo, was informed that a herd of eighteen elephants was in the vicinity:—

“Old men, hags, warriors, women, and children collected with the most sanguine expectations; and anxious to witness the scene, I accompanied the hunters: a finer body of well-grown and active men I never beheld. The slaves, many of them from the Baer, but most of them appertaining to unknown tribes from the west, were all but black, and followed their more noble-looking and olive-coloured masters. Two hours' march—the first part through cultivated ground, and the latter through magnificent bush—brought us to the open plain, covered hip-deep with dry grass; and there were the elephants marching leisurely towards us. The Negroes, about five hundred, swift as antelopes, formed a vast circle round them, and by their yells

brought their huge game to a stand-still. As if by magic, the plain was on fire, and the elephants in the midst of the roar and crackling of the flames, were obscured from our view by the smoke. Where I stood, and along the line as far as I could see, the grass was beaten down to prevent the outside of the circle from being seized in the conflagration; and in a short time—not more than half-an-hour—the fire having exhausted itself, the cloud of smoke gradually rising again displayed the group of elephants to our view, standing as if petrified. As soon as the burning embers had become sufficiently extinct, the negroes, with a whoop, closed from all sides upon their prey. The fire and smoke had blinded them; and, unable to defend themselves, they successively fell by the lances of their assailants. The sight was grand, and although their tusks proved a rich prize, I was touched at the massacre."

Without further reference to other animals discovered or described by M. du Chaillu, we must pass on to his account of the remarkable anthropoid apes, and especially to that of the lion of the season, the troglodytes gorilla. For several centuries that remarkable ape, the chimpanzee, has been vaguely known as an inhabitant of Western Africa. It was named by Tyson, in 1699, the *Homo silvestris*; Linnæus called it the *Homo troglodytes*, and Blumenbach the *Simia troglodytes*. By this last name it has been generally known to the scientific world. Subsequently an allied species, the orang-outang, the *Simia satyrus*, was discovered in Borneo.

In 1780, the skeleton of what was believed to be another large ape was forwarded to Europe from Batavia, by the Baron Wurmb, the resident governor. He called it the Pongo. This animal Professor Owen has demonstrated to be the adult orang. From the beginning of the seventeenth century to near the middle of the nineteenth, many traveller's stories have obtained currency respecting anthropoid apes, or wild men of the woods in Africa, which obviously could not refer to the already known chimpanzee. Indeed, they do not strictly apply to any single species of ape hitherto known. It is probable that the characteristics of different species, first distinctly described by M. du Chaillu, have been confounded in the vague descriptions which reached Europe, and which were supposed to refer only to one as yet scientifically unknown species. The first positive knowledge of an anthropoid ape inhabiting Africa, and having characters distinct from those of the chimpanzee, was obtained in 1847. By the labours of numerous observers, last but not least important of whom is M. du Chaillu, we are now acquainted with ten different kinds or varieties of tailless apes, namely, the chimpanzee (*Troglodytes niger*), the kooloo-kamba (*Troglodytes kooloo-kamba*), the nshiego-mbouvé (*Troglodytes calvus*), the gorilla (*Troglodytes*

gorilla), two species of the orang-outang (*Simia satyrus*), and four species of the gibbon (*Hylobates*), including the Siamang. The four first are found in equatorial Africa. The oranges are natives of Borneo and Sumatra; the gibbons are distributed through Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Malacca, and Siam.

Of the African apes, the chimpanzee, the kooloo-kamba, and the nshiego-mbouvé live almost exclusively in trees. They are so nearly allied in general character, that the two latter are regarded as mere varieties of the chimpanzee. The skin of each is black; each is clothed nearly all over the body with hair black, or nearly black; but the face of the young chimpanzee is yellow, while that of the young nshiego-mbouvé is astonishingly white. The young kooloo-kamba has not yet been observed. They are all alike strict vegetarians, feeding chiefly on nuts and fruits. It is stated in books that the chimpanzee builds a kind of nest for itself amongst the branches of trees, and lives in small societies. M. du Chaillu, however, declares that though the young consort in companies, the adults are not gregarious, but go in pairs or singly, and that there is no evidence that it builds any kind of nest or shelter for itself. When young it is very tractable, and although when grown up untamable, still not ferocious. It has never been known to attack man. The females of the chimpanzee are said to watch their offspring during two complete years, and, as recorded by M. du Chaillu, the young apes are so strongly attached to their mothers, that if the latter are killed they cling to them, tenaciously evincing pathetic affection exceedingly painful to witness. The young, as of all apes, have a much more human expression of countenance than is presented by the adult, owing to the much greater development of the jaws in the latter. It can walk erect, but its structure implies its peculiar fitness for an arboreal life. The stature of a full developed adult is said to be about four feet. The young which have been brought to this country (and only the young have been seen here, for they die generally of consumption at no distant date after their arrival) have not usually exceeded two feet.

The first and only specimen of the kooloo-kamba which has been seen by a white man is the one shot, and described by M. du Chaillu. Its name, he says, is derived from the native word "kamba," to speak, and the peculiar note which it utters and repeats—*koola-kooloo, koola-kooloo*. This specimen was four feet three inches high. According to M. du Chaillu's account, its head and face are remarkably round, its forehead broad and higher than that of the chimpanzee, the eyes wide apart, the ears large, and very similar to those of man; its cheekbones are prominent, the cheeks sunken, nose flat, and the jaws are less prominent than in the other apes. It is remarkable also for its

whiskers of straight hair, which extend quite round the face and below the chin. Its face is bare and black; its upper extremities reach below the knee; they are partially covered with long hair, and are partly bare. The animal was sitting in a tree at the time it was shot. M. du Chaillu was particularly impressed with its human appearance, and was at once convinced that of all known apes it approaches nearest to man. Speaking of its head, he says, "This struck me at once as having an expression curiously like to an Esquimaux or Chinaman."

Of the third variety of the chimpanzee, the *nshiego-mbouvé*,\* M. du Chaillu captured several specimens: one measured four feet four inches, another three feet eleven inches, and a third—a female—three feet nine inches. The *nshiego-mbouvé* is remarkable for its bald head, and is consequently distinguished as the *troglodytes calvus*. It has eyebrows of thin black hair. The ears and mouth are remarkably large, the chin round, and, as well as the sides of the face, is thinly covered with hair. It usually progresses on all-fours, is not gregarious, and solitary old bachelors or widowers are occasionally encountered. Its cry is "Hew! hew! hew!" It is distinguished from all the other African apes by building for itself an umbrella-like shelter around the stem of the tree which it has chosen to inhabit. This shelter consists of a dome of leafy branches, about ten feet in diameter, so constructed as to throw off the rain. The branches are bound together, and to the tree around the stem of which they are placed, by wild vines and creepers, which abound in the African forests. The dome is carefully adjusted to such a distance above the branch which the ape has chosen for his seat, as will enable him when seated to place his head close to the central and inner portion of the roof; his legs are so drawn up that his feet rest on the branch on which he sits, and he puts one arm round the trunk of the tree for security. The male and female occupy different trees near each other, having each a separate dome. They both labour in collecting the material for their shelters: when it is brought together, the male builds them, the female carrying the branches up to him. They very frequently build new shelters, often, it is said, at an interval of about ten days. The reason assigned for this is, that the leaves becoming dry and withered, cease to be capable of affording protection from the rain, and hence the shelters need to be renewed. Probably another reason is that the animal is forced to migrate from place to place in search of its favourite food, the quantity of which needful for its sustenance being speedily exhausted in any limited

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\* The word *nshiego* is the native name for the chimpanzee, and *mbouvé* is the native word signifying another tribe.

area. M. du Chaillu gives a very interesting account of a young nshiego which he captured. Hearing the baby-like cry of the young animal, he and his men crawled through the bush as silently as possible in the hope of taking it, and at last saw something running along the ground where they were concealed. "It was a female nshiego-mbouvé running on all-fours with a young one clinging to her breasts; she was eagerly eating some berries, and with one arm supported her little one." Fired upon, she dropped without a struggle. The poor little one cried, "Hew! hew! hew!" and clung to the dead body, sucking the breasts, burying its head there in its alarm at the report of the gun. Its baby face "was pure white—*very* white indeed—pallid, but as white as a white child's," although the face of its mother was as black as soot. The little one was about a foot in height. Until the return of the hunters to their camp it had been kept separate from its dead mother, but afterwards,

"when it was put near her body, a most touching scene ensued: the little fellow ran instantly to her, but touching her on the face and breast, saw evidently that some great change had happened. For a few minutes he caressed her, as though trying to coax her back to life. Then he seemed to lose all hope. His little eyes became very sad, and he broke out in a long plaintive wail—'Oooo! oooo! oooo!' which made my heart ache for him. He looked quite forlorn, and as though he really felt his forsaken lot. The whole camp was touched at his sorrows, and the women especially were moved."

In three days after his capture he became almost tame. In a fortnight he was perfectly so. He no longer required to be tied up, but ran about the camp and found "his way about the adjoining village and into the huts just as though he had been raised there." His education progressed so rapidly that at the end of the third day he would eat biscuits out of M. du Chaillu's hand, appreciated boiled rice and roasted plantain, and drank the milk of a goat. He evinced great affection and was very fond of being petted. He became an accomplished thief, and carried on his depredations with surprising skill and cunning. As his initiation into the mysteries of civilized life progressed he grew quite an epicurean: he learnt to eat flesh with unmistakeable relish, to regard fish as an especial delicacy, to appreciate good coffee—refusing it unless properly sugared, and even rivalled his human companions in the delight which he derived from "the bottle"!

"He showed an extraordinary fondness for strong drink. Whenever a Negro had palm-wine, Tommy was sure to know of it. He had a decided taste for Scotch ale, . . . and even begged for brandy. Indeed, his last exploit was with a brandy-bottle, which, on going out," says M. du Chaillu, "I had carelessly left on my chest. When I returned, I found my precious bottle broken in pieces, and Master Tommy

coiled up on the floor by the side of the fragments in a state of maudlin drunkenness. . . . He looked disgustingly, and yet comically human. . . . I gave him a severe thrashing, but nothing could cure him of his love of liquor."

He dined regularly with M. du Chaillu, seated by his side. If he received what he did not want, he threw it down on the ground with a little shriek of anger and a stamp of his foot. If he were pleased quickly, he thanked his host by a kind of gentle murmur, like "Hoo-hoo," and would hold out his hand for a kindly shake. Poor little fellow! he soon died, having survived his capture only five months.

In 1846, an American missionary residing near the Gaboon discovered, first a skull, and afterwards another skull and part of a skeleton, which he presented to Dr. Savage, of Boston; these, together with a third skull subsequently received, enabled Dr. Savage and Professor Jeffries Wyman to demonstrate the existence of a man-like animal before unknown to the scientific world.

Hanno, the Carthaginian, who is supposed to have made his voyage along the African coast in the sixth century before Christ, was sent out by the government of Carthage to circumnavigate the African continent. In the account of his voyage the following passage occurs:—

"On the third day, having sailed from thence, passing the streams of fire, we came to the bay called the Horn of the South. In the recess was an island like the first, having a lake, and in this there was another island full of wild men. But much the greater part of them were women with hairy bodies, whom the interpreters called gorillas.

. . . But pursuing them we were not able to take the men; they all escaped from us by their great agility, being *cremnobates* (that is to say, climbing precipitous rocks and trees), and defending themselves by throwing stones at us. We took three women, who bit and tore those who caught them, and were unwilling to follow. We were obliged, therefore, to kill them, and took their skins off, which skins were brought to Carthage, for we did not navigate further, provisions becoming scarce."

We give this very interesting passage because, though it is not a true description of any known animal, it suggested to Drs. Savage and Wyman the name which they gave to the animal first scientifically described by them in 1847. M. du Chaillu claims the honour of being the first white man who has hunted the gorilla, and who can speak of its character and habits from personal knowledge. Accepting his statements, we shall now endeavour to sketch the portrait of his novel and very interesting acquaintance.

The gorilla is a quadrumanous animal, whose height when erect usually varies from five feet two inches to five feet eight inches, although one skeleton is said to exist reaching six feet two inches. If we understand M. du Chaillu rightly, these measurements

extend to the tip of the toe instead of to the heel, according to the method by which the height of human beings is taken; if so, the average stature of the animal is several inches less than that of man. The colour of the gorilla's skin is an intense black, but the male animal, on being viewed at a short distance, does not appear thus black, because he is covered with hair the colour of which, nearly all over the body, is a sort of iron-grey—its peculiarity being due to the fact that the individual hairs are ringed alternately black and grey. The head is covered with reddish brown hair, short and extending almost to the neck. The reddish crown which covers the scalp of the male is not apparent in the female till she is almost grown up; her hair is black with a decided tinge of red, and not ringed as in the male. In both male and female the anterior part of the chest is bare, and in both the hair is found to be worn off the back, but only in very old females. It is supposed that this is due to their sitting at night with their backs resting against trees under which they sleep.

The longest and darkest hair—sometimes over two inches long—is on the arms; from the shoulder to the elbow it grows downwards, on the forearm it grows upwards. The back of the hand is hairy as far as the division of the fingers, those, as in man, being covered with short thin hairs. The lower, or posterior extremities, are also thickly covered with hair, which on the foot extends to the division of the toes. Very old gorillas, the Negroes say, become grey all over. Compared with the other anthropoid apes, the gorilla, owing to his enormous supra-orbital ridge, seems to have a remarkably flat and retreating forehead. He has an immense, overhanging frontal ridge, and the eyes are deeply sunken, thus giving to the face the expression of a constant savage scowl. The jaws are exceedingly projecting, of great weight, and tremendous power, and, in the male especially, are furnished with enormous canine teeth, approaching to the character of tusks. "The eyebrows are thin, but not well defined, and are almost lost in the hair of the scalp. The eyelashes are thin also. The eyes are wide apart; the ears are smaller than those of man, and in form closely resemble the human ear. They are almost on the same parallel with the eyes. On a front view of the face, the nose is flat, but somewhat prominent, more so than any other ape." The shoulders are extraordinarily broad, and the chest immense; the pectoral regions in the male show slightly projecting a pair of nipples as in the other apes and in the human species. The female mammae have but a slight development. The abdomen is very large and prominent. The arms are enormously strong, and reach all but down to the knees. The forearm is nearly of uniform size from the wrist to the elbow. The legs are remarkably short, and nearly destitute of calf. The hands, especially in the male, are of immense size,



the fingers short and thick, "the circumference of the middle finger at the first joint being in some gorillas over six inches." The thumb is shorter than in man, and not half so thick as the fore finger. The foot, though longer than the hand, is broad, and looks somewhat like a giant hand of immense power and grasp. The great toe, or "hallux," reaches only to the end of the first phalanx of the second toe, and diverges from the other toes at an angle of  $60^{\circ}$  from the axis of the foot. In both position and function it is a true thumb. Each of its two joints measured, in one specimen, six and a half inches in circumference. The second, third, and fourth toes are partly united by a web.

The gorilla usually walks on all-fours; the arms being very long, the head and breast are raised considerably, and he appears, as he proceeds, to be half erect. He does not place the palm of his hand on the ground, but the backs of the fingers, which are semi-flexed, the skin on the middle phalanx and knuckles being, in consequence, callous and very thick. M. du Chaillu says that the leg and arm on the same side move together, which gives the beast a curious waddle; also that the hind legs move between the arms, the latter being somewhat bowed outward. The gorilla can run at great speed; although he ordinarily progresses on all-fours, he not unfrequently walks erect, and there is no doubt, says M. du Chaillu, that he can do so with greater ease and for a longer time than either the chimpanzee or the nshiego-mbouvé. When standing up, his knees are bent at the joints outwards, and his back has a stoop forward. Proceeding in this position, his legs seem to totter beneath his weight, and he uses his long arms in a clumsy way to balance himself and keep up his ill-sustained equilibrium. The strength of the gorilla is enormous: with his arms he can break trees from four to six inches in diameter; and with one blow of his huge paw, armed with its nails, he easily breaks the breastbone of a man, crushes his skull, or tears out his entrails. M. du Chaillu says that a Negro, while out hunting *with him*, attempted to shoot a male gorilla, that his gun missed fire, and that being then defenceless, he was instantly struck down by a blow on the abdomen, the walls of which were torn open, laying bare part of the intestines. Beside the Negro lay his gun; the stock was broken, and the barrel was not only bent but flattened. This flattening affords conclusive evidence of the enormous strength of the animal's jaw, and of his temporal muscles, as the barrel bore plainly the marks of his teeth.\*

The only sounds uttered by the female and young, which were

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\* Professor Owen, in his paper "On the Gorilla" (Proc. Zool. Soc., Jan. 11th, 1859), says he was told by the captain of a Bristol trader, that a Negro at the Gaboon had shown him "a gun-barrel bent and partly flattened by the bite of a wounded gorilla in its death-struggle." Have two gun-barrels been thus bent and flattened?

heard by M. du Chaillu, were sudden cries or shrieks expressive of alarm when intruded upon; the male when disturbed emits "several sharp barks like an enraged or mad dog, whereupon ensues a long, deeply guttural, rolling roar, continued for over a minute, and which, doubled and multiplied by the surrounding echoes of the forest, fills the hunter's ears with the deep rolling thunder of an approaching storm. . . . I have reason to believe," he adds, "that I have heard this roar at a distance of three miles."

There seems to be very generally, in the minds of the natives who come in contact with the gorilla, a strong instinctive feeling of his human attributes. Speaking of a young female gorilla which he had caught, and which soon afterwards died, M. du Chaillu says:—

"While she was alive, no woman who was *enceinte*, nor the husband of such woman dare approach her cage; they believed firmly, that should the husband of a woman with child, or the woman herself, see a gorilla, even a dead one, she would give birth to a gorilla and not to a man child. This superstition," he says, "I have noticed among other tribes too, and only in the case of the gorilla. . . . The natives believe, in all this country, that there is a kind of gorilla which is the residence of certain spirits of departed negroes. Such gorillas, the natives believe, can never be caught or killed; and also they have much more shrewdness and sense than the common animal; in fact, in these 'possessed' beasts, it would seem that the intelligence of man is united with the strength and ferocity of the beast."

After M. du Chaillu's first interview with the gorilla, he writes:—

"I protest I felt almost like a murderer when I saw the gorilla this first time. As they ran, they looked fearfully like hairy men; their heads down, their bodies inclined forward, their whole appearance like men running for their lives."

In another place he speaks of the gorilla's death-cry when shot as a

"Half roar, half shriek, which, while it announces to the hunter his safety, yet tingles in his ears with a dreadful note of human agony. It is this lurking reminiscence of humanity, indeed, which makes one of the chief ingredients of the hunter's excitement in his attack of the gorilla;" and elsewhere he adds, "there is enough likeness to humanity in this beast to make a dead one an awful sight even to accustomed eyes as mine were by this time. . . . It was as though I had killed some monstrous creation which yet had something of humanity in it. Well as I knew that this was an error, I could not help the feeling."

Despite his immense canine teeth, and his vast strength, enabling him, doubtless, to capture and kill almost every animal

frequenting the forest, the gorilla is a strict vegetarian. He is fond of the wild sugar-cane, the white ribs of the pine-apple leaf, the pith of some trees, and a pulpy pear-shaped fruit, growing close to the ground, called the *tondo*. (M. du Chaillu says—"I also am very fond of the subdued and grateful acid of this fruit, which the negroes eat as well as the gorilla.") He also feeds upon a kind of nut, the shell of which is so hard that it requires a strong blow with a heavy hammer to crack it. It has been suggested that the enormous strength of the animal's jaws, and of the temporal muscles, has been developed by the effort to crack these nuts. Considering the size and muscular force of the animal, and the nature of its food, it is obvious that it must be a huge feeder, and must quickly clear any limited area of the nourishment appropriate for it. The gorilla is necessarily, therefore, a great wanderer in search of fresh supplies, and in "constant battle with famine." It is not gregarious; more than two adults, male and female, never being found in company. A greater number of the young do associate; as many as five having been seen together. Sometimes an old male, we presume a widower, like the "rogue elephant," wanders companionless: "He is particularly morose and malignant, and dangerous to approach." The female and young, and even the male, unless suddenly encountered, are so shy at the approach of man that it is exceedingly difficult to obtain accurate knowledge of their habits. There is reason to believe, however, that the young gorillas sleep in trees for protection from wild beasts. It seems more doubtful whether the adult female invariably does so, and tolerably certain that the adult male never does. It is his custom to seat himself for the night with his back against the trunk of a tree, keeping guard, it is believed, while his mate and offspring are reposing on the branches above. M. du Chaillu's experience of two young gorillas, one a male, which he seems to have kept about sixteen days, and the other a female, which he kept ten days, leads him to believe that the animal is wholly untamable. They both resisted capture with great strength and vehemence; one of the Negroes engaged in the capture of the male received a severe bite from him on the hand, and another had a piece taken out of his leg. The little brute, though in age the merest baby, constantly rushed at his captors. After being put in a bamboo cage he was perfectly furious, darting at every one who came near him; he bit the bamboos of his house, glared at his attendants with sullen ferocious eyes, and showed in every motion a thoroughly malicious and intractable disposition. Having twice escaped from his bamboo cage, he was confined by a chain; after which, says M. du Chaillu,

"he added the vice of treachery to his others. He would come sometimes quite readily to eat out of my hand, but while I stood by him would suddenly—looking me all the time in the face, to keep my

attention—put out his foot and grasp at my leg. Several times he tore my pantaloons in this manner, quick retreat on my part saving my person. . . . The Negroes could not come near him at all without setting him in a rage.”

M. du Chaillu tried what starvation would do towards breaking his spirit, but in vain. Speaking of both his little captives, he says,—“ In no case could any treatment of mine, kind or harsh, subdue these little monsters from their first and lasting ferocity and malignity.” They both died.

When hunted, or intruded on by man, the female gorilla rushes off with loud and sudden cries or shrieks. The young gorillas, except the babies in arms, do the same; the latter “grasps its mother about the neck, and hangs beneath her breast, with its little legs about her body,” and is thus borne off. But the conduct of the adult male gorilla is far otherwise. It is believed that sometimes, when he hears the approach of the hunters, he quietly avoids them, for occasionally he has been tracked a considerable distance before being overtaken. The moment he sees his foe, however, he not only gives no sign of fear, but with deliberate courage advances upon him slowly, and with the certainty of fate. The only alternative of the hunter is to kill or be killed. Escape is impossible, and no arm except a good gun, rifle, or revolver, is a reliable weapon for attack or defence. The peril of the hunter's position is increased by the fact that he must not fire on his assailant till within eight or ten yards of him. The dense vegetation of the forest makes the aim dangerously uncertain at greater distances, while fatal accuracy is the only chance the hunter has of saving himself. Should the gun miss fire, or fail to kill, he is lost. It is worthy of remark, and much to the credit of the gorilla, that he evinces no desire either to torture his victim or even to be assured of his death. He is satisfied when his foe is effectually disabled. Having struck him down, he does not condescend to give him a second blow, but quietly retires, leaving him to his fate. His manner of advance to battle is very remarkable. On seeing his enemy, he first utters several short bark-like yells, which denote his rage, and have a peculiarly horrible effect, accompanied with terrible scowls of savage fury. The short hair of the scalp and the skin of the forehead are rapidly agitated; his huge teeth are ground together so forcibly that the sound is distinctly heard, and his wrinkled face is contorted with ferocious excitement. He advances a short distance in the erect position with slow deliberate step, then stops, and, seemingly in a spirit of defiance, beats his capacious chest with such vehemence that the drum-like sound may be heard at a great distance; he again advances, again stops, and, throwing back his head, utters his tremendous roar, already described, and occasionally will even sit down on a rock or branch of a tree, giving expression, meanwhile,

to his terrible rage. At length he approaches, intending to close with his enemy, when, at the critical moment, one shot usually kills him, and he falls forwards to the ground. Like man, he dies very easily, having none of that tenacity of life which distinguishes many wild animals.

"The Negroes never attack the gorilla with other weapons than guns; and in those parts of the far interior where no European guns had yet reached, as among the Apingi, this great beast roamed unmolested, the monarch of the forest. To kill a gorilla gives a hunter a life-long reputation for courage and enterprise, even among the bravest of the Negro tribes, who are generally, it may be said, not lacking in this quality of courage.

"The natives of the interior are very fond of the meat of the gorilla, and other apes. Gorilla meat is dark-red, and tough; the sea-shore tribes do not eat it, and are insulted by the offer of it, because they suspect some affinity between the animal and themselves. In the interior some families refuse to eat gorilla meat, from the superstitious belief (explained at length by M. du Chaillu) that at some time one of their female ancestors has brought forth a gorilla."

Among the anthropoid apes, no one species concentrates in itself all the peculiarities in which as a class they exhibit striking resemblances to man. The gorilla in many respects approaches nearest, in others the chimpanzee and its allies, while in others certain points of likeness in the orang are even yet more striking. It is only when we come to compare organ with organ, that we discover the various degrees in which on particular points the several species recede farther from, and on others approach nearer to man. We shall now attempt to indicate first the most salient points of zoölogical structure by which the *comparative* nearness of each of the higher apes to man is established, and shall then exhibit the broader and more general analogies which countenance the idea of a *positive* relationship. We hope so to array the more striking and obvious of the vast crowd of facts bearing on these questions, that with moderate attention they will not appear too technical for easy comprehension by non-professional readers.\*

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\* In order to avoid crowding our pages with references, we beg to express our special obligations to the article on the *Quadrupana*, by W. Vrolik; the one on the *Teeth*, by Professor Owen; the one on the *Nervous System*, by Dr. Todd, and the one on the *Varieties of Man*, by Dr. Carpenter, all of which are in Todd's comprehensive and rigorously scientific "Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology." We are also greatly indebted to the masterly article *On the Zoölogical Relations of Man with the Lower Animals*, by Professor Huxley; to the one *On the Affinities of the Brain of the Orang Utang*, by Professor Rolleston, and to the one *On the Cranium of the Most Ancient Races of Man*, by Professor Schaaflhausen, translated by Mr. Busk. These three articles appear in "The Natural History Review." Dr. Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind" has supplied us with many valuable facts, for some of which we shall make separate acknowledgments.

Dr. Wyman, of Boston, U.S., and Professor Geoffroy St. Hilaire, consider that all anatomical resemblances to man which distinguish the different simiæ being fairly estimated, the chimpanzee still holds his pre-eminence as the most anthropoid ape. Professor Owen, for reasons which seem to us more valid; concludes that the tailless quadrumana recede from the human type in the following order: gorilla, chimpanzee, orang, gibbon.

Compared with the other anthropoid apes, the gorilla is described as far more savage and ferocious; characteristics scarcely accordant, however, with the comparative form of his brain. In the chimpanzee, the cerebral portion of the skull is smooth and convex, although there are well marked ridges on either side for the attachment of the temporal muscles, and one of the gibbons—the siamang—approaches the chimpanzee in these respects; but in the orang and gorilla there runs along the head from before backwards a strong intermuscular bony crest, where the two temporal muscles meet, which gives to these animals a far more carnivorous aspect. The enormous supra-orbital ridge distinguishes each, but in the gorilla it is more massive. The sexual difference as exhibited in the canine teeth of the gorilla is very great, those of the male being, relatively to those of the female, as well as to those of other simiæ, enormously developed. The cranial cavity is almost wholly behind the orbits; the depressions for the cerebral convolutions are less marked, and the orbits are less distinctly defined. These characteristics, together with many other structural details respecting the skull, which we should despair of making intelligible to our readers, justify Dr. Wyman and Professor Geoffroy St. Hilaire, as it seems to us, if the skull alone be regarded, in ranking the gorilla below the chimpanzee. The skulls of young gorillas, male and female, and those of the chimpanzee and its allies, are scarcely distinguishable; but the skull of the adult male gorilla undergoes a wonderful metamorphosis in the direction of the lower brutes. The bony palate of the gorilla recedes from that of man by its narrowness; that of the chimpanzee approaches by its relative breadth; the gorilla is also inferior by the more quadrate outline of the upper jaw, and by the later anchylosis (bony union) of the intermaxillary bones; but, on the other hand, the intermaxillary portion of the palate in which the incisor teeth are developed projects less in the gorilla than in the chimpanzee. The features in which the gorilla's skull approaches the carnivora are in a great degree repeated in the skull of the orang: comparing the skull of the orang and of the chimpanzee, we find the general structure of the former much inferior to the latter; but it is very remarkable that whereas by the separation of the sphenoid from the parietal bone—by an intervening projection of

the temporal—observable in the chimpanzee, this *black* ape exhibits a conformation divergent from the Caucasian skull, but identical with that of the Negro; the *red* orang—whose sphenoid and parietal bones come in contact—shows in this respect an affinity with the Caucasian race. The chimpanzee, by the early ankylosis of the intermaxillary bone, the greater openness of the angle of the lower jaw, the proportionate size of its teeth, and the larger width between the eyes, surpasses the orang in its likeness to man. The siamang (the highest of the gibbons) also makes a greater approach to man than the gorilla, in so far as it has no longitudinal crest on the skull, a less prominence of the facial part, and a vertical direction and rounded form of chin; but is markedly inferior by the backward position of the aperture through which the spinal marrow is continuous with the brain. Of all the anthropoid apes, the orang has the pre-eminence in respect to the number of ribs, which in him are the same as in man; the others have thirteen and some fourteen pairs; while, again, many of the lower apes have only twelve pairs, as in the orang and man.

The superior extremities of the siamang and orang nearly touch the ground when those animals are erect; the fingers of the chimpanzee reach somewhat below the knee; those of the gorilla, by reaching only to the lower part of the thigh, prove him in this respect nearest to man. The shoulder-blade of the siamang is broader, and so far more anthropoid than that of the chimpanzee; but the gorilla's approaches still nearer to that of man. Very significant also of the human affinities of the gorilla is the superior length of the arm (humerus) to the forearm as compared with the proportions of those parts in the chimpanzee. The orang recedes from man in the singular fact that he has nine bones in the wrist, whereas the chimpanzee and gorilla have only eight, the same number as in man. Before the gorilla was known in Europe, the siamang was believed to surpass all other apes in respect to the perfection of its hand, and especially to the length and disposition of the thumb, but it must now yield its place to the gorilla, whose palm being almost as broad as it is long, approaches closely to the human proportions; the fingers by their shortness are also more anthropoid than those of the chimpanzee. No less decisively anthropoid is the form of the pelvis, distinguished as it is, as compared with the pelvis of other apes, by its greater breadth in proportion to its length, and by the bending forward of the hip bones, thus forming a true pelvic concavity; in respect to this structure the kooloo kamba ranks next to the gorilla in nearness to man. In so far as the pelvis is concerned, the siamang, by "the quite anthropomorphic disposition of the iliac [hip] bones," according to Vrolik ranks next to the kooloo kamba, and hence above both the orang and chimpanzee; as he

also does, in the opinion of this naturalist, by the peculiarities of development of the vertebræ, by their distribution, by the character of the sacrum, and also by the conformation of the breast-bone. By another strange peculiarity—viz., the absence of the “round ligament” within the hip-joint—the orang recedes further than the chimpanzee from man. The lower limbs, though characteristically short in the gorilla, are larger in proportion to the upper limbs and also to the entire trunk than in the chimpanzee. In respect to the foot, the anthropoid apes approach man in the following order: gorilla, gibbon [according to Vrolik], chimpanzee, orang. The heel in the gorilla is shaped and proportioned more like the human calcaneum (heel-bone) than in any other ape. Although the foot be articulated to the leg with a slight inversion of the sole, it is more nearly plantigrade in the gorilla than in the chimpanzee.

Referring to the gorilla, Professor Owen remarks: “In the hind limbs, chiefly noticeable, was the first appearance, in a quadrumanous series, of a muscular development of the glutæus, causing a *small buttock* to project over each tuber ischii. This structure, with the peculiar expanse (in quadrumana) of the iliac [hip] bones, leads to an inference that the gorilla must naturally and with more ease resort occasionally to station and progression on the lower limbs than any other ape.” Confirmatory of this inference, M. du Chaillu says: “After having observed the live gorilla, and studied carefully its mode of progression, I come to the conviction, that in its mode of progression the gorilla is the nearest akin to man of all the anthropoid apes.”

The brains of the apes, if arranged only in respect to *size*, would appear related to man in the following order: gorilla, kooloo kamba, { chimpanzee, } nshiego mbouvé, gibbon; but if regard be had to *form* as well as size, and to the several features of resemblance to, or divergence from, the human character, it is doubtful whether the gorilla could still hold the first place in the simian rank. From this point of view the kooloo kamba (if the solitary specimen obtained may be trusted as typical) is undoubtedly the most anthropoid of apes: in proportion to its size, its cranial capacity is the greatest; its forehead is both the highest and the broadest; its eyes are widest apart; and, relatively to the whole mass of the brain, the anterior lobes are larger than in any other ape. The general cerebral conformation of the chimpanzee, nshiego mbouvé, and orang is very similar to that of the kooloo kamba, the chief difference being inferiority in size; and in this respect the gibbons recede still further from man. The cerebral convolutions, however, of the orang are more complex than are those of the chimpanzee—a decisive proof of nearer ap-



proach to man. Presuming that the *relative* size of the posterior lobes of the brain in the orang, chimpanzee, and gorilla is nearly the same, the much greater *absolute* size of those lobes in the latter will, perhaps, account for the vehement rage and ferocity which he is said to exhibit. The smaller cerebellum relatively to the cerebrum in the orang than in the chimpanzee and gorilla, proves in this respect the orang's closer affinity to man; whereas the alleged great "preponderance of the cerebellum" in the gorilla, if really so, indicates a position proportionately lower in the anthropoid scale, a decisive predominance of the muscular system, and of the attributes of brutality. Whatever may be the final conclusion from a more extensive examination of the intercranial organization of the beast, the enormous bony ridges above his eyes, the carnivora-like crest along the skull, and the powerful projecting jaws armed with their great tusk-like canines certainly constitute a brutal and ferocious form, which with its appropriate muscles is abundantly capable of expressing the fierce nature and terrible fury of this savage monarch of the wilderness.

Having pointed out the most striking peculiarities by which the several anthropoid apes differ from each other in respect to their *comparative* approach to man, we turn to the wider and far more interesting question—what grounds are there for alleging the existence of a *positive* affinity between the simiæ and human beings?

The number of vertebræ in all the higher apes and in man is the same; there is, however, a difference in their distribution which is liable to variation. The gorilla and chimpanzee have thirteen pairs of ribs, the nshiego mbouvé has sometimes even as many as fourteen; in these cases the number of dorsal vertebræ (so called when they have ribs attached to them) is of course correspondingly increased at the expense of the vertebræ below them (the lumbar), the number of which, therefore, is proportionably diminished. But man himself exhibits variability in this respect: cases occasionally occur in which the normal number (twelve) of ribs on either side is augmented by the addition of a pair of cervical or lumbar ribs; sometimes even the usual number is diminished to eleven on either side, but this is more rarely the case.\* The number of ribs in the orang is the same as in man. The occipital foramen (the large hole in the skull through which the spinal marrow is continuous with the brain) is in most apes advanced forward from the posterior plane of the skull, and sometimes, as in the *Chrysothrix*, approaches its position in man. The frontal bone, which in the lower animals is in two parts, is single as in man. The nasal bone is more or less slightly arched or elevated, and bears traces of original separation into two lateral

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\* Todd's "Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology," vol. iv. p. 1024, 5.

elements, as in man. In animals the upper jaw is distinguished by what is known to anatomists as the intermaxillary or premaxillary bone. This bone contains the incisor teeth, and the point of its junction with the outer portion of the jaw is that between the outer incisor and the canine. In the early fœtal life of man this bone is discernible as distinct, but either at birth or shortly afterwards, though "often much later," all trace of its separate existence is effaced: in the anthropoid apes the anchylosis (*i. e.*, the completely osseous blending) of this bone with the remainder of the jaw takes place in early youth; and thus in this respect also they approximate to man. The nearness is more remarkable when we remember how many children suffer from hare-lip, which consists in the persistence of the fissure, not only in the lip, but more or less between the two bones, which in normally developed children is, as we have said, usually closed by bony matter about the period of birth. The number, general character, and order of arrangement of the teeth of the higher apes correspond with those of man: the chief differences being that the former are stronger, especially the canines, and that these have a slight interval between them and the incisors in the upper jaw, and between them and the bicuspid in the lower jaw, into which the points of the canines are received. There is a slight difference, too, in the surface of the molars; and while in the ape the bicuspid is implanted by three distinct fangs, two external and one internal, in man they have only two fangs, one external and one internal; and in the Caucasian race the two fangs are sometimes united. The hair of the head is, in apes, usually directed forwards, as in man, so as to shade the temples. The hyoid bone (situated between the tongue and larynx) has the human conformation. The clavicle (collar bone) has the same sigmoid curve as in man; the bones of the upper extremity are, excepting the extra bone in the wrist of the orang, the same in number and general disposition, though not of the same relative size, as in man. The nails at the tops of the fingers and toes have the flatness characteristic of the human form. Though the pelvis of the apes differs considerably from the human pelvis, yet by the breadth of the ilia (hip bones), and the inclination forward of their anterior and superior angles, they afford an extensive attachment to the glutæi muscles (the buttocks), and in so far make a great approach to the human pelvis. There is less general resemblance to man in the lower than in the upper extremity of the ape, though it is constituted of the same number and kind of bones as in man; but the hallux, corresponding to the great toe in man, is, in the apes, in position and use, though not in the character of its muscles, a real thumb. "The *chimpanzee*, the orang utang, and the *gibbons* exhibit, as permanent conditions, proportions of

the posterior extremities, which in the human subject are transitory and proper to the early periods of foetal life."\*

The muscular system of the apes throughout its entire structure conforms very closely to that of man :—

"One of the very striking peculiarities," says the author just quoted, "of the myology of the monkeys is the existence of a distinct *platysma-myoides*, which I found in all those I had the opportunity to dissect. It is an important conformity with the structure of *man*, in whom this muscle represents the largest of cutaneous muscles of the other mammalia. . . . The small muscles of the thumb . . . exist in all the monkeys of the Old World, but on a smaller scale than in man. They have also the three small muscles of the little finger on the opposite edge of the hand. The consequence of all this is, that the hand of the monkeys of the Old World approaches to the perfection of the human hand, from which it differs by the length and the narrowness of the palm of the hand, the length of the fingers, the backward position of the imperfect thumb, and the less variety of movements.† . . . There is a *plantaris* (one of the muscles of the calf) as in man. The monkeys seem to be the only brute animals which possess it."

The form and structure of the heart and lungs, and the distribution of the blood vessels in apes, are all but identical with those of the corresponding organs in man. The stomach and intestines have an equally close analogy. The organs of reproduction in both sexes, and in the female the circle of their functions, including the phenomena of periodicity, corresponding with wonderful exactness to those of human beings.

The general configuration of the brain of the simiæ is extremely like that of man : it has the elliptic form which in a more marked degree is characteristic of man ; the cerebral hemispheres are largely developed ; they cover the cerebellum as much as, in some cases more than, in man ; and the posterior projection (*cornu*) of the largest cavity (*lateral ventricle*) of the brain, as well as a remarkable conformation in the same ventricle, having the queer name—*Hippocampus minor*, though affirmed by a distinguished zoologist to be peculiar to man, undoubtedly exist in the highest apes. Indeed, great as are the differences—and, as we shall see hereafter, they are very great,—they are differences only of degree, not of kind. Professor Owen, referring to the characters, &c., of the class mammalia, says :—

"Not being able to appreciate or conceive of the distinction between the psychical phenomena of a chimpanzee and of a Boschisman, or of an Aztec, with arrested brain-growth, as being of a nature so essential as to preclude a comparison between them, or as being other than a

\* Todd's "Cyclopædia," Art. *Quadrupana*, by W. Vrolik.

† This description of the hand of the apes was written by Vrolik before the existence of the gorilla became known to the scientific world.

difference of degree, I cannot shut my eyes to the significance of that all-pervading similitude of structure—every tooth, every bone, strictly homologous—which makes the determination of the difference between *Homo* and *Pithecus* the anatomist's difficulty."

Referring to the brain of a chimpanzee in the Hunterian collection, the same eminent authority observes :— \*

"This brain, in the relative proportions of the different parts, and the disposition of the convolutions, *especially those of the posterior lobes*, approaches nearest to the human brain. It differs chiefly in the flatness of the hemispheres, in the comparative shortness of the posterior, and the narrowness of the anterior lobes."

M. Gratiolet, referring, in his celebrated work, to the features which distinguish the human brain from that of all the "Primates," remarks :—

"But these differences, great and characteristic as they may be, yet consist with the existence of such analogies between the brain of man and that of apes, that the same general description serves both equally well. There are the same principal divisions, the same lobes, the same convolutions ; all the parts are not the same, but they are homologous."

Commenting on this passage, Professor Huxley says :—

"What little is known tends distinctly to the conviction, that no very great value can be set upon these distinctions, inasmuch as the differences between the brains of the highest races and those of the lowest [of mankind], though less in degree, are of the same order as those which separate the human from the simian brain. I am well aware that it is the fashion to say that the brains of all races of mankind are alike ; but in this, as in other cases, fashion is not quite at one with fact."

Dr. Rolleston, Linacre Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, in an account of a recent dissection by himself of the brain of the orang utang, says :—

"The internal anatomy of the simian's brain does not furnish us then with those sharply differentiating characteristics which have been supposed to put it into a position of such marked inferiority to that of man. . . . In the higher species of the order Apes, as in the higher varieties of the species Man, we find variability the rule, uniformity the exception ; in the lowest species, as in the lower varieties of man, the reverse condition obtains. The variability which we have seen to exist in the species Chimpanzee is no inconsiderable proof of its high relative rank in its own order."

But notwithstanding the general agreement observable in the foregoing evidence of witnesses of the very highest zoological authority, Professor Owen has endeavoured to demonstrate as existing in the human brain specific distinctions of so marked a character as to justify him in regarding "the genus *Homo* as

not merely a representative of a distinct order, but of a distinct sub-class of the mammalia," for which he proposes the name of "*Archencephala*." He says:—

"Not only do the cerebral hemispheres overlap the olfactory lobes and cerebellum, but they extend in advance of the one, and further back than the other. Their posterior development is so marked that anatomists have assigned to that part the character of a third lobe; *it is peculiar to the genus Homo, and equally peculiar is the posterior horn of the lateral ventricle and the 'hippocampus minor' which characterize the hind lobe of each hemisphere.*"

It is on the existence of these alleged peculiarities that Professor Owen founds his classification of men into not only a distinct order, but a distinct sub-class of the mammalia. Professor Huxley finds himself "compelled to give a diametrical contradiction" to the assertions which are printed in italics in the preceding quotation, and to make three counter-statements, which are as follows:—

"1. That the third lobe is neither peculiar to, nor characteristic of man, seeing that it exists in all the higher quadrumana. 2. That the posterior cornu of the lateral ventricle is neither peculiar to, nor characteristic of man, inasmuch as it also exists in the higher quadrumana. 3. That the *hippocampus minor* is neither peculiar to, nor characteristic of man, as it is found in certain of the higher quadrumana."

The decisive settlement of this question is not only a matter of great interest to scientific men, but to a large number of the educated classes who make no pretension to scientific knowledge. We do not hesitate, therefore, to make our readers fully acquainted with the evidence on which, independent of his own direct observations, Professor Huxley's counter propositions are based. Professor Tiedemann, who is celebrated for his dissections, not only of the human but of the simian brain, states distinctly that the latter has a third (posterior) lobe, and that this lobe covers the cerebellum. "*Cerebrum simiarum quoad magnitudinem et divisionem in lobos ad humanum proxime accedit: dividitur enim per fissuram medium longitudinalem in duo æqualia hemisphæria, quorum utrumque rursus in tres lobos partitur. Lobi posteriores uti in homine faciem superiorem cerebelli obtegunt.*"\* This passage appeared in the "*Icones Cerebrorum Simiarum*," published in 1821, and is confirmed by the author in 1825. Describing the brain of the orang at the latter date, he particularly states that each hemisphere, as in man, is

\* The brain of apes, as respects size and division into lobes, approaches very closely to the human brain: it is divided by the middle longitudinal fissure into two equal hemispheres, each of which is again divided into three lobes. The posterior lobes, as in man, cover the upper surface of the cerebellum.

divided into three lobes, and that the posterior lobes cover the cerebellum almost entirely, though they do not, as in man, project beyond its posterior margin. Cuvier, in the "*Règne Animal*," gives as part of the definition of the order *Quadrumanæ*:—"Le cerveau a trois lobes de chaque côté, dont le postérieur recouvre le cervelet."\* Dr. Macartney read a paper in 1842, on the minute structure of the brain of the chimpanzee and of the human idiot compared with the perfect brain of man; in it he says:—"The proportions of the cerebellum to the cerebrum were exactly as in man." Dr. Sandifort, in a memoir on the anatomy of the orang, speaking of the hindermost lobe, says, that it "not only covers the cerebellum, but extends still further backwards than it." Vrolik, in his valuable article "*Quadrumanæ*," expressly affirms that in the orang the cerebral hemispheres are protracted behind the cerebellum. M. Gratiolet, both in the text and "beautiful original figures of the brain of the chimpanzee and the orang," testifies distinctly to the same effect. So also does Dr. Allen Thomson, who has dissected the brain of the chimpanzee; and Professor Rolleston, in his account of the orang's brain already referred to, says:—"Before the removal of the dura mater, the cerebral hemispheres were seen to cover the superior surface of the cerebellum entirely, and even to project a very little way beyond it posteriorly."

Respecting the cavity projecting backwards into the posterior lobe, and known as *the posterior cornu*, which Professor Owen affirms to be peculiar to the human brain, Tiedemanu, Cuvier, Schröder van der Kolk, and Vrolik, Dr. Macartney, Dr. Allen Thomson, M. Gratiolet, Dr. Rolleston, and Professor Huxley, all alike testify, of their own knowledge, to the existence of this cavity in the simiæ. Cuvier remarks that this *cornu* exists only in man and the apes; in the seals and dolphins, in which the posterior part of the hemisphere is considerable, there is a sort of vestige of this cavity, which, in the apes, it is right to add is distinguished by its "defective proportions," when compared with the same part in man.

The eminence in *the posterior cornu*, designated as the *hippocampus minor*, is also asserted to exist in the simian brain, by Schröder van der Kolk and Vrolik, as well as by Dr. Allen Thomson: the former authorities speak only of a stripe "as an indication of the *hippocampus minor*;" but Dr. Allen Thomson affirms that in his dissection he found "an eminence corresponding in all respects with the *hippocampus minor*; and Dr. Rolleston has described and figured the same, smaller, in the orang."

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\* The brain has three lobes on each side, the posterior of which covers the cerebellum.

This difference of testimony in respect only to the degree of development of this part is quite intelligible, inasmuch as not only it, but the *posterior cornu* itself, is found in various grades from a rudimentary to a complete state in the human brain. The brothers Wenzel found, in six per cent. of the large number of human brains which they examined, the *posterior cornu* totally absent; and Longet, whose experience is corroborated by that of Dr. Allen Thomson, says, that in man the *posterior cornu* is found of very different lengths and breadths.

Since writing the above, additional and even more decisive evidence respecting the questions at issue has been produced. Mr. John Marshall, Surgeon to the University College Hospital, has recently dissected the brain of a young chimpanzee, with the especial purpose of determining the extent to which the posterior cerebral lobes cover the cerebellum, and of settling the *questio vexata* as to the existence or non-existence of the *posterior cornu* and *hippocampus minor* in the ape. He made a careful cast of the cranial cavity as soon as the brain was taken out, so as to show the exact relation of the parts when *in situ* and when not altered, as this soft, yielding organ usually is, by being laid on a flat surface for inspection; he dissected one hemisphere in order to examine the posterior part of the lateral ventricle, and employed the able photographer, Mr. Watkins, to make *fac-similes* of the cast, and of several aspects of the brain itself. The result is,—Mr. Marshall has demonstrated beyond all doubt that in the chimpanzee the posterior lobes of the cerebrum not only cover, but overlap, the cerebellum, and that the *posterior cornu* and *hippocampus minor* are as distinctly developed and relatively as large as in man. In the number of the *Natural History Review* published simultaneously with the present number of this work, will be found an article by Mr. Marshall—remarkable alike for its minute accuracy, rigorous precision of statement, and illustrative excellence—in which he gives a full account of his investigation and its results. The photographs taken by Mr. Watkins are, we believe, on sale by him, so that now any one may convince himself of the accuracy of Mr. Marshall's statements.\*

On the 20th of June last, a paper was communicated to the Royal Society from Mr. W. H. Flower, Assistant Surgeon to Middlesex Hospital, in which he describes the brain of a *Galago*, one of the lowest of the *Lemurs*. Low in the quadrumanous series as this animal is, its brain—as proved by Mr. Flower—possesses both the *posterior cornu* and *hippocampus minor*; but,

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\* We beg to acknowledge our obligations to Mr. Marshall for his kindness in showing us proof-sheets of his article, as well as early copies of Mr. Watkins's photographs.

what' ) still more notable, these structures are proportionably larger in the *Galago* than they are in man! Mr. Flower's description was accompanied by drawings of the cerebral conformation he has discovered, and their accuracy was vouched for by Professor Sharpey, who had compared them with the structures they represent.

Thus it appears that structures the presence of which is affirmed by Professor Owen to be "peculiar to the *genus homo*" are found not only in the highest but in the lowest apes, while the *posterior cornu* exhibits various grades of development, and is sometimes absent, in man himself. For purposes of classification, these structures must now be admitted to be wholly valueless; in fact, there is reason to believe they constitute the only characters which the human and simian brains have completely in common.

The further inquiries are pushed with the view of establishing specific distinctions, the more futile the attempt proves, and the more convinced the majority of zoologists become that the differences observable between human and simian brains are not those of kind but of degree. Professor Huxley observes:—

"So far as my knowledge goes, the most prominent and important are the following:—

"1. In the anthropoid apes the brain is smaller, as compared with the nerves which proceed from it, than in man.

"2. In the anthropoid apes the cerebrum is smaller, relatively to the cerebellum, than in man.

"3. In the anthropoid apes the sulci and gyri are generally less complex, and those of the two cerebral hemispheres are more symmetrical than in man.

"4. The hemispheres are more rounded and deeper in man than in the anthropoid apes, and the proportions of the lobes to one another are different. Furthermore, certain minor gyri and fissures present in the one are absent or rudimentary in the other."

We gather from Professor Rolleston's paper on the Orang a general concurrence in the truth of the statements just cited. He says, the "greater or less discrepancy between the human and the simious brain . . . consists, in the ape, of diminution in downward, lateral, upward, and antero-posterior growth, first, of the posterior; secondly, of the frontal lobes." He further remarks,—"Of all the differences of measurement and their relations as yet adduced, the difference between the relative heights of the human and the simious brains seems the most important."

The foregoing evidence justifies us, we believe, in concluding that, so far as the brain is concerned, a reliable estimate of the relation between the lower animals and ourselves can only be founded on an accurate comparison of the volume and form of



the brain of the lowest varieties of man with those of the highest species of ape.

In pointing out the structural connexions between the anthropoid apes and man, we have so far had only in view human beings of the highest organic type: but as there are several striking differences between the higher and the lower human races, we shall help ourselves to a more complete comprehension of the subject under discussion, if we now pass in rapid review the more notable features of the negro, which show a nearer approach to the lower animals than the Caucasian race exhibits.

A marked characteristic of the African apes is lateral compression of the skull, a compression which is probably due to the pressure of the powerful temporal muscles, the superior attachments of which extend high up on either side of the cranium, and which, in the most remarkable instance, that of the gorilla, meet at the coronal ridge, as already described. The skulls of the negroes of the Gold Coast are distinguished by lateral compression, "the temporal muscles having a great extent, rising very high in the parietal bones, and being very large and powerful, subject the head to a force producing the effects of lateral compression and elongation." These negroes also exhibit in the face an approach to that of the ape. "The check bones project forward, and not outward; the upper jaw is lengthened, and projects forward, giving to the alveolar ridge and to the teeth a similar projection. From the shape of the upper jaw alone would arise a diminution of the facial angle. . . . The antero-posterior diameter of the basis of the cranium is certainly somewhat larger in proportion to the transverse diameter in the skulls of many negroes than in those of Europeans;"\* thus approaching those of the simiæ. Sæmmering thought he perceived that the occipital foramen is slightly nearer the posterior plane in the skulls of negroes than in those of Europeans. Dr. Prichard, however, says, "the difference in all instances is extremely slight, and it is equally perceptible in heads belonging to other races of men, *if we examine crania which have prominent upper jaws.*" The condition expressed by the words we have italicized implies, as it seems to us, Dr. Prichard's concession of all that Sæmmering and many subsequent authors contend for on this point. Of the bones of the skull of the chimpanzee, the parietal and sphenoidal are prevented from coming in contact with each other by an intervening projection of the temporal bone; many negro skulls observed by Professor Owen present a like conformation, whereas in the higher Caucasian skull the sphenoidal and parietal bones are in contact to the extent of about half an inch.

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\* Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Man," vol. i. p. 281.

"It was observed by Kulmus and by Sœmmering, that the human brain, in comparison with the nerves connected with it, is of larger dimension than that of any inferior animal; in other words, that man has the largest brain, in comparison with the nerves, or the centre of the nervous system larger in proportion to its parts. This remark was confirmed by Munro, and it has been supposed that the negro displays, in this respect, an approximation to the lower animals. In some instances the nerves which issue from the foramina of the skull have been found somewhat thicker and stronger in the negro than in the European heads having brains of the same weight. The same observation has been made by Berthold. It is most striking in respect to the olfactory, the optic, and the fifth pairs. According to Dr. Knox, the foramina for the transmission of the hypoglossal nerves are very large in the bushman as well as in the negro."\*

The nasal bones in many negro skulls do not form a saddle-shaped projection as in European skulls generally, but lie almost in a plane, thus approaching to the lower forms. Sœmmering has observed a fissure or slightly traced suture separating the incisor from the laniary teeth; this proves the separate existence and late anchylosis of the intermaxillary bone, as in apes. The proportionate size of the bones of the face in negroes, according to Blumenbach and Sœmmering, compared with those containing the brain, is greater than in Europeans, and is, so far, an approach to the ape.

The conformation of the teeth in the inferior varieties of man presents some curious approximations to the dental structure of the ape. In the latter, the premolars, or bicuspid, are implanted by three fangs: in the Caucasian race of man they generally have, seemingly, only one fang, which, however, consists of two more or less completely united; but in negroes these teeth have two distinct fangs. "It is only in the black varieties," says Professor Owen, in his admirable paper on the teeth, "and more particularly that race inhabiting Australia, that I have found the wisdom tooth with three fangs as a general rule; and the two outer ones are more or less confluent." In most of the black varieties of man, especially the Australians, "the true molars attain larger dimensions than in the yellow or white races;" and, as well as in the apes, are supported by two distinct fangs; whereas "in the white and yellow races of the human subject these fangs are not infrequently united in the second molar, and are usually so in the third. Just in proportion as the teeth of the black races

\* Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," vol. i. p. 296.

diverge from the Caucasian form, they approach, it will be observed, the dental organization of the apes.

The forearm of the negro is said, by Mr. White,\* who measured the arms of several, to be proportionally longer than in Europeans. This difference, though slight, is in the direction of the apes, to which some resemblance is also traceable in "the thinness of the hand and the flexibility of the fingers," observed by Dr Winterbottom in the negroes of Sierra Leone. Another remarkable feature of approach to lower forms consists in the conformation of the negro pelvis. "It was observed by Sæmmering," says Dr. Prichard, "that the loins and hips are more slender in the negro, and the pelvis narrower than in Europeans. Of this fact he says he has been convinced by observing the negroes who go naked by dozens into the Moors' bath at Cassel." It is not our intention to enter into details of the numerous pelvic differences observable; we can only mention that the more elongated shape of the negro pelvis; the more vertical direction of the hip bones; the greater elevation of their upper and posterior angles in relation to the lumbar vertebræ; the smaller breadth of the sacrum; and the greater proportionate length of the antero-posterior diameter at the upper aperture of the true pelvis than is found in Europeans, together with other peculiarities still more difficult to make intelligible to non-professional readers, demonstrate that the typical pelvis of the negro is of lower form than that of the European, and though far higher than that of the highest ape, approaches it in the several features of its degradation. Sæmmering and Lawrence have remarked, says Dr. Prichard, "that in negroes the bones of the leg appear to be bent outwards under the condyles of the thigh-bones, so that the knees stand further apart, and the feet are turned more outwards than in Europeans. . . . The tibia and fibula [bones of the leg] are more convex in front than in Europeans, the calves of the leg are very high, so as to encroach upon the hams. The feet are flat; the os calcis [heel bone], instead of being arched, is continued nearly in a straight line with the other bones of the foot, which is remarkably broad."† Dr. Prichard adds, "this high position of the gastrocnemii muscles [calves], and the same clumsy form of the legs, have been observed repeatedly, as well as the flatness of the feet and the hands." The toes are remarkable, equally with the fingers, for their flexibility. The convolutions of the brain corresponding to each other in each hemisphere are more symmetrical than in Europeans. The important bearing of this fact on the general argument is at once understood when we recal the general law

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\* Quoted by Prichard.

† Lawrence's "Lectures," p. 408, cited by Prichard.

observable in cerebral development throughout the zoölogical series—viz., that the higher the organization of an animal the less symmetrical and more variable the convolutions of the brain become. Finally, the colour of the African apes and of the human inhabitants of those regions of Africa where these apes abound is identical. We may add, as a remarkable fact, that the features of the negro organization, by which an approximation to the simiæ is denoted, more especially characterize those tribes who are found at or near the equator—the region where the higher apes almost exclusively abound.

The peculiarities of structure in the black races of man which we have pointed out as indicative of their organic affinities with the highest of the simiæ, constitute, as it seems to us, invaluable suggestions for the ethnological historian of Africa and Australia; but as a collection of facts we do not believe they afford any clue to the history of the origin and development of the white, yellow, and copper-coloured races of mankind, except in so far as they afford material out of which a fairly reliable analogical argument may be constructed. We cannot help thinking that if ever science should solve the supremely interesting problem of human evolution, it will be found that the Aryan race stands in the same relation to the *red* orang and allied species as the African and Alfourian races seem to do to the *black* gorilla and chimpanzee. We are confirmed in this opinion by the fact, pointed out by Duvernoy, that though the gorilla is, in the language of ethnology, *dolichocephalic* (long-headed), the orang is *brachycephalic* (short-headed). We have already shown that the habitat of the gorilla is in the midst of a region occupied by extremely *dolichocephalic* men; and it is no less remarkable that the Indian Archipelago, the geographical centre of the *brachycephalic* orang, is within the province of the most eminently *brachycephalic* men.

There is reason for believing that one of the many missing links between existing European races and the highest apes has recently been discovered in Germany, in the shape of a very ancient skull, together with part of the skeleton to which it belonged. The account of this interesting relic was published by Professor D. Schaaffhausen of Bonn, in Müller's Archiv, 1858, and has been translated and published, with remarks by Mr. George Busk, F.R.S., in the "Natural History Review," No. 2. It appears that in the early part of 1857 a human skeleton was discovered in a limestone cave in the Neanderthal, near Hochdal, between Düsseldorf and Elberfeld. "The uneven floor of the cave was covered, to a thickness of four or five feet, with a deposit of mud, sparingly intermixed with rounded fragments of chert. In the removing of this deposit the bones were discovered." The value of these remains was not of course appreciated by the

workmen, and hence several parts of the skeleton were lost. Even the skull is not perfect. The peculiarity of the skull consists in a remarkable prominence or projection of the super-ciliary region of the forehead. The enlargement in this part is so great that it can hardly be described as limited to the super-ciliary ridges. These ridges, which coalesce completely in the middle, are so prominent that the frontal bone exhibits a considerable hollow or depression above or rather behind them, whilst a deep depression is also formed in the situation of the root of the nose. The forehead is narrow and low, though the middle and hinder portions of the cranial arch are well developed. The other bones which were secured along with the skull are characterized by their unusual thickness, and the great development of all the elevations and depressions for the attachment of muscles.

Professor Schaaffhausen remarks:—

“There is no reason whatever for regarding the unusual development of the frontal sinuses in the remarkable skull from the Neanderthal as a pathological deformity; it is unquestionably a typical-race character, and is physiologically connected with the uncommon thickness of the other bones of the skeleton, which exceeds by about one half the usual proportions.”

Owing to the imperfection of the skull it is difficult to determine the facial angle correctly. Professor Schaaffhausen estimates it at  $56^{\circ}$ , whereas Mr. Busk, who estimated the angle on a cast of the skull, makes it from  $64^{\circ}$  to  $67^{\circ}$ . “The cranial capacity compared with the uncommon strength of the corporeal frame would seem to indicate a small cerebral development.” Both Professor Schaaffhausen and his translator are struck with the approach which the frontal bone of this skull presents to the cranial conformation of the chimpanzee and gorilla, in respect both to the enormous projection of the super-ciliary region and to the depressed forehead. Professor Schaaffhausen sums up his conclusions as follows:—

“First. That the extraordinary form of the skull was due to a natural conformation hitherto not known to exist, even in the most barbarous races. Second. That these remarkable human remains belonged to a period antecedent to the time of the Celts and Germans, and were in all probability derived from one of the wild races of north-western Europe, spoken of by Latin writers; and which were encountered as autochthones by the German immigrants. And, thirdly, that it was beyond doubt that these human relics were traceable to a period at which the latest animals of the diluvium still existed; but that no proof in support of this assumption, nor consequently of their so termed *fossil* condition, was afforded by the circumstances under which the bones were discovered.”

Mr. Busk observes that these remains “were discovered under

circumstances which, though not altogether demonstrative of their real geological position, leave no doubt of their enormous antiquity, and of the probability of their having belonged to what has been termed the quaternary period. The conformation of the cranium, moreover, in this instance is so remarkable, as justly to excite the utmost interest, approaching as it does in one respect that of some of the higher apes."

Although the skull above described exceeds all others yet known in approximation to that of apes, many skulls have been found which occupy a position between this one and existing forms.

"In a bone cavern in Brazil, Lund discovered human crania, mixed with the bones of extinct animals, in which the forehead receded on a level with the face—a formation which is also represented in ancient Mexican pictures. In the rocky caverns of the Peruvian Andes, Castelnau discovered, under the same conditions, human crania of a similar strongly retrocedent, elongated form. . . . In the 'Transactions of the Imperial Russian Mineralogical Society of St. Petersburg,' of the year 1842, an account was given by Dr. S. Kutorga of two human skulls from the government of Minsk. . . . One of the skulls there figured presented a great similarity with that found in the Neanderthal. . . . A human skeleton, in a squatting, or almost kneeling posture, together with implements made of bone, a battle-axe of stag's-horn, two boar's tusks, which had been cut off, and three incisor teeth of a stag, perforated at the root, was found near Plau, in siliceous sand, six feet below the surface. A very high antiquity was assigned to this grave, as it was wholly unprotected by any masonry, and afforded no trace of cremation having been practised, nor any implements of stone, clay, or metal. Dr. Lisch, who had been struck with the unusual prominence of the supra-orbital border, the wide root of the nose, and the strongly retrocedent frontal, accompanied the account of the finding with this remark:—'The formation of the skull indicates a very remotely distant period, at which men presented a much lower degree of development. Probably this grave belongs to the autochthonous population.'"

Accounts of many other primitive skulls are given in the very interesting paper of Professor Schaaffhausen, and, as he justly observes, afford "one of the most striking proofs of the influence of culture and civilization on the form of the human skull." The Abbé Frère, whose collection of crania belonging to the different centuries of our epoch is now placed in the Anthropological Museum of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, came to the conclusion that in the most ancient crania the occipital was the most, and the frontal region the least developed; and that the increase in the elevation of the latter marked the transition from barbarous to civilized man."

From the evidence now laid before our readers—of the numerous  
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positive affinities between man and the simiæ, of the more especial approach to the structure of these animals presented in the organization of the lower varieties of the black human race, of the absence of specific distinctions between the brain of man and the highest apes, of the simian conformation of the skull discovered in the Neanderthal, and of the general organic inferiority and proportionate degradation towards the simian type exhibited by the most ancient crania, we are forced to conclude that the problem of the origin of man seems more likely to receive its solution from a more extended investigation of his structural analogies with the forms of lower creatures than from any other source.

But admitting the foregoing evidence, freely recognising the greatness of its cumulative force, and proceeding to the conclusion to which it leads, we still find ourselves on the shore of a vast and seemingly impassable gulf, separating the highest of the quadrumana from the lowest forms of man. The size of the cranial cavity, expressed in cubic inches, of the Teutonic branch of the Caucasian group of the human family is, on the average, ninety-two inches; the average size of the Malay group is eighty-five; that of the Negro group eighty-three; that of the aborigines of America, semi-civilized and barbarous, seventy-nine; that of the Alforian group (Australians) seventy-five. The maximum size of the Caucasian recorded is one hundred and fourteen inches, the minimum seventy; the maximum size of the Negro group is ninety-nine inches, the minimum sixty-five; while the minimum of the Alforian group is sixty-three.

The average cranial capacity of ten male gorillas was found to be 29·7 cubic inches. The average of three females was 26 cubic inches. The maximum was 34·05, the minimum 24 cubic inches. The cranial capacity of the solitary kooloo-kamba captured was 25, the average of four chimpanzees was 23·5, and of three nshiego-mbouvé was 20½ cubic inches. It will be at once seen that if we compare the minimum brain of the Australian, which, as we have said, has a volume of sixty-three inches, or that of the negro, having a volume of sixty-five inches, with the largest known brain of the gorilla, presenting a volume of thirty-four inches, we must be struck with the enormous descent which is exhibited from the lowest human to the highest simian brain. But this vast distance is immensely increased if we compare the minimum human brain, sixty-three inches, with the minimum volume of the brain of the ape which, in respect to the extent of the cerebrum, approaches nearest to man. We see that the smallest brain of the Negro is nearly twice the volume of the largest brain of the ape, while the average size of the Negro brain is nearly three times that of the ape.

Such being the vast disparity between the size of this all-im-

portant organ in man and the animal which approaches the nearest to him, it requires a great stretch of the imagination to conceive that the former has been developed from the latter. For the possibility of such a conception, the common tradition concerning the age of the human race (a tradition which, up to a recent date, has received much negative corroboration from geology) must be at once dismissed from our minds. To effect such a marvellous transformation as that of the development of the highest ape into the lowest Negro would demand, we believe, an amount of time not to be computed by thousands, but by millions of years. And hence, as the historical era, or the period of recorded observations, has extended back only a few thousand years, it is not to be wondered at that, even if the change in question has actually taken place, it has never been the subject of human observation. The difficulty of conceiving of this great transformation is, indeed, somewhat lessened by the recent discovery of the ape-like skull described by Professor Schaaffhausen, which looks like the ruin of a solitary arch in an enormous bridge which time has destroyed, and which may have connected the highest of animals with the lowest of men. But even though the frontal bone of this remarkable skull constitutes a link intimately uniting the cranial conformation of the ancient human inhabitants of Europe with the simiæ, there is no evidence that, in respect to size, the brain which that skull once contained approached more nearly to them than do the brains of the Alforian and lowest Negro races. The wide chasm in cerebral development still remains, and considered in conjunction with the fact that, so far as we know, man alone possesses the gift of speech, compels us to confess that the genesis of mankind is a mystery which, for the present at least, science is powerless to penetrate.

The Human Inhabitants of Equatorial Africa have been portrayed by M. du Chaillu with admirable vividness and considerable detail. His descriptions of their character, customs, and superstitions are circumstantial and clear; they make a distinct impression on the reader, and inducing, as they do, a conviction that they have been elaborated from memoranda jotted down at the time, seem to us really trustworthy. Commending them to our readers as intensely interesting, we shall restrict our analysis of them to the account of the Fans, who are distinguished from most of the tribes around them, not only by the practice of cannibalism, but by their marked superiority both in physical and mental development.

Proceeding eastward from the coast up the rivers Muni, Ntambounay, and Noonday, already described, and crossing three ranges of mountains, M. du Chaillu, accompanied by natives belonging



to the intervening tribes, reached the man-eating Fans, who are located about 150 miles from the coast. Before his arrival, they had never seen a white man. At first they believed him to be a spirit, and were filled with superstitious terror by his appearance. Their chief, assured that he should die in three days after seeing the apparition, was not disposed to incur such a mortal risk, and was at length with difficulty induced to overcome his fear, which, however, after a few interviews, wholly vanished. According to M. du Chaillu, the Fans are tall, strong, well made, active, warlike, and "have a more intelligent look than is usual to the African unacquainted with white men." Their foreheads are not so compressed as are those of the natives on the coast, their colour is of much lighter shade—"dark brown rather than black," and they belong, M. du Chaillu thinks, to a different family of the Negro race. "Finer looking men," he says, "I never saw; and I could well believe them brave, did not the completeness of their armoury prove that war is a favourite pastime with them. In fact, they are dreaded by all their neighbours, and if they were only animated by the spirit of conquest, would soon make short work of the tribes between them and the coast." Fine, however, as are the men, their women are described as being exactly the reverse. The queen, says her guest, was decidedly the ugliest woman he ever saw. An adjoining tribe, the Osheba, who are also cannibals, seem to resemble the Fans so closely that they need no separate description: the men are "warlike and tall;" the women are "hideously ugly."

The staple food of the Fans is the root of the manioc, besides which "they have plantains, two or three kinds of yams, splendid sugar-cane, and squashes, all of which they cultivate with considerable success; but the manioc is the favourite." They also eat the meat of the elephant, of which they are very fond, and hence hunt the animal as eagerly for the sake of his flesh as for his tusks. Of their regular undisguised practice of cannibalism there seems to be not the smallest doubt. They openly avow it, and are not in the least ashamed of it. M. du Chaillu states that he saw throughout the village abundant remains of their horrid feasts in the shape of "piles of human bones mixed up with other offal thrown at the sides of several houses;" he passed a woman carrying "a piece of the thigh of a human body just as we should go to market and carry thence a roast or steak;" and was with the king when a dead body, which had been bought in a neighbouring town, was brought into the royal presence to be divided as food. "I could see," says M. du Chaillu, "that the man had died of some disease." These wonderfully economical people kill and eat their prisoners of war; and criminals condemned to capital punishment, whatever may have been their crimes, are also thus sum-

marily disposed of. "Witchcraft seems to be a very common thing to be accused of among them, and the death-penalty is sternly executed. They set little value on life; and as the dead body has its commercial value, this consideration, too, probably has its weight in passing sentence of death." Those who lose their lives by accident, and those who die a natural death (unless they be kings, chiefs, or great men), are alike utilized—they are all devoured. In connexion with their cannibal customs, they exemplify in a remarkable manner one of the first stages of progress from barbarism to civilization. Time was, no doubt, when they ate their own grandfathers and grandmothers, as well as such other members of their respective families as happened to die; but a patriotic Fan, conscious of the advancing refinement of his tribe, may now exultingly exclaim, "*Nous avons changés tout cela*: we now consign our dead relatives to our neighbours—obtaining theirs in exchange!" In fact, it has become customary for the several villages to sell their dead to each other. "I was informed," M. du Chaillu says, "that the Fans constantly buy the dead of the Osheba tribe, who in return buy theirs. They also buy the dead of other families in their own tribes, and besides this get the bodies of a great many slaves from the Mbichos and Mbon-demos, for which they readily give ivory at the rate of a small tusk for a body."

The Fan costume resembles that of our first parents between the date of the revelation which came of eating the "forbidden fruit," and that of their expulsion from Paradise. But the Fans, instead of making themselves "aprons" of fig-leaves,\* use the soft side bark of a tree, of which they make a primitive sort of cloth, a small piece of which the men suspend in front by a cord passing round the loins, while its lower end is secured by another cord passing backwards between the legs to be fastened above to the one just mentioned.† The women, when dressed at all, have a

\* The married women of the Dôr tribe visited by Mr. Petherick do actually wear green leaves in large clusters, which, both in front and behind, are attached by a belt to the waist, and reach down to the ankles. "Clean in their habits, they are particular in the daily renewal of their costume from the bush, the numerous evergreens and creeping plants affording them an abundant material for the purpose."

† If the usual male costume of the Fans is such as M. du Chaillu describes, we are curious to know why, in the picture of an elephant hunt by their tribe, given in his book between pages 82 and 83, all the hunters are figured as being completely clothed from above the hips to the junction of the upper with the lower two-thirds of the thighs—the vesture having an ornamental fringe around its upper border, and the front and back of its lowest edges so brought together in the middle as to cause them to fit closely round each thigh after the manner of abbreviated breeches. Has M. du Chaillu portrayed his hunters in this fancy dress out of deference to English delicacy? But this can scarcely be; for fronting page 74 the picture of the "grand reception of the cannibals" displays them in what he assures us is their regular attire. (! ?)

girdle of bark cloth about four inches deep ; but this seems to be a privilege of royalty, of which the queen availed herself during her interviews with M. du Chaillu, for, when speaking of the attire of a bride on her wedding-day, he says, "she is very simply dressed, or rather, like all the Fan women, not dressed at all."\*

Nevertheless, these women, as well as those of the Apingi tribe, who scarcely seem to know that they are naked, are in their manners neither forward nor unbecoming : mothers have a care for the chastity of their daughters, who are not, as among many tribes, married before they arrive at puberty, and the general prevalence of families of several children born of one mother, attests the comparative superiority of their morality in respect to the relation of the sexes. Polygamy of course prevails among them, as among all African tribes—the number of wives being proportionate to a man's ability to pay for them. A Fan, intent on marrying, hunts the elephant for his ivory ; this he exchanges, by means of intermediate tribes, for copper and brass rings, copper pans, beads, &c., obtainable from the coast, and with these articles of "legal tender" he pays to the exacting father of his chosen "treasure" the sum demanded for her.†

\* They seem to appreciate their liberty : as M. du Chaillu walked along, a Fan woman gravely asked him why he did not take off his clothes, and told him she felt sure they must be a great hindrance to him, and that if he would leave them off he would be able to walk more easily. We can imagine how great she would think the unreason of her European sisters in their corsets, crinolines, and dresses dragging—often to the extent of six inches—in the dust, and not seldom in the mud. The men of the tribe of the Apingi, visited by M. du Chaillu, weave a beautiful grass-cloth from the fibrous part of the leaf of a palm. It is woven into small squares, and the dress of the women is restricted to two of these squares, which are arranged round the loins. To use a greater quantity is strictly forbidden. A like prohibition limits the dress of the young belles of the Ashira tribe, who, however, after marriage, are allowed to indulge in a more extensive investment, if so inclined. What if the English Paterfamilias were to copy, "with some slight alterations," the sumptuary laws of the Apingi and Ashira legislators ?

† Being articles of commerce, women are always at a premium, and in the regions near the equator visited by Mr. Petherick, are so scarce and eagerly sought after, that there was not a girl to be found above eighteen years of age who was not already either married or betrothed. For a bride of good family her lover has to pay as many as a hundred head of cattle. The most wonderful marriage contract we have ever heard of is recorded by Mr. Petherick as customary among the Hassanyey tribe dwelling on the Nile, a little above Khartoum. The marriageable girl is always sold to the highest bidder, but after a ceremonious wrangle of sharp bargaining as to how many days a week the marriage shall hold good, the mother of the girl declining to bind her daughter to be an obedient and faithful wife for more than two days a week, and the husband-elect and his friends repudiating such an unreasonable condition, it is at length agreed, after raising the amount offered as purchase money, that the marriage shall hold good, as is customary among the first families of the tribe, for four full days in the week, the wife being at perfect liberty the

The Fans sell their criminals into slavery : " a great many are yearly sold to the coast traders on account of witchcraft accusations,\* debts, adultery, &c. *Of late years the French 'emigrant' ships have been filled with Fans to a great extent.*"

These savage cannibals are the most skilful artists of any in the whole region which M. du Chaillu explored. They are excellent workers in iron, the ore of which, gathered from the surface of the earth, they smelt in a rude but sufficiently effective way. Their tomahawks, war-axes, spear-heads, and knives are all manufactured by themselves, and are remarkable for their excellent temper, and often also for the beautiful artistic designs which ornament them. They also fashion clay into cooking pans and pipes, and make jugs " of a kind of reed, tightly woven, and afterwards coated with a kind of gum." They display even more skill in constructing a musical instrument called the *handja*. It " consists of a light reed frame, three feet long by one and a half broad, into which are set and securely fastened a set of hollow gourds, covered by strips of hard red wood, found in the forests. Each of these cylinders is of a different size, and all are so graduated that the set form a regular series of notes. A *handja* generally contains seven. . . . Each gourd has a little hole on the side, covered with the skin of a spider." The instrument is played upon by striking the strips with two sticks, one hard, the other soft. The tone is said to be very clear and good, and the skill of the performers considerable.

Energetic, fierce, and fond of war, possessing alike decided courage and ingenuity, gradually encroaching westward on the territories of their feeble neighbours, this tribe, notwithstanding their man-eating propensities, impressed M. du Chaillu as giving more promise of improvement, and as having more of that kind of stamina which enables a rude people to receive a strange civilization, than any other tribe he knows of in Africa. He believes them to be but an offshoot from a great family inhabiting the mountainous range which he conjectures to run across the continent along the equator. Be this as it may, it is certain that there are cannibals on the eastern side of Africa, and that they present characteristics closely resembling those of the Fans.

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remaining three days to enjoy her freedom and independence from all observation of matrimonial obligations !

A not less extraordinary law (of divorce) obtains among the Apingi people : when a man falls in love with his neighbour's wife, and she returns his affection, her lover may obtain her for himself by giving the same amount of goods or slaves to the husband as he gave for her in the first instance. This condition complied with, he is obliged to part with her to her more favoured lover ! M. du Chaillu thinks this system " prevents quarrels or even wars" among the villages.

\* We presume when the charge is not satisfactorily proved ; for when it is, M. du Chaillu elsewhere states that " the death penalty is sternly executed." (P)

The Neam Nams encountered by Mr. Petherick, south of the White Nile, at the village of Mundo, close, as he believes, to the equator, are undoubted anthropophagi. After he and his brave companions had entered the village and seated themselves beneath a sycamore-tree, the savages, who had not opposed their approach, now began to crowd around them, and hemming them in with such uncomfortable closeness, that the first rank seated themselves on their visitors' feet, indulged in laughter and loud conversation. With some difficulty Mr. Petherick learnt from the interpreters he had with him, that the laughter was expressive of the joy inspired by the prospect of a splendid feast, and the uproarious talk was a dispute between these man-eaters as to the propriety of slaying their game (Mr. Petherick and his men), before their chief, who was absent, should return! How Mr. Petherick saved himself, as well as his companions, from their stomachs, how he established himself as the friend of their chief, and the particulars of his sojourn amongst them, we leave our readers to learn from his remarkably graphic and intensely interesting volume.

The Neam Nams, like the Fans, are the terror of the surrounding tribes, whom they invade in order to capture and carry off their youth into slavery. If one of the Neam Nam slaves should run away and again be caught, he is invariably killed and eaten. They always feast on their fallen enemies. A neighbouring tribe described with shuddering horror their terrible devastations and slaughters, saying they themselves had been nearly exterminated by these cannibals, and that many of their communities had been obliged to fly and establish themselves in distant countries. Mr. Petherick says—"I was informed by the Neam Nams, who seemed to glory in their reputation of cannibalism, that their aged, and indeed all when supposed to be at the point of death, were given up to be murdered and eaten."

Mr. Petherick found the plain beneath the village of Mundo "extensively cultivated into fields and gardens—cotton, vegetables, melons, gourds, and pepper being cultivated in the latter; whilst the former were confined to the growth of various kinds of maize and beans. Their cultivation was well attended to, the labour being performed by slaves, of which the members of this tribe owned considerable numbers,—some individuals owning them by hundreds; and in case of emergency, they accompany their master to battle."

The arms of this tribe resemble those of the Fans. Both these people are distinguished by their use of a shield of the same large oblong shape (the Fans' being formed of elephant hide, and the Neam Nams' of closely-woven matting); the Fans have a terrific iron weapon corresponding to the "singularly-formed iron pro-

jectile, resembling a boomerang," carried by the Neam Nams; and both tribes are armed with a formidable knife kept in a leather sheath. The sheaths made by the Fans are often of human skin; Mr. Petherick gives no information on this point. The loin vestments of the Neam Nams, especially those of the men, are larger than those of the Fans, but are made of the same material. These eastern cannibals surpass their western rivals in one respect: "leather sandals are universally worn by them." Their huts, like those of the Fans, are ranged in a row or street; and the cleanliness, both of their huts and persons, excited Mr. Petherick's admiration. We are not informed whether they manufacture their own weapons; it is to be presumed they do. The Dôr and Djour tribes, immediately to the north of them, equal the Fans in their skill of working iron. Their methods, it is worthy of remark, are nearly the same: they collect the ore from the surface of the earth; their smelting process is effected by bellows, which, consisting of two vertical cylinders covered with loose skin and worked by an alternate vertical motion, are identical with those employed by the Fans. Curiously enough, their hammer, like that of this tribe, is a sort of iron cone, held, like a pestle, by the thin end. For grinding their corn, the Dôr tribe use a large wooden pestle and mortar similar to that in which the Fans pound their squash seed. The drums, or "tom-toms," found by Mr. Petherick in general use near the equator, are made of hollowed trunks of trees, the ends being covered with skins in the same manner as are those of the Fans. The colour of the Neam Nams is not mentioned, but their northern neighbours—both the Dôr and Djour, by the lighter colour, dark brown, which distinguishes them from the majority of African races—exhibit an affinity with the Fans. It is curious to observe that the word Fan is met with in the Dôr tribe. Mr. Petherick speaks of journeying "to the Dôr or *Fan*-Djau, the country of Djau." Finally, it is remarkable, as if confirmatory of an ancient connexion between these tribes, that the Fans and Osheba at the western extremity of the transverse range of equatorial mountains point to the eastward as their original home.

Considering the numerous facts we have mentioned indicative of a close affinity between the tribes in question, we are led to conclude that the vast belt of central Africa, stretching from the Neam Nams in the East to the Osheba and Fans in the West, is probably inhabited by kindred races having like characters and customs. The idea that this immense region is peopled by cannibals, who from a remote antiquity have continued their horribly loathsome practice, is truly appalling. To feel that we are connected to such beings by the ties of a common nature is calculated to induce a shudder of disgust quite as intense, we imagine, as

is the notion of our descent from some such creatures as the purely vegetable and fruit-eating oranges and gorillas.

It is astonishing how frequently, in the most ancient traditions of mankind, evidences of cannibalism may be traced, and how widely its practice has extended even in modern times. Herodotus says (i. 216) that among the Massagetæ, a people of Central Asia, when a man has grown very old, all his kinsmen come together and kill him and some animals at the same time. They then cook the flesh and have a feast. They do not eat those who die of disease, but bury them in the ground, lamenting that they have not reached the fit time for being killed and eaten. He also says (iii. 99) that among the Padæi, an Indian Asiatic people, whenever man or woman falls ill, they are killed and eaten—the man by his male friends, and the woman by her female friends. All who reach old age are killed and eaten. “Among the ancient Tapís,” says Dr. Martius,\* in his account of Brazil, “when the *paje*, or conjuror and doctor, despaired of a sick man’s recovery, he was by his advice put to death and devoured.” The cannibalism of the Caribs is well known. Darwin tells us how the wretched inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, when pressed by hunger, first suffocate their old women, by holding their faces over the smoke of a fire, and then devour them. Human beings were known to have been eaten in New Holland while the writer of these pages was in that country. If the practice of cannibalism be already extinct in New Zealand, it has only just become so; in the Fiji group of islands it flourished until a recent date in forms even more revolting than in any other part of the world, and is but just dying out; while, as we have seen, it still prevails both in the east and in the west of Africa, and not improbably may be nearly co-extensive with the breadth of the continent itself.

Of the numerous savage races whose customs have been observed and recorded in modern times, precisely those who have the highest physical and mental organization, who are the best agriculturists, whose mechanical and artistic skill is most developed, and who, in short, are the most susceptible of civilization, are the very races who have practised cannibalism most systematically, and who have avowed it most openly—often, indeed, glorying in the distinction conferred upon them by their horrible custom. The wretched inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and the still more abject natives of Australia, eat their own species, we believe, only occasionally, when other food is not to be had; but the New Zealanders and Fiji Islanders, who in general, and especially in cerebral development, almost rival Europeans, had an

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\* “Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens.” München, 1832.

epicurean delight in human flesh ; and such seems to be a characteristic of the finest people of equatorial Africa—the Fans and Neam Nams. This strange truth is as impressive and humiliating to human nature as it is authentic. But while it reveals to us how intimately the brute and the god are conjoined, how, if man be but “a little lower than the angels,” he is also but a little higher than the devils, it also encourages us to labour assiduously for the abolition of a custom utterly abhorrent to the best instincts of humanity by the assurance of success which it implies : the higher these savages are in the scale of cerebral development, and the greater their consequent aptitude for civilization and their susceptibility of moral and religious culture, the more easily will that custom be eradicated. In the facts just mentioned we see no reason for despairing of the ultimate and general triumph of the nobler attributes of man, but believe that, incarnating more and more of the God-like elements as time advances, the human race, in ever-increasing numbers, will

“ Arise and fly  
The reeling Faun, the sensual feast ;  
Move upward, working out the beast,  
And let the ape and tiger die.”

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## ART. VII.—MR. BUCKLE'S HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.

*History of Civilization in England.* BY HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE  
Vol. II. London : Parker, Son, and Bourn.

THE second volume of Mr. Buckle's work will probably meet with a calmer consideration than that accorded to its predecessor. Criticism seems to have done its worst when it had the first volume fresh for discussion. Seldom was a book more ungenerously criticised. The author was pronounced to have failed altogether because he had not proved the whole of his case, down to its minutest details, in the mere exposition of his object and his views. Some of his critics dealt with him precisely after the fashion of an impatient and irritable judge who should direct a non-suit because counsel had not contrived to make his opening statement and his evidence simultaneous and identical. But even this mode of attack was rational and charitable compared to that adopted by those who professed to take a higher ground of criticism. With



these the only redeeming point in the work was its entire failure. They professed to pardon its impiety solely because of its impotence. They did not feel called upon to demonstrate the fallacy of any of its arguments, or to demolish the premises upon which they rested. Enough to declare that it was opposed to religion : how, or where, it was not necessary to point out. " When I say religion," explains Thwackum, " of course I mean the Christian religion ; and when I say the Christian religion, of course I mean the Church of England." A man must know very little of English public opinion who is not aware that once a sentence of this kind has been pronounced by any one upon a book, or a theory, there is an end of discussion on the subject in certain very expansive circles. It would be as reasonable to expect that Lady Teazle's audience would pause to investigate the truth of her insinuations against her absent friends, as to look for a calm inquiry into the real object and character of Mr. Buckle's first volume at the hands of certain critics and readers, when the religious anathema had once been pronounced against it. Accordingly, although no book could have been more generally and more warmly discussed, it is not too much to say that, in many conspicuous instances, its principal object, its leading merits, nay, even its most serious deficiencies were passed unnoticed altogether. Now that some years have intervened, that other subjects of especially theological debate have recently sprung up, and that a second volume of the work has been issued, Mr. Buckle may possibly have the good fortune to find his objects at least more generally understood, and his mode of approaching them more calmly and rationally considered. It is quite time that the public should turn to the questions which Mr. Buckle's views of history and civilization involve, something better than a half listless attention. If we are ever to have any better theory of human progress than its dependence upon laws entirely hidden from our knowledge, and kept hopelessly above any possible range of mortal intelligence ; if we are not to submit for ever to base our only speculations into the past or future of our history upon the chance glimpses which we think we catch of the inner working of great political movements, or on the sudden and seemingly capricious influence of some great individual energies ; if, in short, we would not renounce all effort to obtain some true explanation of the past, some reliable guide for conjecture as to the future, we cannot too earnestly or patiently lend an ear to any one who honestly believes he can help us in our difficulty. No matter how imperfect the result when compared with the object, the man who throws any light upon such an investigation deserves our attention and our gratitude. Mr. Buckle has many great qualifications which give him an especial claim to a hearing.

In Mr. Buckle's first volume he laboured to clear the ground for the establishment of four great principles which he holds essential to the understanding of history. First, that the progress of nations depends upon the success with which the laws of phenomena are investigated, and on the extent to which a knowledge of those laws is diffused. Second, that before any such investigation can proceed, a spirit of scepticism must arise, "which, at first aiding the investigation, is afterwards aided by it." Third, that the results of this investigation tend to increase the influence of intellectual truths, and to diminish, not indeed absolutely but relatively, the influence of moral truths, which latter are more stationary than intellectual truths and receive fewer additions. Fourth, that the great enemy of this progressive investigation, and consequently of man's civilization, is the protective spirit in which governments undertake to watch over men and teach them what to do, and churches prescribe for them what they are to believe. Now it is obvious enough that on the decision of the first point rests the whole issue between Mr. Buckle and his most extreme opponents. This first admitted or established, the second and third propositions must be allowed to follow. If the progress of civilization depends upon the discovery and right appreciation of the laws of phenomena, then the basis of the science of history is indisputably settled. It takes its place then like any of the physical sciences. The preliminary awakening of the spirit of scepticism, the relative preponderance of the influence of intellectual truths over moral truths, are inseparably connected with such a position. Therefore the whole question with which critics and readers have essentially to concern themselves, is the connexion between the development of humanity and the appreciation of the laws of phenomena.

Mr. Buckle devotes the whole of his second volume to an illustration of one branch of his argument. He places before us the spectacle of two nations, strongly resembling each other in at least one characteristic, but strikingly unlike in development and in progress. Spain and Scotland are the typical nations he selects for comparison and contrast. In Spain we have a country singularly favoured by nature. All the elements which a superficial mind might suppose most conducive to national greatness and permanent prosperity are or were abundant there. "The Spaniards," says Mr. Buckle, "had everything except knowledge." After having risen at one period to a splendid prominence in European history, after having had all the chances and resources of national greatness within her very grasp, Spain has only opened her hand, and allowed them one by one to fall from it. Individual energy and ability have sometimes stayed her downward progress. She has for a moment cast aside the causes of her failure, and

seemed to brace herself up for a renewed effort under happier auspices. But it was only for a moment. Unless she could wholly change her character, she could not hope to change her destiny. At present she lies, in Mr. Buckle's language,

"At the further extremity of the Continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of the feelings and knowledge of the middle ages: and, what is the worst symptom of all, she is satisfied with her own condition. Though she is the most backward country in Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of everything of which she should be ashamed. She is proud of the antiquity of her opinions; proud of her orthodoxy; proud of the strength of her faith; proud of her immeasurable and childish credulity; proud of her unwillingness to amend either her creed or her customs; proud of her hatred of heretics; and proud of the undying vigilance with which she has baffled their efforts to obtain a full and legal establishment on her soil. . . . In spite of the efforts of successive governments, in spite of the influence of foreign customs, and in spite of those physical ameliorations which just touch the surface of society but are unable to penetrate beneath, there are no signs of national progress; the priests are rather gaining ground than losing it; the slightest attack on the church rouses the people; while even the dissoluteness of the clergy, and the odious vices which, in the present century, have stained the throne, can do nought to lessen either the superstition or the loyalty which the accumulated force of many centuries has graven on the minds and eaten into the hearts of the Spanish nation."

Now, we are not prepared to accept this gloomy picture as a precise photograph of the condition of Spain at the present moment. The circumstances of that country seem to us by no means so deficient of any gleam of hope. Within the last three months speeches have been spoken in the Spanish Congress which would be pronounced advanced utterances of liberalism and free thought in the British House of Commons. In his latest work (that on "Representative Government"), Mr. John Stuart Mill expresses an opinion, with regard to the present condition of the Spanish people, very different from that which Mr. Buckle has enunciated.

"I would say nothing," Mr. Mill observes, "derogatory to a great and now, at last, a free people [the Spanish], who are entering into the general movement of European progress with a vigour which bids fair to make up rapidly the ground they have lost. No one can doubt what Spanish intellect and energy are capable of; and their faults, as a people, are chiefly those for which freedom and industrial ardour are a real specific."

But while we quote the opinion of this great writer as much more nearly according with our own than that of Mr. Buckle,

on the present condition of Spain, it is only fair to observe that the main force of Mr. Buckle's argument is scarcely weakened even by the existence of an improved aspect in this generation of Spaniards. Having seen how opinion can react in Spain and temporary progress become suddenly checked, it would be quite premature to found any extravagant hopes upon any liberal sentiments or emancipating commercial tendencies which Spaniards may exhibit at the present moment. It is sufficient for Mr. Buckle's argument, that until at least the most recent period Spain has maintained a position miserably out of harmony with that of almost all other European countries; and it will clearly strengthen Mr. Buckle's principle if it can be proved that when Spain has advanced, she has only done so by acknowledging the influence of those causes which, in his belief, ensure the progress of nations. In one of his essays Macaulay expresses a doubt whether any nation, except under the most extraordinary circumstances, ever does actually retrograde in wealth and in civilization. "The influence of Holland and Spain," says Macaulay, "is much diminished. But are Holland and Spain poorer than formerly? We doubt it. Other countries have outrun them, but we suspect that they have been positively, though not relatively, advancing. We suspect that Spain is richer than when a French king was brought captive to the footstool of Charles the Fifth." That no merely relative but a positive retrogression does however sometimes take place, Spain affords the most indisputable evidence. At the beginning of the 17th century the population of Madrid was estimated at 400,000. At the opening of the following century it had sunk to less than 200,000. Many great branches of industry which once had flourished in Spain wholly disappeared during the same period, and were followed by no compensating substitute. The decay of some great towns—Burgos, for instance—was positive, palpable, visible. It is sufficient for Mr. Buckle's argument that such a retrogression and degeneracy did take place. The cause of the retrogression and degeneracy he finds in the fact that Spain was too superstitious and too loyal to cultivate or care about the knowledge of phenomena; that she trusted herself blindly to her government and her priesthood, and that—and here Mr. Buckle departs from the track of ordinary historical commentators—no government, however enlightened, no priesthood, however pure, high-minded, liberal, can do anything for a people who are content to have everything done for them.

Now in Scotland Mr. Buckle finds a people whom he pronounces strikingly similar to the Spanish in point of superstition. Even at the present day, he declares that "in no civilized country is toleration so little understood, and in none is the spirit

of bigotry and of persecution so extensively diffused." "The churches are as crowded as they were in the middle ages, and are filled with devout and ignorant worshippers, who flock together to listen to opinions of which the middle ages alone were worthy." The Scotch people, then, according to Mr. Buckle, surrendered themselves to superstition; but they did not surrender themselves to loyalty. Owing to causes which he elaborately follows out, the Scotch were, unlike the Spanish, a recalcitrant people as regarded government. They would permit their clergy to think for them on the concerns of the other world, but they would not allow their governments unreservedly to plan and act for them in the affairs of this. When Scotland began to have a philosophical literature, the same distinction was still somewhat preserved. So strong a hold had the theological or deductive method of arguing over the national mind, that the philosophy of the 18th century was essentially deductive in its character. It could not, therefore, diffuse itself broadly over the nation. It did not suffice the people's mind. It hung above the popular level like the philosophy of Germany: therefore it scarcely weakened the strength with which superstition clung around the popular intellect and feeling. But it nevertheless accumulated a stock of knowledge and of thought, which slowly produced its inevitable effects. The country which had every natural advantage, but whose people were superstitious in religion, in politics, and in literature, rose by an impulse of native strength, and then gradually sank away into abject feebleness and degeneracy: the people, on the other hand, who were superstitious in religion, but free-thinking in politics and in science, have advanced and risen by a slow but certain process. Spain had sometimes the seeming advantage of admirable and progressive government systems; but they availed her nothing. She could not and would not act for herself, and the moment she was released from the safe and familiar guiding-strings, she fell back again into the old track. When she progressed for a moment, it was but as the progress of a steam-engine, which flies smooth and safe along the road while the pressure is kept up and the guidance maintained, but the instant both are withdrawn rushes wildly off the trams by the sheer impetus of previous motion, and then falls over and lies lumbering on the earth. Scotland, on the other hand, although sometimes suffering under systems of government as bad as ever crippled a nation, always maintained her own independent national life, and achieved a slow but certain progress in defiance of every obstacle. The advantage which Scotland possessed over Spain was her unwillingness to submit to the protective principle, and her accumulation, however slenderly diffused, of the knowledge of phenomena. A nation may, in Mr. Buckle's view, be favoured

with a very enlightened governing system, and yet remain utterly unprogressive and even insecure of the position it occupies. A nation may, on the other hand, be deeply sunk in superstition, as he pronounces Scotland still to be, and yet make a steady progress towards national prosperity. For instance, if the Neapolitan provinces of Italy were to undergo a complete reaction, and lapse back again into Legitimacy and Popery, Mr. Buckle would probably not attribute the returning process to the superstition of the people, to the adoring of images and the veneration for San Gennaro's miracle; he would ascribe it altogether to the Neapolitan deficiency in self-reliance, the Neapolitan ignorance of the physical and economic laws, and the Neapolitan disdain for the observation of phenomena. A nation politically enlightened may long remain in, or even relapse into, religious superstition: for religious superstition applies to subjects of which, at least for the present, we can have no positive knowledge, and to which we can apply no test; but a people once educated so far as even to get distinctly on the track of scientific and economic knowledge, cannot undergo a reaction once again into positive ignorance, because they have, in reference to all such subjects, a series of tests always presenting themselves whose efficacy cannot possibly be ignored. There can no more be a reaction from free-trade back again to protection in such a country as England, than there could be a reaction from railways back to mail-coaches. In ordinary life you cannot, from the soundness of a man's views upon scientific or social subjects, venture to predict what his religious opinions may be. He may be well acquainted with mathematics and physics, and yet a believer in the miracles of the Roman Catholic Church. In politics we observe something of the same inconsistency, although less strongly marked, for the science of politics is as yet in its infancy. Therefore we may have any degree of popular reaction in religion, and a considerable extent of a similar process in politics, but we can have no reaction in science. We can have no reaction in economics, except where a government has insisted on forcing on a people a system of whose principles they were wholly ignorant, whose tests they were unable to appreciate, and whose development they therefore had not the patience to await. The proclamation of a representative system and the establishment of a local parliament in Algeria would not have the slightest effect upon the progress of the Algerian people: but once induce the people of Algeria to the general understanding of the most elementary principles of a science, and the starting-point of progress has been discovered. Moral truths do not determine the progress of the people. Where these do not remain stationary, they only develop in the wake of expanding intellect. A lecture on the moral laws

would have been much the same in the early days of Christianity as at the present moment. Any advance which has taken place has followed, instead of preceding and guiding, intellectual development.

Religion and government are the explanatory causes by which the vast majority of persons seek to settle every question of relative national advancement. Nothing is at once so easy and so flattering to ourselves, as to decide that our own prosperity arises from our being a religious people, and that the adversity of our neighbours is the product of their impenetrable superstition. It has now, indeed, become reduced to a regular doctrine, numbering as many faithful adherents in England as any other belief whatever, that Protestantism and prosperity are inseparable companions. Those who take the trouble to explain the supposed connexion at all, and who do not accept it as a simple article of faith, usually adopt one of two methods of explanation. One mode is to announce the fact that the worldly prosperity of England is merely the reward which Heaven bestows upon a nation faithfully observing certain special rites of worship. Those who adopt this view do not pretend to think any other than the theological explanation either necessary or desirable. England propitiates Providence by upholding the Protestant Established Church, by keeping the Sunday after a prescribed ceremonial fashion, by adhering to certain forms in preaching and in praying, by discouraging the Roman Catholic creed, and by setting a stern face and raising an angry voice against any expression of independent thought upon religious subjects. Providence rewards this good behaviour and attention to discipline with full harvests and successful speculations, with railway enterprises more or less remunerative, with victory in battle, with comfortable colonial and international relations. Nor is this pleasant faith at all weakened by the fact, obvious to every eye but that of theological fanaticism, that the prosperity of England has only grown up in proportion as Englishmen have set themselves against the political, commercial, and social doctrines of those who uphold such arguments and principles of belief. As a general rule, it may be safely affirmed that the extreme Protestant party in these countries have resolutely striven to the uttermost against every one of the commercial and political measures which helped to bring about that state of things they now claim to have themselves earned by the measure of their own righteousness. In every body of men opposing Catholic emancipation—opposing the removal of religious disabilities from Protestant Dissenters and Jews—opposing free-trade and the repeal of the Navigation Laws—indeed opposing every measure of real progress of any kind—there has always been found a majority of those who claim for themselves the honour

of being called the religious party. Nothing can now be more evident and indisputable than that had England accepted the advice of those men, we should either have seen the empire entirely broken up, or else so enfeebled, languid, and impoverished, as to be just tottering on the verge of national dissolution. Every successive generation beholds men of this class still stoutly predicting the ruin of England if certain measures be adopted, which immediately they have been adopted every one recognises as an advance in prosperity; and for many generations yet to come they will be found as vociferously prophetic as if their predictions had not invariably been falsified—as sturdily dogmatic as if the mere progress of actual and obvious facts had not reduced every one of their dogmas in turn to an absurdity.

But there is another mode of explanation, as we have just observed, adopted by a somewhat more rational class of persons, who connect the growth of national prosperity with the observance of what they term religion. The Protestant, we are told, is taught by his creed (although in what passages of it we are not informed), that he must depend upon himself—that he must not be the slave of a priesthood—that he must exert his own power of private judgment, his own personal freedom of action; that he cannot shift away his own responsibility by means of a sacerdotal absolution, and thus he is, as it were, led and stimulated to be active, energetic, independent, and high-principled. It is admitted that Providence did not send the Irish famine, and does not plant a dung-heap before the Irish peasant's door, simply to punish the Irishman for believing in the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is admitted that if the southern peasant of Ireland does not trim his hedge or sweep the filth from before his cabin as his northern fellow-countryman does, it is not because of any necessary logical connexion between accepting the Immaculate Conception and preferring untrimmed hedges and uncleansed cesspools. But the argument is, that the Munster peasant is the slave of a creed which does not encourage free thought and free action, and that being in general an ecclesiastical serf, he adopts all the traditional habits of serfdom throughout the minutest actions of his life. This, we are told, is the same, or much the same, throughout the world. We have the Spaniard and the Irishman against the Englishman and the Prussian; the Protestant against the Catholic cantons of Switzerland; the north against the south of Ireland. And as this is a very much less laborious method of preparing and explaining history than that which Mr. Buckle proposes to introduce, and as moreover our histories are generally written by those who believe that all the religious and moral advantages are on our side, it immediately follows that an unconscious falsification and perversion of all



historical fact and record to suit this theory go on in this country and are accepted and honoured as the most precious teaching and the profoundest truth. Until this theory be thoroughly upset and put away, we can have no real and philosophical history. We may have patient annalists, faithful and laborious chroniclers, vivid narrators, brilliant essayists, skilful biographers, but we can have nothing which can fairly lay claim to be entitled History on the same grounds as the teaching of other branches of knowledge deserves to be called science. Therefore the great bulk of the mass of historical writing gathered in England up to the present can only be regarded as the store out of which some future historian will select the materials for a genuine History. Nor have we of late years been advancing towards, but on the contrary receding from, this true history. For inasmuch as it has come at last to be recognised that there must be some guiding method for the production of history, if it would not turn out a mere chronicle or a mere collection of partisan pamphlets, the immediate result has been that men have started with totally incorrect theories and delusive objects, which have only led them still farther off the true tracks. Hardly any historical work has been produced in our days which does not bear in every important passage the evidence that its author had selected either the theory of religion, the theory of government, or the theory of race, as the key to the mysterious sources of national development and prosperity.

But what is superstition? and what is religious freedom? Many intelligent persons, if they simply spoke their private views in frank words, would define the former to be the acknowledgment of any positive form of worship which differed from their own. The meaning which the same class of individuals attach to religious freedom is simply a prerogative of uncontrolled liberty, if not, indeed, entire supremacy, for the doctrines they themselves profess. Indeed they are only moderate thinkers who go no further than this: it would be fortunate if the doctrine of religious freedom were generally interpreted to require only negative concessions for its practical development. But, unfortunately, those who demand free way for their own faith generally prescribe, as a specific condition of its existence, some greater or less degree of repression for every other form of doctrine. People in general judge of superstition and of religious freedom with a distinct reference to what they themselves consider ought to be implicitly believed, and what they themselves regard as entitled to unrestrained action. Many readers will no doubt be surprised, and even horrified, to find that Mr. Buckle places Spain and Scotland upon an equally low level in regard to superstition. They will not be prepared to understand that the only definition of super-

stition which a man who desires to criticise impartially the characteristics of nations can adopt, must be simply the tendency to accept supernatural instead of natural explanations of phenomena. The effect produced upon a people by this tendency is precisely the same, no matter how different the degrees of approximation to truth in the religious teaching by which the superstition is inspired or countenanced. The feeling which urged the people of Scotland to put up prayers to Heaven for the averting of the cholera, instead of setting to cleansing sewers and draining streets, is indeed very many degrees higher in character than the superstition under which the savage endeavours to appease the lightning, or even than the Italian peasant's impulse to appeal to his sacred image during the thunderstorm. But the influence upon national progress is only affected by the greater or less degree of fidelity with which either adheres to his theory of supernatural interference, and the means for alleviating it. Other influences prevent, at the present day, even the most devout of Scotchmen from adhering commonly in the business of life to the superstition which prefers the supernatural to the natural explanation of phenomena. In those other causes lies the real difference between the national progress of Scotland and that of Spain.

So, too, in measuring the comparative degree of religious liberty enjoyed by different countries. Not many will accept the definition of religious freedom to be the absolute unconditional liberty of every one to express and teach whatever religious views he deems right, not merely without let or hindrance, but without privation or disability of any kind. But even those who profess to acknowledge this definition as the only true one, and to disown all leaning towards religious pains and penalties as a mode of enlightenment and civilization, are not always prepared to judge between different nations on this basis. Very few people can bring themselves to judge of religious intolerance without carrying in their minds some criterion as to the approximation of the intolerant towards their own personal ideas of sound religious doctrine. Probably many an enlightened Scotchman will feel surprised and shocked, at first, when he finds his country, which he had all along supposed the very cradle and home of liberty, placed upon a level with Spain in regard to religious intolerance. Either he has forgotten that intolerance does not wholly depend upon law and political emancipation, or he has been unconsciously bearing about with him the notion that Scotland is free because it has a religion which he believes right, and Spain enslaved because it submits to a teaching which he believes wrong. He will probably, for some time, be surprised to find that, to a disinterested and unprejudiced thinker, although

the object sought to be sustained in the two countries is widely different, yet the system adopted to sustain it is, in many essential points, precisely the same.

We cannot easily offer a better example of the popular manner of judging such questions than is to be found in the general opinion of tourists who compare the north with the south of Ireland. Almost every stranger who visits that country comes back full of pity for the superstition of the south and of admiration for the religious freedom of the north. Yet we cannot help feeling convinced that the south will be found to enjoy by far the greater measure of religious liberty. We are now comparing, not the creeds, but the social systems by which the creeds are sustained. Any one who visits the large towns of the south of Ireland will find a Protestant and Roman Catholic population living together in as much harmony as people of opposing faiths usually maintain anywhere in unexciting times; he will find large Catholic boroughs, where the majority is irresistibly in the hands of Catholics, represented in Parliament by Protestant members; he will find the aggressive controversy wholly conducted by Protestants, and, except for a rare squabble in a country village, without the slightest demonstration of anger on the part of the Roman Catholics; he will find Protestant and Catholic newspapers in the same town, Protestant and Catholic speakers on the same platform, Protestant and Catholic clergymen at the same dinner-table. He will find that a Protestant, so long as he does not seek to be actually offensive, may preach or teach anything he pleases and yet mingle freely in Roman Catholic society. If he goes to the north he will find the name of Roman Catholic held in positive detestation; he will find that it is almost impossible for the most enlightened Roman Catholic to obtain an entrance into Protestant society; he will find influential and leading Protestants publicly denounced because of their supposed tendency towards the recognition of religious equality; he will find that it was a difficult matter to obtain a publisher for a Roman Catholic newspaper in Belfast five or six years ago; he will find theatres altogether abandoned by the wealthier classes because theatrical amusements are pronounced from the pulpit to be profane; he will find a grim Sabbatarian discipline ruling over the Sunday, and an entire deference to the reigning sects the only condition of admission into general intercourse. These are simply matters of fact, which cannot in themselves be disputed. Yet we feel satisfied that not only most Irishmen from the north, but many Irishmen from the south, would be quite startled by the declaration that greater freedom of religion prevails in Munster than in Ulster. Because, in judging of the measure of that freedom in a country,

we are almost invariably in the habit of admitting a prior consideration as to whether the things set free are precisely those which we ourselves personally like to see liberated. We should all be indignant if a Spanish judge were to refuse the oath of an Englishman because the latter did not believe in transubstantiation or in purgatory. But scarcely anybody expresses either surprise or anger when one English magistrate rejects the evidence of a man who declares that he does not believe in the Divinity as "an avenging Spirit," and another refuses to receive the oath of a boy because, although quick enough with his answer about bad people going to hell, and good people to heaven, he acknowledges that he is not certain whether a boy who told a lie must necessarily be doomed to everlasting damnation.

The picture which Mr. Buckle draws of the theological history and condition of the Scottish people, during the 17th century, is grim and gloomy enough to provoke a shudder. The arrogance and ignorance of the clergy; their fearful and revolting doctrines concerning the dominion of the Deity over his creatures, and the punishments He had devised for sinners; their savage intolerance of all freedom of thought; their vehement denunciations of the most harmless, even the most praiseworthy occupations and amusements; their threatenings of special judgments and legends of the interposition of special miracles, all related in Mr. Buckle's unsparing language, make up a narrative almost as painful to read as the chronicles of the Spanish Inquisition. If we are inclined to interpose a doubt as to its full fidelity, it is not that we believe any single passage exaggerated in itself, but that the picture exhibited can only represent Scottish national life in part, whereas it seems held up as if to show it in the whole. We have not the slightest doubt that a similarly painful collection of illustrations could be drawn from sermons preached in our own day, and in London. Priestly arrogance denounces heresy and takes upon itself to fulminate damnation as loudly, though not as commonly, now as ever. London pulpits ring nightly and daily to the menaces of preachers who invoke and prophesy everlasting pains for opinions and conduct which only their own special creed makes culpable. In fact, to say all this, is only to say that a great many men still preach, and that some of them are ignorant and arrogant. But a collection of extracts from sermons of this character would be a very unfaithful exposition of English opinion and feeling at the present day. To judge between Scotland in the 17th and England in the 19th century, we require some other data than those with which Mr. Buckle has supplied us. We require to have some knowledge of the extent to which the views he cites were prevalent, and of the influence they bore, proportioned to the

extent and influence of similar views in England at the present day. It is indeed a severe test of the impartiality of a historian to have at the same time to supply the facts and to apply the argument for a new principle of historical writing. Even when we entertain no suspicion whatever of the accuracy of all he states, we may sometimes doubt how far a general judgment might not be affected by something he has omitted to state. At the same time it should always be borne in mind that Mr. Buckle is not writing a history of Spain or of Scotland. He is merely adducing certain facts from the history of each country to show that a considerable degree of similarity existed in both, and to point out the difference in other conditions which prevented a general similarity of results. If he is reminded that of Scotland in the 17th century he has shown us nothing but the intolerance, he may very fairly answer that only the intolerance of Scotland in that period had anything to do with his argument. To criticise those passages of Mr. Buckle's work as if they formed the chapters of a special Scottish history, will be to act unfairly towards the author, and to lead the reader altogether away from the main purport of the undertaking. We cannot help adding, that the reader is likely enough, at best, to be induced pretty often to wander away from the path of the great argument. The author himself avows that he sees no hope of realizing his object to the extent he once dreamed. Such an object is not indeed for the accomplishment of one man or one age. But to all the vast difficulties standing inevitably in his way Mr. Buckle has added others of his own creation. He has made the beginning of his work so gigantic in its proportions that no human life's labour could complete the task on the same scale. There was not the slightest necessity for making so large a portion of the present volume a mere history of the developments of thought and science in Scotland during the 18th century. What need of an elaborate recapitulation of the labours and productions of Adam Smith or John Hunter? What need of a critical memoir of Cullen, of Reid, and of the many other distinguished men whom Mr. Buckle has introduced and described as if he were producing a biographical dictionary? All that he has said of Adam Smith, for instance, which the mere mention of the name would not have suggested to every reader, might have been effectively said in a page or two. Mr. Buckle does not seem always to bear in mind the difference between the philosophy of history and a history of philosophy. The effect of the lengthened digressions, for they can be termed nothing else, which he thus introduces, is to carry the reader's mind altogether away from the author's purpose, and to break the links of the chain of argument which he proposes to weave of the facts of history. Serious as this fault is in an artistic sense, it is much more so when

viewed in its effect upon the author's special object. Mr. Buckle's pervading defect is unquestionably diffuseness, and it would be scarcely possible to suggest a subject to which such a peculiarity is less suited. The deductive character of the philosophical literature of the 18th. century, which Mr. Buckle affirms to have escaped the attention of all previous inquirers, might have been maintained with full force of argument and illustration within a space very limited indeed when compared with the large portion of the present volume devoted by him to that single purpose. We do not know when the great issue which our author proposes can ever be set fairly before the world, if he pauses to debate every corollary question, and dispose of every incidental difference of opinion, which may arise in the path of his progress.

Scotland then clearly did not enter into the material prosperity which she now enjoys by following the teachings of the vehement and uncompromising pulpit eloquence which once preached renunciation to her. She accepted enough of the counsel to become puritanical and grim in manner, to enforce Sabbatarianism, to discourage outward levity; but she pursued the means which lead to an accumulation of the world's goods as eagerly as if the penalty of damnation had never been threatened. Indeed the exaggerated character of the social and political effect ascribed to certain religious doctrines, cannot be more emphatically demonstrated than by pointing out their utter incapacity to give the slightest practical efficacy to their favourite inculcation. Almost all the Christian churches of the world have, at some time or other, concurred in denouncing worldly ambition and the making of money, and they do not seem to have laboured to any better result than the satirists. People are now probably, on the whole, more ardent than ever they were for the making of money. Mr. Buckle does not pretend to concur with the indiscriminate denunciation of this invincible tendency of men. To denounce the impulse which drives men to the accumulation of money would be simply to enter an ineffectual protest against the great stimulus and source of human civilization. Just such an ineffectual protest against this and other characteristic tendencies of mankind, the great body of preachers have been always pouring forth. The world has listened, bowed perhaps respectfully to the utterances, and gone on its way just as before. The churches and preachers have been often content to act something like the part which the dethroned King of Naples has recently been performing; they have continued to issue protest after protest with as much gravity and emphasis as if they really believed that any single human being was likely to be permanently or materially affected by the formality. They who believe that a nation's progress is mainly governed by her religion, do not seem to have observed that whenever a religion

ceases to be the reflection of a people's true feelings and intelligence, it becomes utterly impotent, an empty formula endured only because of its insignificance. Religious appeals could inspire a crusade, because the appeals came out of the very spirit which animated the whole people. Religion could dictate persecution, because persecution harmonized with the arrogance and the cruelty of an ignorant and a fanatical age. Religion could stimulate to deeds of devotion, of self-sacrifice, of heroism, just as patriotism, love, chivalrous ambition could do, when the hearts to which the appeal was made were already opening to receive it; but religion cannot divorce itself from humanity. It can, at the best, be to us but the consummation and culmination of our highest human emotion, instinct, intelligence. It cannot play the sorcerer and turn the man into black marble, or the black marble back again into a man. If it sets itself up as something opposed to human instinct and human nature, either these rush madly over it and trample it down, as in some recent days, or they pass it civilly by and quietly ignore it, as in our own. Describe then the effective religion of an age, and you have illustrated not the cause which gave to the age such a form and pressure, but the issue and offspring of the age itself. To say that the religion of Spain or Scotland was of this or that complexion, is not to explain how the condition of Spain or Scotland came about, but simply to sum up over again, in another form, the general tendencies of the Spanish or Scottish character at the specified period. To the historian who accepts what we have designated formally as religion, but which is really only doctrinal theology, as a cause, the science of history must for ever remain an impenetrable mystery. So far from its being a cause, you cannot even accept it always as a measure of progress, except upon the principle that the strength of anything must be tested by its weakest part.

In reviewing the influence of Government over civilization, Mr. Buckle seems to us not to have been always as well satisfied with his position, or as distinct in his views, as in other portions of the work. Mr. Buckle insists, with great force, that a Government seeking to advance before the spirit of the nation, can do no good; that "a bad Government, bad laws, or laws badly administered, are indeed extremely injurious at the time, but can produce no permanent mischief;" that "in both instances Government is, in the long run, inoperative, and in no wise responsible for the ultimate result;" that "no political improvement can produce real good, unless it is desired by the people before being conferred upon them." In this latter instance, Mr. Buckle no doubt purposely distinguishes political from other improvements; for there are surely some measures in the power of a Government to intro-

duce for the first time, which can bring about permanent good, even though conferred upon a people before the people have felt any positive desire for them. Would it not be an extraordinary assertion, for instance, to declare that the ultimate benefit of sanitary improvements depended upon the population having all appreciated their value and desired their application before a Government ventured to introduce them? Even as regards strictly political progress, we are by no means satisfied that Mr. Buckle has not greatly undervalued the influence of Government. He may have correctly appreciated the limited power of a Government to do good, but has he rightly estimated the extent of its power to do evil? Permanent mischief is of course a phrase susceptible of any extent of application. If Mr. Buckle means that the very worst system of Government cannot inflict evil which is absolutely irreparable, and which must stretch on to the crack of doom, his assertion is of course indisputable; but if permanence may be taken as admitting some limitation, however extensive, then we should not like to say how many centuries of mischief a bad Government system may not inflict. Suppose, for instance, the Government of a strong power over a weak and conquered nation. Suppose the Government of a dependency. Is it possible to maintain that bad systems of government "are in nowise responsible for the ultimate results" here, and can produce no mischief which may be fairly termed, in ordinary parlance, permanent? Is there any reason to doubt that it would be in the power of England, supposing her to maintain a bad system of government, to prolong ignorance, and poverty, and misery in India, or even in Ireland, for many centuries? We hardly think that Mr. Buckle could have arrived at the conclusion he sets forth, if he had tried the results by the test of the inductive method. He has found or adopted a theory of the influence of government which is safe and correct enough when applied only to the influence of a government for good, but which the course of all history discredits when it is extended to the influence of a government for evil.

But we can readily anticipate one answer to those criticisms. Bad government of any kind is merely a result. No rulers govern badly for the sake of governing badly. Defective systems only arise out of the existence of the protective spirit, if not in the governed, certainly in the governing classes. A protecting government is the offspring of the protective spirit, and the latter, therefore, not the former, is the great enemy to civilization. All the influences which affect the progress of the world injuriously must be ascribed to the cause, and not to one of its results. Not the officials who levy and collect an obnoxious tax upon imports are to be described as the enemies of commerce. The



ignorance which imposed such a tax is the real and only enemy. But why then does Mr. Buckle not at once revert to the real enemy of civilization? Why take the trouble of ascribing to the protective spirit a distinct and separate power of its own in retarding progress? Is not the protective spirit simply, in itself, a result of the ignorance of the laws of phenomena? Instead of being the great enemy of civilization, is it not rather a stage of civilization—an imperfect degree of civilization? Is it not boyhood preceding manhood—immaturity coming before ripeness? A savage country in which every man acted for himself without the slightest idea even of the most elementary form of restraint by a central power, would indeed be wholly free from any infusion of this protective spirit. But could we say that such a people were free from the presence of the great enemy to civilization? Would they be nearer towards civilization than even the Spaniards under their protecting governments? Is there any process by which a people can grow up from a savage condition into civilization without passing through a certain period, more or less protracted, in which the protective spirit is paramount? No doubt this spirit must disappear in proportion as a people progress in social and political enlightenment. No doubt there comes a period in the history of every progressive nation when the protective and the emancipating spirit for a while seem to debate the ground, and to stand in direct antagonism. But this is only as every new development of knowledge seems for a while in antagonism with that which preceded it and which appears reluctant to resign its place. Mr. Buckle's first position, that the progress of mankind depends upon the success with which the laws of phenomena are investigated, and the extent to which the knowledge is diffused, appears to us to involve and include all the rest.

The question of race, over which so many people delight in speculating, and which we are positively weary of hearing assigned as the comprehensive explanation of every social problem, Mr. Buckle has apparently ignored altogether. He may expect to find himself reminded rather often and rather sharply of his omission to investigate this favourite subject. We can see no justice whatever in the criticism more than once founded upon the negative character of Mr. Buckle's arguments. People think they have made a very damaging discovery when they point out that as yet Mr. Buckle has confined himself to an exposition of the various social elements which have not advanced civilization. But we do not know of any more satisfactory method he could have pursued, or one in which his opponents can meet him more distinctly point by point. The progress of his task at present only brings him to deal in the negative fashion with certain

popular, and, as he believes, erroneous theories, which must be disposed of in the first instance.

It would be entirely premature to pronounce an opinion at this moment upon the success of Mr. Buckle's undertaking. In reality that undertaking has only commenced. We do not suppose that the second volume will make many conversions even from the more moderate of Mr. Buckle's opponents. It does not pretend to offer much additional evidence in favour of the author's views, although it showers varied and effective illustration upon them. Through the greater part of it the reasoning employed is strictly and purely deductive, and only indeed intended as another process of testing the conclusions already set forth. Nothing could be more unjust to such an undertaking than to judge of it, as it were, by instalments, and criticise it in separate pieces. Yet nothing can be more certain than that a great number of readers will thus pronounce upon each successive volume of this work. Any one who desires to give an impartial reception to the great considerations it involves, must bear in mind that he is at present surveying, not a series of arguments, but a succession of illustrations. Every page bears the impress of thought, and of a mind which has filled itself to overflowing with the subject. Even were the author to be debarred from following out his task any further, that which he has already accomplished would mark, in itself, an important era in historical literature. We are not to measure Mr. Buckle's success by the amount of popular conviction which he compels to follow him. We must not disparage what he has done, because it does not appear certain that he has established his principle upon evidence beyond the reach of cavil. For ourselves we have not the slightest hope that the life and labour of any single author could place this great question upon a certain and an accepted basis. But to disparage the labours of Mr. Buckle, upon such a ground, would be simply to throw a slight upon the success of any and every individual explorer in any branch of knowledge. It would be as absurd to undervalue Mr. Buckle because he has not achieved his full object, as it was absurd to speak of him, in the style of many critics, as some one who had come forward with a suddenly-discovered crotchet, a clever *aperçu* of his own brain. All that Mr. Buckle needs to satisfy his ambition is to show the world good reason for entering upon the study of history and of human progress, upon a new principle of observation and from a new point of view. In this object he has emphatically succeeded. How far some of his corollary arguments may hereafter turn out to be inapplicable or defective; how many minor points, affecting the question, he has failed to see; how far he has been premature in the deduction of some of his conclusions, are sufficiently inte-

resting questions for a critical consideration, but have scarcely any bearing upon the main principle which the work introduces. The world grows dissatisfied with the manner in which history has been prepared. Having found that certain principles underlie all movement which is external to man, people begin to ask whether similar principles may not, must not, be ultimately discovered to affect and regulate man's own social development. We stand at the opening of this question, as we did at some time at the entrance of every question of physical science. Many men must speculate, and observe, and go wrong, before we can enter upon the broad clear way, where, henceforward, all is regular and certain progress. Mr. Buckle's great merit is that he has made the first systematic effort to map out the new path for us. Only those who have made up their minds to regard the task as for ever hopeless, or they who consider it irreverent and impious even to attempt it, can venture to deny the value of the service he has so far rendered.

There is a certain melancholy tone perceptible, and in one instance plainly expressed, in this volume, which indicates that Mr. Buckle has felt somewhat sensitively the ungenerous nature of many of the criticisms to which he has been subjected. We should in general much prefer that all personal feeling were left unexpressed in the performance of such a task as that which Mr. Buckle has undertaken. But it is impossible for most readers not to sympathize with some of the feelings which Mr. Buckle expresses in regard to his efforts and their possible incompleteness. Perhaps a more robust temperament would have abstained from all personal reference, but it would be ungenerous indeed to find much fault with a writer whose enthusiasm for his subject forces him into a mournful utterance of his disappointment with his own efforts to encompass it thoroughly. A liberal mind will think all the higher of one whose candour acknowledges that as his work proceeds a sense of incompleteness and insufficiency, unthought of at the first, grows more and more upon him. But the inquiry has now reached a point at which it cannot stop. That scepticism as to old methods which the author recognises to be the prelude to every profitable and successful investigation, has been aroused to some degree in the minds of most men. Even they who believe they have a kind of religious interest in shutting out inquiry which seeks any new direction, cannot easily silence within themselves the unsatisfied voice which whispers that the full truth will yet be sought and found. It matters but little how far an individual author may carry the investigation by his single efforts. It matters little how vague may be in some instances the directions by which he guides us; how mistaken even his conjectures as to the means and the speed of our further progress.

In such a subject individual considerations are absorbed. We have read Mr. Buckle's volume with the deepest interest. We do not pretend to say that we are always satisfied with its reasoning, or that we agree even in all its general conclusions. But it cannot be fairly judged until as a completed work, and the subject to which it is devoted should of all others, in the present state of our knowledge, forbid a premature judgment. As a great effort to illuminate one of the most important questions which at present can occupy men's consideration, it is entitled to the sympathy and the admiration of all impartial readers.

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#### ART. VIII.—CHRISTIAN CREEDS, AND THEIR DEFENDERS.

*The Record.*

*The British Standard.*

*The British Quarterly Review.*

**I**MPLIE me, *Deus, odio hæreticorum*, is said to have been a prayer daily offered up by old Calovius—a prayer which, in his case, if we may judge from his history as a zealous defender of the faith, was quite superfluous, since the hatred seems to have been a copious native spring, which stood in little need of additions from any higher quarter. It has been one of the misfortunes of Christianity that its cause has been so often pleaded by unskilful and ill-tempered counsel, not more ignorant in the law of the case than arrogant and offensive in the tone of their defence. No defendant's cause is so righteous but a blundering advocate may spoil it; and few things are more affecting than to see innocence tossed about the forum of the law, and tossed at last to ruin for the delectation and profit of incompetent pretenders or designing knaves. Doubtless the antagonisms of human opinion are often bitter enough—often very headlong and uncandid. It seems as if we could never rid theological polemics of the hot fumes of human passion which so constantly obscure the field of its view. We all know that the fuel of controversy is in the main the growth of misconception and unfairness. Add to this, that much depends on the inquirer's method and point of view—his tastes, aims, and mental furniture. One looks down to the depths, another on the surface. The antithesis of the abstract and the concrete, in other words, of the pabulum of the philoso-

pher and of the crowd, is a standing and unavoidable difficulty, but not at all unexplainable, nor in itself constituting anything like a *casus belli* in the theological world. The universe of truth is not made up simply of grass and corn-producing earth ; it has also things under the earth, and it has its heaven and heaven of heavens, with their mysterious and all-regulating laws, with all of which the thoughtful man is much employed, while the peasant is satisfied with his acre<sup>s</sup>-produce. But there is a unity of plan and operation throughout. The generalizations of the thinker have a point of junction and sympathy with the grosser realities of the mere worker, if men would only take time to consider, and had brains to perceive, and had, moreover, more of that benignity and love, that unction from the Holy One, whereby they would be able to understand all things.

The speculative and experimental thus form a totality which, without their junction, cannot be found of man on earth. In himself, as formed of mind and body, is found a good type of the duplex system of truth and being by which he is environed, and which to comprehend and expound is his legitimate but stupendous task. But to preserve the true equilibrium, so as to prevent him from becoming a mere worshipper of an idol or the mere slave of a superstition on the one hand, and on the other from flying upwards to the immensities of speculation, what labour is needed. Since, however, only a few affect these loftier flights, and the tendency of the many is to gravitate downwards, and settle in the palpable, in practical idol-worship, man-worship, creed-worship, a religion of places, sights, sounds, ceremonials, the demand is more frequent and urgent to snap the chains of superstition than to clip the wing of an aspiring unbelief. Hence human history is marked by ever-recurring crises, when men appear whose vocation it is to recal their fellow-creatures to first principles and to liberty. Zoroaster in Persia, the Jewish prophets, and Christ did this. Huss, Luther, and Zwingli, with Wycliffe and Knox, had all to assert first principles, and to demolish the sensuous crudities which men had come to trust in and worship. Mirabeau and Sièyes had similar service to perform, although, in dragging down the proud superstructure of priestism and tyranny, they had to overwhelm many things of worth and beauty in the general ruin. The progress of mankind is thus made up of cycles, each gathering in its folds and then igniting the elements of a revolution in one kind or other of belief, and each leaving behind it a residuum of additional benefit to the race.

But the conflicts of human opinion, although they thus seem to form materials in the hands of a law of progress, are to some gentlemen sheer impertinencies. They only wish the serenity of

their own atmosphere to continue undisturbed. They hate innovations. The progress of science, the conclusions of advanced scholarship, as affecting theology, are perfect ghosts, disturbing their season of repose. Why not allow believers to believe on in peace? They possess a faith, and is not possession a presumptive proof of right? If people believe that the world rests on an elephant, and that on a tortoise, why curiously inquire as to the nature of the footing of the latter sturdy supporter? If people believe that the Bible is throughout inspired, in word, in letter, in point, why shock their faith by reading aloud the findings of a searching criticism, and pointing out the fallible features of the Book? The tone of censure and malediction which characterizes the uproar against "Essays and Reviews" has arisen from this. So of the spirit which pursued Dr. Davidson from his professorship, which cursed Bunsen in his grave, which latterly has been calumniating Pressensé. The monstrous assumption lies at bottom that inquiry is a nuisance—that there exists no difficulty, nothing to question, nothing to amend. The faith and the Book are perfect, and inquiry, which implies suspicion, is considered an intrusive spy. The faith is compact and complete, and many a defender of it will add, "which faith, if any man believe not, he must perish everlastingly."

The history of creeds and their defenders is a curious history. Christianity was from the first doubtless intolerant towards the heathen religions. It made the grand and legitimate assumption that to it belonged the right to reign, and pursued an unflinching course of aggression and conquest; but then its weapons were not carnal like those in vogue since the advent of creeds and their defenders; they were of a nature congruous with itself, and consisted mainly in the force of a rational persuasion, and of an impressive charity which destroyed an enemy in the process of creating a friend. But soon a change ensued. The intolerance of Christianity as against false religion, which enforced its rights without invading conscience or character, was transmuted into the intolerance of Christian creed towards Christian creed; and the policy and weapons which heathenism had used to eradicate the *superstitionem pravam*, were set in motion by Christian men to circumvent and bear down their brethren. The weapons now used were not mighty according to God, but according to human passion. The temper of the early age is reflected rather faithfully by Irenæus when he relates of John, whether truly or not we shall not stay to inquire, that he would not remain in the same bath with a heretic, exclaiming, "Let us depart hence, lest the building where Cerinthus is should fall upon us." Eusebius says of Polycarp, that when Marcion met him, and asked if he knew him, he replied, "Yes, that thou art the first-born of the devil." To a temper like this

nothing was wanted but schooling from the heathen to develop the proportions of the imperiousness of an Austin or a Hildebrand. The controversy about the keeping of Easter so violently conducted by Victor of Rome, affords a sample of the elevation of mere trifles to the importance of material elements of the faith, and the heaping upon those who failed to recognise their importance reproaches which no enormity should justify from fallible man towards man. Who will recount the crimes against justice and humanity perpetrated in the great controversies preceding and succeeding the Council of Nice—controversies, many of them, whose subject-matter was a difference which no man could define, but which, on that very account, was easily raised to the magnitude of a heresy. Who will say that Nestor was not as good a man and orthodox a Christian as Cyril? Yet the former was made a homeless wanderer to die in exile, while the latter sat on his episcopal throne, thundering his anathemas.

Thus, without plunging into the ages of brutal and senseless despotism which succeeded the full development of the Papacy, we have traces sufficient in the primitive ages of the same identical spirit of persecution for opinion's sake which we have so rife around us in the present day. The Church has never been free from it. It has always exhibited the same readiness to exalt venial difference of opinions into crimes as black as if the faith were bodily invaded. Indeed, even points of discipline were made as important as points of doctrine. This we see in the persecutions endured by Origen and Chrysostom. Bigotry feeds on garbage, and makes a meal of whatever it can seize, be it the carcase of a dog or of a lion; it distinguishes clearly nothing but the scent of carrion. Slight, like great offences, here are mortal sins. "Essays and Reviews" receive the same number of thunderbolts (that is, all the little Jupiters possess,) as if they had been point-blank atheistic productions, and the second volume in Horne's Introduction is honoured with an equal salute. Once Christianity was conceived to be included in a clearly defined creed; departure from any part of that creed was considered departure from the whole, and the man so departing was no longer a proper Christian. Orthodoxy and Christianity were identical. You may as well now deny the entire Bible as hint a doubt whether every word in the Chronicles is inspired, or whether the Book of Esther or Solomon's Song contains a deal of Christian divinity. Modern defenders of the faith do not their work slovenly or by bits; they enter into no compromise; you must take the faith as a whole as they offer it, or abide the consequences.

The history of opinion proves nothing more conclusively than the futility of creeds, and the hopelessness of the task undertaken by creed conservatism. Witness to what a pass subscription has

brought the present Church of England. To take a degree, to enter into "holy orders," a man must attest by an oath that he from the heart believes such and such doctrines, and yet under the very shadow of this stupendous earthwork of defence has flourished the independence of thought which has produced "Essays and Reviews." Do, then, the authors of this book play fast and loose with all faith? We do not believe it. They have published what they believe; but they subscribed what as a matter of course they were expected to subscribe, with the aid perhaps of partial inquiry, or with mental drawbacks and modifications which would necessarily accompany individuality of conviction. The dishonesty of subscription under a system looked upon by all as one of form and routine, would be far inferior to the dishonesty of now suppressing conviction after mature thought, and on points only constructively at variance with the general faith of the Church. The moral turpitude rather belongs to those who lay a burden on conscience, extorting submission under penalty of serious disabilities, than on those who in youth or thoughtlessness submitted to the yoke. The prizes to be won are the right of those who compete successfully, and subscription comes to be looked on as an annoying barrier which has to be cleared in the chase. The town-councilman takes his oath and his sacrament as a matter of form, meaning no harm and meaning nothing very religious, but going straight at the honours of office. The University man does the same. But the thing being done for a purpose separate from itself, is disliked for its element of compulsion, and engenders the very independence and frowardness of intellect which it was designed to anticipate. Creeds may be good as expressions, but they are unquestionably bad as models of belief. They may be of service when confined to main elements as a centre of union for men who happen to hold the substance of the faith in common; but they are injurious when pretending to embrace all details and to develop complete "systems." Hence we are inclined to praise the wisdom of the primitive Christians, who were satisfied with symbols of the most sparing dimensions. The Gospel itself embraces no artificially drawn-up creed. It has no means of forcible self-conservation. The first age made only a short step in advance, or rather, perhaps we should say, backwards. At last there was no end of creeds. It is in human nature to love system and limit. It is in priest-nature to dictate what and how much to believe. To all men it is agreeable to get others to embrace what they themselves admire. Add to this that most of the creeds extant, more especially the symbols of the age of the Reformation, have had a polemical origin and are the standards of party, and nothing further is required beyond sincerity and force of faith to render their adherents urgent in their imposition.



Christian creeds have the generic quality of being all addicted to persecution. Their believers will not believe this ; but, what amounts to the same thing, they are found faithful in the practice. The philosophy of creed persecution it is not our purpose now to inquire into ; it is just possible that it resolves itself into a compound of faith and selfish dogmatism. But what is noteworthy here is, that all creeds fraternize in the indulgence of the spirit, they only differ as to the forms of its development. One will burn, another will only fetter, a third will use vituperation, a fourth is satisfied with false accusation. Defenders of the faith, *as such*, all bear about them the leprosy of intolerance. Let a man once esteem himself as ordained to do Heaven's behests, and he is already in germ a spiritual tyrant, be he called by the name of Calvin or Alva, be he an Evangelical or a Laudian Churchman, a voluntary Nonconformist or a man of "Church and State." Sect alters not the domineering instinct any more than it alters the colour of the skin. Nature is impartial, and the creed spirit is impartial. Between Rome and Geneva, and between Geneva and a Nonconformist College, there are many steps, but the steps never deviate far from the line of infallibility, which, visible or concealed, is stretched throughout the whole distance. In point of noise and tumult in the pursuit of heresy, the "Evangelicals," Church and Dissenting, carry off the prize. Rome does her work with dignity—with every mark of drill and command ; but platitudinarianism is demonstrative and howling, and at times, frantic in the extreme. Still, it has the power to do mischief—it has the lightning shaft as well as the thunder : it sacrifices reputations ; it blasts friendships ; it nurtures suspicion and bitterness, and alienates by disgust the hearts of the gentle and the young from the folds of piety and religion. To learning it affords no encouragement ; to men of taste and acquirement it proves a positive nuisance. The present age savours not racks and faggots, and the friends of intolerance are not worthy of thanks if they now descend to the less imposing but equally effective methods of official murder and calumny. The driving of Dr. Davidson beyond the precincts of an Independent College, for the adoption simply of liberal principles of interpretation and criticism, and the unsparing odium cast upon the higher grade of theological students and young ministers in the same body, must not be supposed to be less of the essence of persecution because dungeons and stakes have not been called into use. The same passions are in full play, the same immoderation, hatred, and uncharitableness are exhibited. The clamour raised against "Essays and Reviews" is only the index of a temper that would, in a different age, demand the pillory, the Court of High Commission, or the Smithfield stake. Dr. Rowland Williams

may hold views which, in the opinion of ecclesiastical authorities, disentitle him to retain his vice-principalship or his benefice, but he has certainly done nothing as yet to merit the gross unfairness, bitterness, and malice shown him. If the prosecution against him break down, as probably it will, his persecutors, having already exhausted their lungs by denunciation, will then have to content themselves to curse in silence.

Persecution for opinion's sake culminates in the horrible when it gnashes its teeth over the grave. "Evangelical" obstructives like now and then to have a taste of this exercise. As a rule among men, it is deemed common decency to leave the dead as they died; the worst of us tread softly on their grave, and prefer to credit them with virtues which possibly they did not possess, to despoiling them of their due. When a beautiful character has vanished, and his death has been more beautiful than even his life, all men lament. Bunsen is dead, and is buried; and all who knew his virtuous and exalted life, his deep and tender piety, the rich and varied stores of his learning, and the expansiveness of his Christ-like charity, make lamentation for him as for a friend and benefactor of his race. But scarcely is the grave closed on him, when "Evangelical" intolerance utters its maledictions. The name of Christian statesman is denied him, and the men who expressed a sense of their sorrow at his loss are subjected to an implied anathema. What enormity had that noble man committed that "Evangelicals" thus dishonour his ashes? He had believed in Christ; he had lived a Christian life; he had died breathing out the love and faith of his great Master with his last breath. But all this avails not; he had, as a Biblical critic, thought for himself, and adopted some opinions not found in the Evangelical code. He must therefore be pursued beyond the precincts of the tomb, and an effort, too late, must be made to close against him the gate of the blessed. Though he had attended to all the higher matters of the law, in righteousness, mercy, and truth, he had not "tithed mint, and anise, and cummin," and all herbs, strictly according to the "traditions of the fathers," and hence the impotent, but not less indecent wrath of the Pharisees. But what is strange is, that this wretched inhumanity is by some men and pious ladies hailed as religious zeal, all for the glory of God, all for the defence of the "pure Gospel."

The Recordite brotherhood, while thus enviously watching the good things of the world to come, are not behindhand in taking their share of those of the present. Recordite bishops are doubtless good pastors; they have certainly a fond eye for the fleece and a ready hand at the shears. His Lordship of Durham and his Lordship of Carlisle have given proof of almost precocious attainment in this line, and length of days to them will doubt-

less issue in many comforts to their relations. Taking office with an emphatic, though soft *nolo episcopari*, they avenge the compulsion to which they had yielded by making their nests as downy as they can. Possibly it has crept into their thoughts also, that since they are defenders of the faith, the faith ought to pay for its defence; as Henry VIII., when he had won the same title, bethought himself also of becoming owner of the Church.

Who can define the relation between creeds and morals? Of course, creeds are moral as creeds can be; but the tactics of their defence, what of these? Never had casuist a harder task than to show the relation of congruity between the faith and the means adopted to conserve it. Spartan thievishness was accountable, Mussulman and Patriarchal polygamy was venial, but what is to be said for the crimes against natural and moral law perpetrated in the defence of Christian creeds? The earth has groaned under the desolations spread over it "for the good of the Church;" rapine, foul profligacy, and murder have flourished under the livery of the faith. Men whose natural conscience would have led them to do justice and love mercy have been converted into brutes and monsters when commissioned to do battle for the "Truth." Whether it is that a good thing, when perverted, becomes worse in proportion to its native excellence—as divines say that angels alone could lapse into devils—we know not; but certain it is that nothing chronicled in history has caused such painful revulsions to the moral sense as the atrocities and obliquities of conservators of various forms of Christian creeds. Is lying beautiful in the sight of some men because it plans stratagems for the service of truth? Can the hand of murder be grasped with affection because it offers its sword to protect justice? Can love receive an accession of glory from association with hate and cruelty? We speak not of the old and semi-barbarous hierarchies: Isidorian decretals, Bartholomew nights, Inquisitions, winking Madonnas of some sort or other, have tarnished the splendour of most of the sects. Modern defenders of the faith, as the "religious" newspaper calumnies on men of learning daily show, have no scruple in "saying all manner of evil falsely." Fictions about inspiration as extending to all parts of scripture, fictions about the canon, fictions in interpretation, as shameful in their degree as the pseudo-Isidore collection, are still in use. Resultants of a false and mystical exegesis are set up in the Church like the image on the plains of Dura, to be worshipped by the children of the "captivity," on pain of the hottest furnace which the present state of the civil law will allow. Have not Arnold, Jowett, and Robertson, Donaldson, Macnaught, and Davidson been made to suffer for refusing to bend the knee? It is true that neither the Evangelicals of the Church Episcopal nor those of the Dissenting sects can indulge in the excesses of

the olden times, but they can copy with discretion, and go to the length of their rope. Dr. Davidson's trial, if we can judge from the account of it published by Mr. Nicholas—and of the entire truth of the representation we have not the slightest doubt—was a fair reflection of a Holy Inquisition visitation. The professor is dismissed without reasons given. He is punished for implied heresy while he had taught and believed in harmony with the Trust Deed of the College. What was a violation of no known law was on "suspicion" made a crime, and a penalty imposed which would have been disproportionate, even if the crime had been a reality. The gentleman who had the conduct of the case against the Doctor has since been writing on the "Divine Covenants:" let us hope that he has now a higher notion of the sacredness of *human* "covenants"—things more within the reach of common faculties, and at least quite as nearly related to the ethics of the Christian religion.

The editor of the *British Quarterly Review*, who, being at the time a colleague in office, had no mean hand in the persecution of Dr. Davidson, naturally differs from some of us on the subject of intolerance in matters of religion, and especially so on this unique instance of inquisitorial oppression among the Independents. This case being now chronicled in the annals of spiritual despotism, may well claim more than ordinary attention by reason of the parties concerned in the conduct of it, and the undignified character of the whole transaction. It becomes our duty to express some surprise at the style of remark indulged in by the *British Quarterly* in reference to it. The spiteful and unseemly references to the affair in the article on *Theological Liberalism* indicate a rankling hostility which nothing but genuine bigotry and theological rancour, added perhaps to personal antipathy, could keep alive. If the writer of that article had attempted to rebut the statements in Mr. Nicholas's pamphlet by fact and argument, or the persecuted scholar's conclusions and principles by an array of Biblical learning, the attempt had been fair and honourable, however hopelessly futile; but to meet the former by insinuation and blunt contradiction unaccompanied by proof, and the latter by abuse, is at once a sign of a bitter heart and of a weak cause.\* In the way of research in

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\* Mr. Nicholas has to pay a penalty for his exposure of this case of persecution. An effort, ingeniously malicious, is made to fix upon him the stigma of heretical tendencies. Being tutor in a college chiefly supported from early times by a London Board which is not orthodox, it is insinuated that in his capacity of theological instructor he lends himself to a betrayal of the interests of orthodoxy. The *British Quarterly Review* volunteers the assertion of a compact. "But mark the condition. The orthodox professor is prohibited from taking a breath of his orthodoxy into his Biblical teaching."

This statement is devoid of the shadow of truth. It is utterly and purely false, and it is impossible not to hear in it the genuine ring of malice.

Biblical literature, no well-informed person would have expected much from the late professor of theology in the Manchester College; but from his professions the public are entitled to expect honesty and fair-dealing. Our censor has his *forte*—it is in solemn and well-ordered commonplace; but to set the theological world right, to banish heresy, to stem the current of independent inquiry, and silence the demands of criticism, is a task he is by no means fitted to achieve. It is offensive to hear professions of “liberality” from this quarter. It is ludicrous to hear complaints of suffering for liberality’s sake. The affectation of contempt for the injured tutor is entirely despicable. Nothing will really avail but to answer his decried volume, and impeach its critical principles. The Committee (*i.e.* the majority) who condemned it have accomplished their own disgrace, and disappeared; to defend them is impracticable, and if practicable, would hardly be to the point. It matters nothing whether the author was in “previous obscurity,” though it does not seem from true records that he was; it signifies little whether he may have been “regarded with contempt,” though it is generally understood that he was considerably respected, except indeed by the editor of the *British Quarterly*; what is of import is, that questions are asked by Biblical students which it behoves men of learning to answer, and which are in no way of being settled by the display of personal pique and ill-informed theological conservatism. It matters not a great deal whether here or there a true man is called upon to suffer for the truth; but it matters vastly that the truth should be spoken, and when needing defence, should be defended in honour and love. We have no conception what the minority who voted for Dr. Davidson would have done had they carried the vote; the *British Quarterly* pretends to be in their secret, and declares they voted for the professor and against those who wished to remove him, not with any view of continuing him in office! This, then, is the way the men of the North do business. This is their mode of governing a theological college, and of bandying votes to determine the fate of heresy and truth. If so, the “defenders of the faith,” and the partisans of the professor, are about equally entitled to the respect of intelligent men.

Chateaubriand is known to have passed, in his “*Génie du Christianisme*,” about the finest eulogy on Christianity ever written, and still to have hated his fellow-men with a cordiality seldom equalled. Now it is a curious phenomenon in connexion with modern defenders of the faith, that the highest pitch of religious fervour and enthusiasm is associated with an excess of uncharitableness which is quite bewildering. Love to God and hate to man are here coexistent. An instance of how a man who has long been esteemed a “brother” may at once lose caste, and have his name cast out as evil for one act of theological

liberality, has recently occurred in the case of M. Pressensé. That gentleman had been long the subject of eulogy on Bible Society platforms for piety and zeal in Bible distribution, and various Christian labour in France; he had only in an "evil hour" of Christian love and catholicity to give an admiring account of Baron Bunsen's happy and hopeful departure, to forfeit the confidence of the Evangelicals, and call out their loudest condemnation. They saw the plague-spot on his forehead, and every man shunned him as death itself.

To "speak wickedly for God" is a pitch of zeal which has not, so far as we know, been put in the list of works of supererogation; but to common apprehension it would now appear to belong to that category. Job did not approve of it: his age and religion were simple. From the time of Origen, at least, it has been in vogue in the Church, and is still in daily requisition. It is quite oppressive to witness the headlong charges, the unscrupulous misrepresentations, which disfigure the pages of theological polemics. And still we must guard against running to the conclusion that mendacity, employed in the interests of a creed, proves, *ipso facto*, that creed to be false: it only suggests the thought, either that the creed cannot be defended by honourable weapons, or that its abettors know not how to use them. It is not without reason, however, that readers of "Evangelical" literature are warned to be on their guard; for, as Cicero said of the suspicious story of Attius Navius dividing the whetstone with a razor, "*Sed quo ista intellecta sunt, a philosophis debes discere, præsertim cum isti plurimis de rebus divinis mentiantur.*"

Protagoras is said to have maintained that all knowledge is "the refutation of sense." What the Plitudinarians set up as superior to the findings of modern Biblical research, certainly approaches nigh to the refutation, or at least the contradiction of "*common sense.*" The chaff is put in the balance against the wheat—ignorance and assertion against knowledge. The literature of Evangelicism is not distinguished for erudition, any more than its preaching is for manly and substantial thought. The atmosphere is languid and relaxing, productive of feebleness of habit, and rendering energetic and adventurous action quite impossible. The intellectual condition engendered by the softer phase of Evangelicism is absolutely inadequate for the patient perusal, or for the appreciation or refutation of works of power and erudition.

The University education of an approved Evangelical clergyman is generally scanty. He has never had much heart for mental labour; the reading of profane authors was, in the main, a trial to him; he longed for ordination, and for the delightful excitements of a good working clergyman's life. Once in harness, he finds no leisure for study, even if he had ever formed the habit.

Simeon, Bradley, and other immaculate divines supply the homily pabulum. Schools, baptisms, marriages, funerals, calls of ceremony, pastoral visits, platform "opportunities," mostly very "gracious," fill the week, and hasty preparation must suffice for Sunday duty. Necessity and taste combined lead speedily to a habit of off-hand and unctuous talk quite enchanting to an audience such as he is likely to have, and quite easy to himself. A two or three years' curacy fixes the frame and tenor of his action. He is already incapable of thought, except as intimately associated with feeling. Works of research become tasteless, and are soon dismissed with the epithets "worldly" and "carnal;" and tracts, religious magazines, bazaar and tea-drinking tickets, become the favourite ornaments of his library table. A truly "low" conventional church world is formed around the "working" clergyman, and all beyond becomes to his apprehension a very broad and high table-land of drought and sterility, or the territory of unmitigated dissent. Speak to the good man of Hebrew criticism, of various readings and corrections of the Text, of canons of interpretation, and inquiries *de novo* into the formation and religious significance of the canon, and you seem to him to speak of ghosts and chimeras, or at least of things touching which he is not called upon to concern himself. Of "Essays and Reviews" he knew nothing until the ominous words were sounded in his ears in the hoarse thunder of alarm and denunciation which they excited; whereupon his own feeble voice, to the extent of its volume, was lent to swell the anathema, declaring the volume to be dangerous, pestiferous, infidel, a divine judgment on the Church, and, in a word, a thing altogether too horrible to think of!

There is platitude in dissent, although no such helpless impotency as in "Low" Church. The friction of mind is sharper. There is more intellectual vigour and independence. But here are two evils: a priesthood of matured and varied learning made impossible, and an unwritten law of orthodoxy, shifting with the fluctuations of controversy and the whims of individuals, and mighty for oppression without allowing of revision or appeal. On account of the latter evil, the Manchester College banishes its professor by a stroke of irresponsible authority, in conformity with no statute, and in defiance of all justice and decency; and an arbitrary fanaticism has overborne and crushed many a thoughtful and learned man in pulpit and academic chair.

Though, doubtless, many instances occur of genuine and extensive culture amongst Dissenters, the conditions admitting of them are rare; the rule is to fight for effect, bread, and religion, leaving literature, as a matter of absolute necessity, to be cared for by others. All claims, theological and otherwise, must be postponed to these two—the *religious* and the *economical*. Nonconformist congregations, having struggled into existence

against difficulties, and waging a constant fight for public favour against a wealthy and powerful establishment, are urged on by their religious and sectarian instincts to constant *practical* work. Here no power is idly spent, or used without pertinence. Just so much culture is encouraged as will come to practical use; more than this is considered a hindrance and a snare. The laity of wealth and education are generally energetic mercantile or professional men, with little leisure for hard reading. The ministers are overwhelmed by the ever-crowding demands of the "cause;"—these demands being the attraction of a congregation, the spiritual awakening of souls, self-support, and the "extension of the Gospel" at home and abroad. The ministry, almost the only class to cultivate Biblical and theological literature, being thus by the necessities of the case debarred from retirement and research, naturally rest upon what is already in vogue—the "traditions of the fathers;" notions, interpretations, customs which are approved and considered "wholesome," and which, from conventional sanction, have acquired a sanctity too high to admit of easy questioning. Thus the young man leaving college, with a modicum of fresh germ-knowledge, and with the springs of thought just opening, is launched upon a kind of world which compels him soon to assume the character of the mere worker in a rigidly established routine of duty, and perhaps, by confining his aims too much to the merely religious and emotional, to become nothing better than a mere retailer of commonplace, and a well-meaning enthusiast. Or if, by good common sense or genius, he is preserved from dwindling down into the feeble platitudinarian, still he belongs to a system of things whose conditions as a whole can never admit of distinguished attainment in Biblical and general learning. The congregations expect excitement; the pastor must be an adept in the evocation of *feeling*; the pulpit must resound the pre-established phraseology (which, with the ignorant, means doctrine); the labyrinth of duty is to be traversed—traversed, but never exhausted; and it has often happened that merely looking over the fence into the green pastures of science and philosophy, recurring to the *reasons* of ecclesiastical dogmas, has cost good and able men both their bread and their theological character. Every scrap of time for reading he can snatch from visitings and meetings, societies and committees, classes, funerals, baptisms, and marriages, he must employ to read for his Sunday homilies, or trust, when the inevitable hour comes, to "the spur of the moment" and a ready utterance—the latter not a greater convenience to himself than a bane to his admiring flock.

If this is true, if the conditions of Evangelical culture in and out of the National Church do not admit of a general diffusion of critical study, what hope in these quarters remains for Biblical learning? If men whose vocation it is to preach and teach the



Bible are not free to hold commerce with all that is known concerning that Bible, but are bound on the one hand to the conclusions of a less informed age, and on the other are debarred from study and research by the necessities of professional duty, can we blame these men for mouldy platitude, and a style of interpretation lagging far behind the culture of the age; and can we expect from their flocks what we cannot hope to receive from the shepherds?

Far be it from us to rejoice at the infatuation of the obstructive school; but its conduct in reference to the higher species of Biblical study does certainly remind us of the old quotation, "Quem Deus vult perdere." We once heard an excited "friend of the people" declare on a platform that a committee of cotton-mill girls could make better laws than those which emanated from the Parliament of England. What was here only a venturesome theory, has become practical reality—terms being varied—in the ranks of Evangelicals. "Children are their princes; babes rule over them." In matters of theology and criticism, men whose acquirements have yet to be made, often bear rule. What can be expected from this? What could be gained if the studies of Oxford or Cambridge were subjected to revision by revival preachers and Methodist "locals"? The Recordite world, however, has implicit faith in its Tooley-street, and those who follow *Standard* and *Ensign* among dissenters are content to swear by Bolt-court. Colleges for the education of ministers for this and the coming generation are about to complete their degradation when their censorship is conceded to ill-mannered and ill-informed newspaper scribes. Men of learning are plainly shown the door when committees whose majority take their cue from Spurgeonism undertake to test the value of their conclusions. Bodies of Christian men which have come to this pass are far gone in degeneracy; their hold on the intellect of the age must be that of a palsied hand; their power will be that of superstition and priestcraft, enthroning itself on unsuspecting piety and helpless ignorance, and waiting its doom from an avenging intelligence.

Doubtless there are signs at the same time that all the academies of the Dissenters will not submit, as that at Manchester did, to the vulgar dictation offered them; nor are all the dissenting ministry likely to be frightened into cowardly subscription of the Assembly's Catechism, *pur et simple*, or to any other man-made formula. The old national Universities will infuse into the Recordites, in spite of themselves, a modicum of classic and scientific culture; and the chief men of the dissenting seminaries will diffuse liberal ideas through the "rising" ministry, all the threats of all the Rabshakehs notwithstanding. Men of taste and high attainments, we know, are suffering under undeserved suspicion; but their tormentors are losing their fangs, while the instincts

of a more generally educated people are calling for an educated and thoughtful ministry, rather than a ministry largely freighted with the wares of an effete theology, and skilful only in retailing them at the highest price. It is clear to many now-a-days that the religious spirit is not quickened by the professional recitation of stock phrases; less faith is every day reposed in formulæ of incantation; living, heartfelt truth, and formulated theology, received, but not self-wrought and assimilated, are distinguished. Hood says, truly—

“’Tis not so plain as the old hill of Howth,  
A man has got his belly full of meat,  
Because he talks with victuals in his mouth.”

The *British Quarterly Review* may be taken as a fair sample of modern pseudo-liberal theologians. It talks about “mediating between extremes,” of “cleaving to orthodox truth, and yet believing in and seeking further light.” Cleaving to orthodoxy while believing in something “further”—that is, we suppose, something truer—especially while that something “further” has yet to be discovered, seems an act of mind peculiar enough: but that is no business of ours. We daily notice signs of sympathy with intellectual freedom unnaturally yoked to sectarian prejudices. Why will men “blow hot and cold”? If quite certain that, in respect to orthodoxy and to canons of interpretation and criticism, no improvement *can* take place, why do they idly talk of encouraging *inquiry*? But if the hypothesis is adopted that improvement is possible, a tone of infallibility about things as they are is out of place. This irreconcilable contradiction, however, between smooth words towards freedom and a very bitter and persecuting spirit towards it, is commonly noticed in the writings of modern defenders of the faith. Like Gregory of Rome, they can say, “Nova et inaudita est ista prædicatio, quæ verberibus exigit fidem;” but with Ximenes they are ever ready to adopt force as a complement to a failing argument, and exclaim to the appealing victim of their power, “Hæc est ultima ratio regum.” The leader of a Manchester Committee, finding it inconvenient to compare the professor’s opinions with the trust deed, or with the conclusions of learned men, seeks *counsel’s opinion*! The persecuted tutor’s colleague, instead of a clear theological argument, such as might be expected from the occupant of a Divinity chair, wields the weapon of an adverse *vote*! This, in the high places of liberal professions, looks much like a preaching which uses stripes to enforce, or, which is the same thing, to punish faith. It is idle to boast of a Nonconformist ancestry, and their love of personal and intellectual freedom—idle to chatter about the Protestant right of private judgment—idle to insist that modern Congregationalists concede as they

challenge complete emancipation from ecclesiastical coercion, while their chief men are openly and cruelly persecuted for less than aberrations in theological doctrine—for merely forming independent views, and diffusing reliable information in the criticism and exegesis of Holy Scripture. The theory and the practice tally not.

“One wishes worship freely given to God,  
The other wants to make it statute labour.”

The Recordites surpass all men in protesting against the persecuting spirit of Popery: but they sit in their own Vatican and hurl thunderbolts with facile hands when it suits their case, as “Essays and Reviews” can testify. “The voice is Jacob’s, but the hands are the hands of Esau.”

The truth about this whole matter is, that modern defenders of the faith are waging a hopeless conflict against what is inevitable. Knowledge will advance, let men do what they may. The good of the race, simple truth, religion, require it. Attachment to old opinions, reverence for things held sacred, because taught as sacred and associated with things really so, may be pardoned; but mankind must not be called upon to submit to a law founded on mere use and custom. The Bible appeals openly to the intelligence of the world; and it is an uncalled-for and useless service, or rather a disservice, to erect any shield of protection between it and the full gaze of that intelligence. The Christian religion must satisfy, and by satisfying win, the reason; and its documents must be reasonably expounded. From this there can result nothing but benefit. The tide is flowing, and Canute must retire, or be immersed in the impartial flood. The sooner untenable opinions, which are only unnatural accretions obscuring the beauty and hampering the energies of the faith, are removed, the better. The dross surely is not worth keeping: the gold will look all the brighter without it. The furnace is hot, and the dissolving process is rapidly going forward. Unless through some strange conjuncture, some mighty hierarchical despotism again sets its foot on the neck of the nations—a contingency not at present probable—men will continue “to run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased,” and all the alarm and maledictions of intolerance will prove in vain.

The extravagant demands of modern obstructives will only hasten their defeat. Despots are never so near their overthrow as when they concede nothing. The difficulties of the student of Scripture are not recognised by our modern defenders. He who believes not all, in their estimation believes nothing. You may receive into a willing and devout heart the whole substance of Christianity, even as they themselves represent it, and still be cast

out for rejecting the merest accident. You may as well deny the Atonement as deny that the serpent was Satan, or hold that the account of the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the flaming sword is poetic. Your case is as desperate if you hint that the world has lasted more than six thousand years; that the whole Mosaic system was not typical of Christ; that there is a human element in Scripture; that Moses wrote not the whole of the Pentateuch,—as if you leaned to deism, or professed yourself a Mussulman. If you believe not the Cabala, you believe not the Law; if you swear not to the interpretation, neither do you allow the text. This astonishing admixture of extravagance and unfairness argues an inability to survey broadly the merits of the case, or a moral pravity unworthy of association with it; but whether the one or the other, it promises nothing to the cause of intolerance. Truth is best defended truthfully, and religion religiously. Defence, otherwise, is disaster.

It has already been hinted, that at the root of religious persecution lies the principle of infallibility; and it may be added that this principle, though more rank in its growth among some forms of faith than others, is an attribute of the theologian rather than of the sect or Church. Why it should so luxuriantly flourish in association with the great hierarchies, may not be difficult to explain. Power has there its natural home, and power becomes an incumbrance if not used. But all the sects have their persecuting engines. Each has its infallibility, *i.e.* its system is supplemented and completed by truths which the others have not, whereby it becomes the superior, and they are made to take rank in equitable subjection. Creed defenders being also, as they deem it, abettors of the true cause of God, easily come to conceive of themselves as exercising divine jurisdiction, authorized to chide and punish on behalf of God. Departure from their creed becomes sin against God; while in truth it is nothing worse than the error they themselves commit when they depart from the opinions of their brethren.

But have not men a right to challenge and judge the opinions of others? Doubtless; unless it can be shown that truth and error are one, and that it pertains not to man to teach and correct his less informed fellow-man. But still it is not lawful to connect blame with opinion, allow passion to resent, or power to invade it, and that simply because it is not amenable at our bar. We should trench on the limits of our brother's faith with the diffidence of those who are conscious of their own liability to error; and, when most certainly persuaded of his departure from truth, with the charity which gives credit for sincerity, and with pity more than hatred for his aberrations. The things in which men agree are greater and better than those in which they differ.

Let them, then, stand peaceably on the broader ground. If my neighbour is in error on points which seem to me to endanger his salvation, is not that a reason for my sorrow and compassion? and do sorrow and compassion manifest themselves by hatred and denunciation? If I am desirous of promoting my truth, and leading that man to embrace it, shall I best succeed by love and fair-dealing, or by hostility and reproach? But who gave me liberty to think as I do? Has not the same Being given my neighbour liberty also to think as he does? Whence, then, the right of persecution, or the subjection of one man to another in matters of faith? No man who is himself free to think, can reproach another for his freedom or for his thinking, unless he is prepared to renounce his own independence,—which renunciation, however, would render the reproach doubly preposterous. Wherefore we conclude that

“None but slaves  
Find fault with free men’s freedom.”

And that the whole herd of obstructives in theology are slaves to the “letter” and to the “commandments of men,” is a truth too obvious to need any proof.

The reader of history can judge as to the benefits conferred on religion by the persecution of opinion. What other principle has proved such a foe to civilization? The period of its widest rule has furnished the darkest page in the annals of our race. Christianity, the herald of liberty, the fruit and fosterer of love, has by this accursed thing been changed into the spy of intellectual despotism, into the very “accuser of the brethren.” No age, no religion, no irreligion, can produce anything half so horrible as that chiefest of its fruits—the Spanish Inquisition. The “ten persecutions” were innocent, the sword of Mohammed was chivalrous, as compared with it. What contrivance ever so succeeded to make man hostile to man—cruel, treacherous, vengeful? The world has been taught by it to see in a “heretic” the worst kind of enemy. Men of education, of gentle blood, of high and noble sentiment, of religion, have in its hands become traitors and assassins. Those who have lovingly grown up together in childhood have, under its behests, hated and cursed each other. There is no sanctuary it has not violated; no covenant it has not broken; no treachery it has not practised. It has exhausted human ingenuity in the invention of tortures. And what completes the sum of its horrors is that it perpetrates all its crimes under pretence of “doing God service.” Evangelical obstructives are by no means free from association with this principle. In its application they may fall short; but this falling short is not always of their own choosing.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

### THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE Bishop of London has recently reprinted, under the title of "Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology,"<sup>1</sup> some Sermons published by him fifteen years ago. They were, for the most part, delivered before the University of Oxford. If we could think that Dr. Tait's foresight revealed to him at that time the real shape of the theological difficulties which have since emerged into general observation, we might express some surprise at his imagining that he had provided any safeguard against the dreaded enemy. It is evident that neither then nor now has he had any real perception of the sources of the difficulties he speaks of, otherwise he would not then have written, or now have reproduced, a series of discourses altogether calculated to aggravate them. We are far from thinking that any spirit of intolerance naturally belongs to Dr. Tait, much less that he would be so unwise as to employ any of the coarser forms of persecution against those who may differ from himself. There is also a mildness of expression thrown, in this volume, over some of the harshest evangelical doctrines. But at the root, the doctrine of the volume is, if not Calvinistic, Lutheran in the narrowest sense of the word. The bishop does not, indeed, plunge into the question of the Divine Decrees; but he limits salvation to those who look with the eye of faith upon the cross; and though he hesitates about a material "lake of fire," all who are not among the saved are "lost for ever." Whether they are intellectual difficulties or moral ones which arise out of the study of the Scriptures and the doctrines deduced from them by evangelical divines, the amiable bishop thinks to overcome them by simply re-stating the very dogmatisms out of which they have issued. These all have their root in a narrow literalism. And, in the introduction prefixed to the present edition, an extreme doctrine of inspiration is accordingly insisted on. For the true Christian view of the Scriptures we are referred to what our Lord and his apostles said of the Old Testament, as if the author was entirely unaware that none of the passages he cited apply to the Biblical books in their entirety; as if he were unaware that in citing the New Testament authority he is citing that which he has not yet established; which he then *proceeds* to establish thus:—"Christ had left the earth, the apostles were dead; though dead, they were still to speak. God intended their history and writings to be for His Church, the guide of

<sup>1</sup> "The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology. Containing 'Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under present Difficulties' (a revised edition), and other Discourses." By Archibald Campbell, Lord Bishop of London. London: John Murray. 1861.

life, the test of doctrine. The new Scripture, like the old, was His Word—the Word of God.” It may be so, but his lordship has not shown it. The Old Testament, he says, is the Word of God, because the New Testament says so—which, however, it does not; the New Testament is the Word of God, not because the Old Testament says so, nor because it says so itself, but because the bishop says, “God intended it to be so.” Hereupon is advanced a hypothetical proposition: “If the Bible be God’s Word, and tell us all we can learn of Him, except through the natural conscience and reason”—what then?—“it has a very peculiar office.” Undoubtedly; but the antecedent is not proved. Yet it is “not the rival of the reason and conscience, rather their instructor.” Again: “If this be a true account of the office of the Word of God, obviously its teaching is to be looked for in the great principles which pervade it.” These are summed up in the necessity of a consciousness of sinfulness and of the need of an atonement to reconcile the Father to us: and then, again, with the favourite formula—“If a man believes that the Eternal Son, in the person of Jesus Christ, lived and died upon earth to save sinners, he is, by the very condition of his belief, in such an atmosphere of the supernatural, that it is vain to be wasting his time with questions as to the less or more of the strange signs which accompanied the Lord’s coming, or from a distance heralded his approach.” (p. 16.)

It would have been much more to the purpose which Dr. Tait had in view when issuing this introduction, “called forth by the ‘Essays and Reviews’ which have attracted so much attention,” if he had effectually controverted, or even fairly grappled with, some of the substantial statements of their authors; as that “the growth of the church is the development of the human race” (“Essays and Reviews,” p. 15); or that “the principle of private judgment puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but never a duty to disobey” (*ib.* p. 45); or, that “we cannot encourage a remorseless criticism of Gentile histories, and escape its contagion when we approach Jewish annals;” that “without removing the footsteps of the Eternal from Palestine we may trace them on other shores” (p. 51); or, that “matters of clear and positive fact, investigated on critical grounds, and supported by exact evidence, are properly matters of knowledge and not of faith;” and that “the more knowledge advances, the more it has been, and will be, acknowledged that Christianity, as a real religion, must be viewed apart from connection with physical things” (p. 128); or, that the Church of which a bishop only lays down that “the Word of God is contained in Scripture, whence it does not follow that it is co-extensive with it” (p. 176); or, again, “it would have been well if theologians had made up their minds to accept frankly the principle that those things, for the discovery of which man has faculties specially provided, are not fit objects of a divine revelation” (p. 209); or, once more: “The original meaning of Scripture is beginning to be clearly understood. But the apprehension of the original meaning is inconsistent with the reception of a typical or conventional one” (p. 418). If his lordship had discoursed on some of these topics, it might have been

more instructive than the indulging in mere platitudes concerning the "Word of God;" and in much better taste, we venture to think, than were vain endeavours to separate the Essayists—stigmatizing some of them as "flippant" or "rash," and holding out invitations to others in whom he felt a personal interest, to do dishonour to themselves by quitting their companions, or by making a profession of faith—endeavours made in equal ignorance, as the event has shown, of the character of those who were thus invidiously appealed to, and of civilized human nature in general—at least in its "unconverted" variety.

Few writers have attempted to throw upon ecclesiastical history the same picturesque effects which serve to enliven the scene of ordinary civil and military narratives. Dr. Stanley has attempted it with success.<sup>2</sup> He seats the events on which he especially desires his readers to fix their attention, amidst well-described accessories of time and place; and he brings vividly before us the persons who have been the chief actors in the ecclesiastical drama. In perusing, however, such a work as that now before us, we are aware that we are in the hands of a consummate artist, and a certain feeling of insecurity and scepticism mingles with the pleasure we derive from it: just as in regarding an historical painting, or in reading a novel of Scott's, we are conscious that the most perfect accuracy, in a certain sense, of costume and other details supplies no guarantee that acts were really done as represented. No effort of imagination can reproduce to us an event of ancient history—battle or conference, council or martyrdom—as the photograph might have preserved it to us. Much less can we depict faithfully the inner springs of human action; and yet these are often recoverable from the testimony of documents as nearly as are the material circumstances of transactions. There is also another drawback on the method of historical study recommended by Professor Stanley. He would have the student lay aside what he calls the lesser events, and fix his attention on the greater events, and clothe these with all their details. So he considers the General Councils of the Church to be the pitched battles of ecclesiastical history. The same questions are to be asked about them as about the battles of military history—when, where, why they were fought; even the localities where they were held, as well as the personal peculiarities of those who assisted at them, influenced their issues. But it is beginning to be understood that the great battles of the world, though the most striking, are not the most important events in its history; and we must, therefore, think that the service Dr. Stanley is rendering to the study of ecclesiastical history is only of a preparatory kind; he is rendering it less repulsive; he is assisting learners to set up landmarks, and is supplying them with a *memoria technica*; but ecclesiastical history, properly understood, is no more comprised in picturesque descriptions of the

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<sup>2</sup> "Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History." By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. London: John Murray. 1861.



Great Councils than the general history of the world in what have been called its "decisive battles."

And Dr. Stanley's quickness in imagining *picturesque effects* sometimes leads him into considerable exaggeration. Thus, the continuity of the Greek Church with the Church of the Apostles, in that its Scriptures are the same as those read or spoken by them, takes an *imaginary* form in the "humble peasant reading his Septuagint or Greek Testament in his own mother tongue on the hills of Bœotia."

Naturally, the chief interest in the early history of the Eastern Church gathers round the Council of Nicæa and the Arian controversy. These things are described by Dr. Stanley in his very best scenic manner. But we cannot say that a history of the Greek Church, in any proper sense of the word, is comprised in these lectures. The seventh concludes with the death of Athanasius. The eighth is occupied with an Essay on Mahometanism. The last four are devoted to the history of the Russian Church. In all the sections of the volume we meet with striking historical representations, and with the expression of thoroughly liberal and tolerant sentiments. But the parts of the volume do not at all cohere, and those who might be interested in the sequel of the Arian controversy will not be pleased that it should be broken off for a chapter on Mahometanism, still less for an account of the Russian Church, which may have a political, but no speculative or dogmatical interest. The following is Dr. Stanley's judgment concerning the theological settlement come to at Nicæa:—

"The Eastern Creed of Nicæa, as compared with that of the Western Church, commonly called the Apostles', is a controversial and elaborate composition; and we may justly rejoice that it is the Apostles' Creed, rather than the Nicene, which has been chosen by the English Church as its one test of membership and communion. But, as compared with almost all subsequent Creeds—as compared even with the Creed (so called) of Constantinople; still more, as compared with the precise definitions of Ephesus and Chalcedon; still more, as compared with the Creed, so called, of Athanasius; still more, as compared with the modern confessions of Roman Catholic and Protestant churches—the Nicene Creed is simple, moderate, and comprehensive. . . . Those who regret, with the late Bishop Kaye, that the Council went too far, may console themselves with the reflection that it went no farther. In hardly any subsequent age of the Church should we have fared so well. To Calvin the very pathos and solemnity of the Creed seemed but as a dull repetition. For *homoousios* he would have substituted the not less dogmatic and more barbarous word, *autotheos*. The Decree of Ephesus, forbidding the introduction of any new creed, well expresses the *spirit* which the Church of that age entertained of the growing dangers of theological disputation. That decree was afterwards set aside in the letter by the Council of Chalcedon, and in the spirit by many subsequent acts of the Church. But the Decree itself remains as a venerable and sure indication of the mind of Eastern, if not of Catholic Christendom; and the original Creed of Nicæa, though almost overlaid by the confessions of later ages, yet still, even in its altered form, may be regarded as the standing bulwark and protest of the Church against an excessive spirit of dogmatism."—pp. 212, 218.

Yet the spirit of dogmatism shows itself, not only in the sum total of the doctrines which it lays down, but in the manner also in which it lays them down, and in the extent of the authority which it claims in

doing so. And the claiming for a creed that its enunciations both embody the thoughts of former generations, and are also "final" with respect to those which are to come after, amounts to an extreme assumption of infallibility. If the decisions of Nicæa had been final in such a sense as that, subsequently, the Eutychian and Nestorian views might have circulated freely within the Church, such a finality would have been a gain; but if they should have been so far final as to forbid their discussion at all, then a tyranny would have been exercised worse even than that which ensued upon their settlement. Dr. Stanley concludes the chapter from which we have made the foregoing extract, as follows:—

"This is not the place to discuss so grave a question as the proportion of the doctrines of religion, 'the analogy of faith.' First, and above all, stand those great moral doctrines of the Gospel to which the highest place has been assigned beyond dispute in the Gospel itself. But, next after these, ecclesiastical history teaches us that the most vital, the most comprehensive, the most fruitful, has been and is still—not the supremacy of the Bible or the authority of its several books, not the power of the Pope or of the Church, not the Sacraments, not Original Sin, not Predestination, not Justification, but the doctrine of the Incarnation. And it is a pregnant fact that this doctrine, and none of those just named, which have each in their turn been by different sections of the Church regarded as the pivots of theological controversy, was the one which exclusively engaged the attention of the Fathers of Nicæa."—pp. 214, 215.

This, with some limitation, is true; but the reader must not understand by the word Incarnation what is usually conveyed by that term—the miraculous mode in which the humanifying the Divine Reason is represented to have taken place. Yet the mode in which the co-eternal Reason of God came to be manifested in the Divine Man is to a certain extent laid down in the Nicene Creed; and to that extent the Creed does not deserve, as we think, the praise of simplicity which Dr. Stanley has lavished upon it; and, for the same reason, we must for ourselves except from the "incommunicable pre-eminence" assigned to the Four Gospels above all other portions of the Bible, certain portions of the first and third.

The reception of the volume of "Essays and Reviews" among large classes of readers, since the opponents of free inquiry won for it an extended circulation by their denunciations, has revealed the existence of a demand for more food of the same kind, which native authors of sufficient reputation do not seem at present prepared to supply.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Beard's publication, therefore, of a volume of translations from the French of a number of articles by the ablest among the continental Protestants is exceedingly well timed. The friends of free inquiry and expression at home will receive encouragement when they are enabled to compare, with the sentiments of our English essayists, the opinions of a Schérer at Geneva, a Colani at Strasburg, a Réville at Rotterdam, a Scholten at Leyden, a Rénan at Paris.

<sup>3</sup> "The Progress of Religious Thought as illustrated in the Protestant Church of France; being Essays and Reviews, bearing on the chief Religious Questions of the Day." Translated from the French; with an Introductory Essay on "The Oxford Essays and Reviews," by the Editor, John R. Beard, D.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

The book now before us opens with brief biographical notices of the several contributors, followed by an introductory essay on "Essays and Reviews," by Dr. Beard. It need scarcely be said that he gives the authors of the English volume credit for sincerity of purpose, and recognises in them a "faith deeper, broader, and more practical" than is to be found in their assailants.

The third article in the volume is entitled "Views and Aims," by Mons. Colani, pastor at Strasburg and editor of the "Revue de Théologie." Over against Orthodoxy is its natural enemy, Rationalism. Orthodoxy sets up a system of supposed facts, which are only "a totality of appearances"—"expiation, not a real sacrifice, but a legal fiction, agreed on in heaven, represented on earth;" substitution, another fiction—the obedience unto death, a scenic representation of a fixed eternal decree. The salvation taught by such an orthodoxy is a salvation by magic. Rationalism is able to set itself up against orthodoxy, because orthodoxy violates the conscience; but it violates the conscience no less itself: it disowns sin and the need of redemption. Rationalism, therefore, is more even to be repelled than orthodoxy. And Christianity is to be reconstituted upon the ground of the moral life. This is the salvation from sin which is to be found in him who is at once the son of man and the Son of God.

"Modern Materialism and its Causes," is the subject of an extremely able essay by Professor Scholten. The appearance and power of contemporary materialism he considers due:—1. To the non-philosophic study of nature. 2. To defective psychology and metaphysics. 3. To the faith of authority. It must be overcome by a philosophic study of nature, conducted by observation and induction, not resting on hypotheses, and therefore not liable, when hypotheses and supernatural assumptions are found to be baseless, to deny the existence of spirit, or to mistake the material and phenomenal for the only real. Also the playing with *à priori* ideas must be superseded by the endeavour to comprehend the real, such as it is presented to our internal and external perception in nature and humanity. Moreover, the true line of reaction against traditional authority which would resolve Christianity into a system of dogmas, is to be seen not in materialism, but in the representation of Christianity as an inner life. The philosopher cannot pass by such a fact as Christianity, which would be to rob himself of the most important chapter in the great book of revelation presented by the moral world. On the other side it is the mission of science to enable man to comprehend that revelation, and to contemplate in nature and in history the riches of the divine wisdom.

M. Réville undertakes, in the following essay, a reconciliation of religion and science on the ground of history; in which he shows that the apparent contradiction between the two arises from the fact of science being the moving force in human progress; it seems continually on the point of breaking away from religion, but religion always in the end adapts itself to it.

"The man of our day who unites with scientific development religious wants, ought to love in humanity, the religion which is its higher life; in religion Christianity, which is the supreme revelation of that higher life; in Christi-

anity, the Christian Church, which is its historical development; in the Christian Church, Protestantism, which represents at once the ancient and the modern elements of the Christian Church; and finally, in Protestantism, the tendency which is most Protestant, which continues the Reformation and forms the advanced guard of religious thought."—p. 93.

No doubt an advanced guard is a minority compared with the bulk of an army, but the bulk of the army is about to follow it; the minority leads the rest.

From the same author follow two more articles—one a very searching criticism entitled, "The Future Life; a Critique of the Chapter thereon in the *Dogmatik* of Strauss;" the other, on "The Authority of Jesus Christ," which is resolved into the quickening of our insight by the words of Jesus, in whom was a true and full perception of the laws of the moral universe.

The essay "Of the Notion of Revelation," is by Grotz, pastor at Nismes. Originally brought up in the narrow Evangelicism of Montauban, he has well nigh emancipated himself. He declares all manifestations of God to be revelations—manifestations in nature—manifestations in history; specially the manifestations of eminent persons recorded in the Biblical history. The final and full revelation is that made in the person of Jesus. He reveals to us at the same time God and man. He reveals God, by showing to us in all his personality the most divine qualities—above all, holy love. He reveals to us man, by giving conscience a powerful and salutary impulse. "The ideal of conscience is realized in him—nay, it is exceeded." (?) And in his mysterious and living union of the divine and human, "he may justly be called the Man-God."

The volume would have been a treasure to the English reader, if it had only contained the four following articles by the Rev. Edmund Schérer, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Geneva, where he was driven by clamour from the professorial chair on account of his advanced theological opinions. It is impossible to do justice to them, or even here to present a fair abstract,—they are close, temperate, candid. The first is entitled "Theological Conversations," under three heads:—1. Catholicism as a branch of Protestantism; 2. Protestantism as a branch of Catholicism; 3. The Christ of the Popular Churches offers no Medium of Reconciliation. The second is on "The Errata of the New Testament." The third, "What the Bible is." The fourth, on "The Miracles of Jesus Christ." To these admirable essays succeed two more by Colani, and a slight sketch of "John Calvin," by Ernest Rénan. We should have been glad of something more substantial from that pen.

We hope sincerely this volume may obtain a wide circulation: on many points its authors are more definite, at the same time that they are more free than our own "Essayists;" but when we see thus on all sides sincere and religious persons—clergymen and theological professors—at home and abroad, breaking with the conventional Christianity, it is time for all thoughtful laymen to lay to heart the impressive words of Schérer:—

"The days of Protestantism are numbered; I mean the days of Protestantism

as a positive system—as an institution; for as a principle it is immortal. God grant that when the day of liberty shall have come, it may find souls strong enough to bear it; and that before the corpse of the Church which has been our mother and our nurse, we may be able to exclaim, not ‘All is coming to an end!’ but, ‘All is beginning!’”—p. 240.

Mr. Rawlinson's "Contrasts of Christianity with Heathen and Jewish Systems, or Nine Sermons," &c., have no great pretensions to notice, except from the place where they were delivered.<sup>4</sup> The first is chiefly occupied with a contrast between the view taken of matter as essentially evil in some heathen religions or philosophies, and that which the author represents as the Christian aspect of the same question. His notion is that matter was created finitely good—universally corrupted by the fall of man—universally restored or ennobled by the special union to it of a divine Person in the Incarnation. It does not strike Mr. Rawlinson that this is a very circuitous mode of arriving at the conclusion that, after all, matter is not evil. The second sermon is a comparison of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body with heathen doctrines of the immortality of the soul; and he exalts the Gospel in the usual strain as having brought life and immortality to light. That it has been the means of spreading the belief in immortality by clothing the expectation of it with the doctrine of a corporeal resurrection, there can be no doubt; but Mr. Rawlinson does not appear to dream that the New Testament records of the resuscitation of the dead may themselves be the result or deposit of a belief, rather than duly ascertained and authenticated instances of a law. The third sermon is on the superiority of Christian over heathen morals, as an evidence of the truth of Christianity. Undoubtedly, if the Christian morality is superior to heathen morality,—which we are not about to dispute—Christianity in that respect is more true than heathenism. It is true in respect of its morality. But it does not therefore follow that it is true as to other particulars which our preacher would consider part and parcel of it—as, for instance, the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation. One other sermon we may notice—the eighth—on St. Paul's conversion; the miraculous character of which Mr. Rawlinson attempts to vindicate, and imagines he does so by maintaining that the three accounts of it in the Acts of the Apostles do not vary from each other in any essential particulars. The author does not probably make clear to himself whether the Acts of the Apostles are to be treated in this question as a miraculously inspired book, or as a mere human production: "If the former, the discrepancies, though not important in themselves, are fatal to its authority; if the latter, though they may be compatible with the general honesty of the compiler, they detract from his character of accuracy. And when Mr. Rawlinson thinks he produces the evidence of St. Paul himself to the real objectivity of the appearance to him on the road to Damascus as related in the Acts, he forgets that the Acts of the Apostles is, in fact, an anonymous book, that its evidence is the evidence of the author

<sup>4</sup> "The Contrasts of Christianity with Heathen and Jewish Systems; or, Nine Sermons preached before the University of Oxford on various Occasions." By George Rawlinson, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Bampton Lecturer in 1859. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

only—is reported evidence we know not through how many hands. St. Paul's own references in the Epistles to his seeing the Lord in the flesh, &c., supply no confirmation of the story as there related, though they may have served as a basis for the tradition. Mr. Rawlinson indeed never sees the real pinch of a question, though he writes pleasantly enough for those who are prepared for his conclusions, and envelopes his subject in a certain amount of plausible discussion and illustration.

The work of Dr. Duncanson on "The Providence of God" is directed to remove the prejudices felt by many against the view of the Divine Being operating through and not in contradiction to natural law.<sup>5</sup> He shows first, how the primitive faiths originated in the tendency to personify natural causes, and when the usual course of things was found to be subject to law and order, nevertheless to infer an immediate agency of Deity in rare phenomena. Thus God is, as it were, expelled out of the greater part of the universe, and out of its general movement, in order to reappear upon exceptional occasions. And no doubt, until it becomes perfectly natural, from extended observation and knowledge, to conceive God as acting through invariable law, the denial of interference in the way of special providence and miracle will be felt to be irreligious. But when that conception shall have become natural to us, we shall perceive how it restores God to his Universe, wherein we shall then behold him acting always, and though always by laws, yet by laws which throw up both common and special results. A valuable portion of the book is occupied in meeting objections which may be made to these views—from an undue extension of the analogy between divine and human action; from the allegation that it represents God as too frigid and unyielding; and from the difficulty of reconciling them with the natural instinct of prayer. The observations at pp. 164—180, seem to us peculiarly valuable. In conclusion, the author maintains that the acknowledgment of a Providential government by law reconciles religion and science, and will be found ultimately most favourable to morality as well as to piety. In the meantime he does not conceal that we may have to pass through a state of disquietude, when the doctrine we have been accustomed to identify with religion properly so called is seen to be inconsistent with knowledge subsequently acquired. But in time the feelings, gradually loosened from the old conceptions, will attach themselves to the new; and then it will be a matter of wonder how "the old conceptions should ever have been associated with religion, and how it should have been supposed that religion was endangered by the exposure of their error." This volume is calculated to render real service to the cause of reasonable religion, from the considerateness and even tenderness with which it deals with erroneous and antiquated opinions.

. Mr. Miall has issued a third edition of his "*Bases of Belief*," *apropos* of the celebrated "*Essays and Reviews*."<sup>6</sup> His own treatise was

<sup>5</sup> "The Providence of God manifested in Natural Law." By John Duncanson, M.D. London: George Manwaring. 1861.

<sup>6</sup> "*Bases of Belief: an Examination of Christianity as a Divine Revelation* by

originally intended, as he states, to meet difficulties similar to those which have been reproduced by the authors of that volume, and its reprint may therefore assist, he thinks, in quieting the Christian mind of the country at the present time. In his preface, Mr. Miall attributes the *rationalistic* phenomenon of the "Essays" to a reaction naturally to have been expected, even in Oxford, to the extreme high Church theories which have prevailed there for the last quarter of a century. As far as the volume is due to a reaction of any kind, we are rather disposed to consider it as a protest against the Bibliolatrous tendencies which seemed about to carry all before them in the Church, under the influence of Exeter Hall demagogues upon the masses, and of a determined policy on the part of the Government to bestow the higher preferments in the gift of the Crown upon members of the puritanical party.

The third part of Mr. Muir's learned work, entitled "Sanskrit Texts" is calculated, like the two first, to be of especial service to the more sensible persons who, as Christian missionaries, attempt to deal with the professors of the ancient Hindu beliefs.<sup>7</sup> It is shown that a mere assumption of a superiority on the part of a Christian advocate will carry no weight with the learned Indians; and it is a great mistake to suppose that the missionary will generally have to deal with the uninstructed people, and that he need not, therefore, even be acquainted with the ancient and supposed inspired portion of Hindu literature. But it will be seen from the extracts in the present volume, that the priesthood of India has a theory of inspiration as well as the ministers of the religion of the Bible; and the missionary should be aware that his little success with the unlearned part of the native population is owing to the influence of some learned person who is out of sight, and for whose subtleties and erudition in his own subject, if he were to come in direct contact with him, he would be no match; and besides this immediate use to the missionary, Mr. Muir is fully justified in considering that his collections have an interest for the philosopher and divine generally. We shall find, he says, when we ascertain the claim which is put forth for the inspiration of the Vedas, "a remarkable parallel to that which is traceable in the religious system with which we are most familiar." Indeed, the theory of Vedic revelation is in some respects more reasonable and consistent than the representations made by some among ourselves of the mechanical inspiration of the authors of the Biblical Scriptures.

Those who take an interest in tracing the history of past agitations, will find ample amusement in the "Life and Times" of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, Dr. Doyle.<sup>8</sup> He was a most able advo-

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the Light of recognised facts and Principles." In four parts. By Edward Miall. Third Edition. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1861.

<sup>7</sup> "Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions." Collected, translated into English, and illustrated by remarks, chiefly for the use of Students and others in India, by J. Muir, D.O.L., late of the Bengal Civil Service. Part Third—the Vedas: Opinions of their Authors, and of later Indian Writers, in regard to their Origin, Inspiration, and Authority. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>8</sup> "The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop

cate for the liberties of his church, at the same time that he was not blind to the defects sometimes manifested by his countrymen. Nor was he without a certain amount of liberality in religious matters; and a very curious account is given of the views he at one time expressed as to the feasibility of uniting the Roman and Protestant Churches. He was to a certain extent misled by the appearance of the traces of certain Roman doctrines in the Anglican ritual, to suppose that the Church and nation would accommodate themselves to an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy in spirituals. This was in 1824. Subsequently he took a prominent part in the theological and political controversies which terminated in the great O'Connell agitations and in the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act. Dr. Doyle was educated in Portugal, and may be cited as exemplifying the superiority in learning and refinement of the ecclesiastics trained in foreign seminaries to those who have received their education in the Irish Roman Catholic institutions.

The author of "*Hebrew Men and Times*" acknowledges conscientiously the obligations he has been under to Ewald, Professor Newman, Bunsen, and others who have illustrated the Jewish history.<sup>9</sup> He has combined the result of their labours and his own into a continuous and lucid view of the providential mission of the Hebrew race. To the earlier periods of the Patriarchs and of the Judges he concedes apparently somewhat more of historical reality than we might ourselves be disposed to grant. In the records of the Kings we come to more solid ground; and Mr. Allen's chapter on the "Prophets" places a somewhat difficult subject very clearly before the reader. He frees the idea of the prophetic office from the false associations which would represent it as consisting in the prediction of particular events; and shows that it implied the bringing to bear upon the popular conscience of the highest intellectual and moral influences of which the age and nation were susceptible. In the history of Hebrew prophecy, three periods, says Mr. Allen, are to be distinguished; the first, that of unwritten prophecy down to the age of Elisha; the second, that of the earlier written prophecy, commencing about the ninth century before Christ, and terminating with the fall of Jerusalem; the third includes the time of the captivity, and the subsequent history, until contact with other nations obliterated all remains of a national literature. The growth of the Messianic idea is well traced in this volume through all these periods, and it is fairly shown to have a truth really corresponding to it, though not in any such form as the prophets themselves, in their circumstances, could have anticipated.

"So fruitful and profound, in its influence on the after destinies of mankind, beyond every other element of antiquity, was this final form taken by the Hebrew faith. Historically regarded, Jesus is uplifted on the great wave

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of Kildare and Leighlin." By W. J. Fitzpatrick, J.P., Author of "*Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry*," "*Lady Morgan, her Career, Literary and Personal*," &c. 2 vols. London and Dublin: James Duffy. 1861.

<sup>9</sup> "*Hebrew Men and Times, from the Patriarchs to the Messiah*." By Joseph Henry Allen. Boston, U.S.: Walker, Wise, and Co. London: George Manwaring. 1861.



formed by the confluence of three main courses of ancient life and thought—the Hebrew, Oriental, and Greek,—all embraced in the imperial sway of Rome. His life, as the fulfilment of Hebrew Messianic prophecy, becomes the central and pivotal fact in the annals of mankind. However it be interpreted, the doctrine of the Church remains, that in it met all the separate threads of human development; that religiously regarded, it becomes the great revelation of God in human life; and historically, the isthmus of two great continents—the connecting link between the ancient and modern world.” (p. 412.)

The peculiar position of Unitarianism, at the present time, is attracting the attention, as it deserves to do, of the more reflecting persons who adhere to that denomination.<sup>10</sup> For, on the one hand, while all other Christian bodies have engaged in a vigorous crusade—not unrewarded with victory—upon the vicious and irreligious masses of the population, Unitarianism has few or no trophies of that kind to show; it has barely held its own in the midst of the greatly increased Christian activity of late years; and on the other, while there are tendencies in other communions, which seem at first sight to lead in the direction of Unitarianism, it does not appear that it receives many recruits from those who may be dissatisfied with the dogmatism of other churches. “The Unitarian Missionary Papers” contain some honest inquiries upon these subjects, and are well worthy of perusal.

Mr. Seebohm’s Essay on the Four Gospels<sup>11</sup> is written in a calm and amiable spirit, and suggests an hypothesis well worthy of examination, to account for some of the differences between the Evangelists; for instance, as to the different scenes in which the Lord’s ministry is laid in the Synoptics and in the fourth Gospel. It is briefly this: that Jesus was not always accompanied by the whole number of the Apostles, but that different parties of them followed him on different journeys. He considers that the first, second, and fourth Gospels rest on the authority of a single eye-witness; the second, according to the tradition, embodying the recollections of St. Peter. The third Gospel having confessedly more of the character of a compilation from the reports of others, it is not so important to reconcile its statements with those of the other Gospels, as it is to bring into unison the first, second, and fourth, which are supposed to be derived from separate eye-witnesses. The Judæan character of the fourth Gospel, with its mention of events not alluded to elsewhere, is represented as owing to the circumstance that Matthew and Peter were not present at the events which John relates as taking place in Judæa, while he was not present at those which Matthew and Mark record as having fallen out in Galilee. Now we doubt very much whether this theory of the separation of “the twelve” into groups or relays is admissible, and there are differences found in the narratives concerning transactions at which all the Apostles must have been present, as at the Last Supper. But

<sup>10</sup> “Unitarian Missionary Papers,” consisting of, 1. *The Religious Condition of the People*. By George Beaumont. 2. *How to make Unitarian Christianity produce its due Effect on the Public Mind*. By J. O. Street. 3. *Unitarianism, its Mission and its Missionaries*. By William Binns. London: E. Whitfield. Liverpool: Henry Young. 1861.

<sup>11</sup> “The Facts of the Four Gospels, An Essay.” By Frederic Seebohm. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

it is a suggestive hypothesis, and deserves further consideration. At the same time Mr. Seebohm is too ready to accept the Church traditions; as, for instance, about the second Gospel being essentially the Gospel of Peter, and falls into the old habit of speaking of the reputed authors of the Gospels as undoubted separate witnesses. "Thus history tells us that four distinct records of the life of Jesus were written on four separate rolls of parchment by four different men," &c. But there is no history which tells us anything of the kind directly or indirectly till considerably more than a century after the events are said to have taken place. Mr. Seebohm has evidently not investigated the scanty remains of the immediately post-Apostolical period.

There is a great deal of good information and sound sense in Mr. Perfitt's essay "On the Origin of the Four Gospels;"<sup>12</sup> occasionally there is a little asperity which is not met with in his best compositions. He is quite justifiable in denouncing the tendency which he calls the "Spirit of Creed:" but he should not then attribute to the creeds of the orthodox churches—whatever their faults—that they lay heavier burdens on their members than they really do. It is not correct to say that the creeds—the Apostles', the Nicene, the Athanasian, or even the English Thirty-nine Articles, teach any doctrine of inspiration of Scripture whatever (p. 10), much less should the members of the Protestant Churches be supposed to have lost their right of private judgment in such a matter because a Gisborne, a Tomline, a Gaussens, have, in the exercise of *their* private judgment, adopted superstitious theories. We are convinced there is a much better prospect of winning the members of orthodox Churches to a reasonable Christianity by pointing out the extent of their freedom, than by exaggerating to them the pressure of their bondage.

The first volume of Professor Hengstenberg's "Exposition of St. John's Gospel"<sup>13</sup> carries us only to the end of the sixth chapter. His object is to supply parochial ministers with a commentary from which they may draw their exegesis of this part of the New Testament, on the principles of orthodoxy reinforced with a sufficiency of modern learning. In particular he has had in view to supply what he considers the deficiencies of Lücke, whom he acknowledges to have served the cause of truth, but only in a transitional and indirect manner. Hengstenberg starts from the express principle that the Holy Scripture is the Word of God, and does not perceive perhaps how an assumption of that kind detracts from the value of such a work as he presents: A second volume will complete the undertaking, and will contain, together with the conclusion of the commentary, a discussion of the general questions touching this Gospel which are usually treated of in preliminary dissertations.

The treatise of Tholuck on the "Prophets and their Predictions" is directed against those who deny a supernatural element in the pro-

<sup>12</sup> "On the Origin and Credibility of the Four Gospels." By P. W. Perfitt. London: George Manwaring. 1861.

<sup>13</sup> "Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes erläutert." Von E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. und Professor der Theologie in Berlin. Erster Band. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

phesies of the Old Testament.<sup>14</sup> On the whole, the author meets his opponents upon fair grounds, and in a very different spirit from that which distinguishes our English millenarians. And while maintaining the reality of a predictive faculty in the prophets of old, he admits to a great extent of typological interpretations of prophecy, for these are necessitated by the fact of the non-fulfilment of some prophecies according to the letter. Moreover, it is shown that a literal fulfilment could, in some cases, only be expected by those who are regardless of the Oriental forms of superlative expression. Such may be the solution of the apparent non-fulfilment of some prophecies respecting the utter destruction of places which were not utterly destroyed, as of Tyre (Is. xxiii. 1), just as in the New Testament the prophecy concerning Jerusalem, that one stone should not be left upon another (Matt. xxiv. 2), was not literally fulfilled, for Titus directed certain portions of the wall to be left standing. Moreover, a further and more accurate description of future events, according to time and other circumstances, would have rendered their accomplishment impossible or nugatory. And therefore, when the expressions of the prophets are very concrete, it must be understood they are not to be pressed, as being only the clothing with which they naturally surrounded their anticipations. Now, these anticipations were of the victory of good over evil applied to conflicts going on among their contemporaries. And hence a contingency in prophecy which is sometimes expressly recognised (Jer. xviii. 7-10). Tholuck's views, indeed, represent a moderate orthodoxy, and if the question of the natural and supernatural were left out of the way, which it ought to be, a reconciliation, in degree, is very possible between them and those of Bunsen, Ewald, and Knobel. And it should be the endeavour of all who desire both truth and charity to prevail, to recommend the examination of the Biblical writings and the facts connected with them by way of observation—that is, not approaching them on the one side with a dogmatic prejudice concerning the necessity of a supernatural character in Hebrew prophecy, in order to constitute it into an "evidence;" nor, on the other, with a determination to deny the possibility of all facts which do not accord with our present knowledge of the limits of the "natural."

Three lectures on the "Life of Kant" and the principles of his philosophy, by Kuno Fischer, embrace a better description of the man, and a clearer statement of the elements of his doctrines, than can elsewhere be met with in so small a compass.<sup>15</sup> The lectures appear to have been delivered at the "Residenz" of Saxe-Weimar. The first is devoted to a description of the philosopher's simple, truthful, and uneventful life; the second sets forth distinctly the problem of the critical philosophy—Is there such a thing as knowledge; in what does it consist; what are its facts, its objects, its laws, and necessary conditions? It is determined that knowledge is possible and actual in that synthetical judgments *a priori* are possible and actual. Such are

<sup>14</sup> "Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen. Eine apologetisch-hermeneutische Studie." Von A. Tholuck. London: David Nutt. 1860.

<sup>15</sup> "Kant's Leben und die Grundlagen seiner Lehre." Drei Vorträge. Von Kuno Fischer. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

all our judgments concerning those essences and relations of things which are not suggested by our sense perceptions, but are nevertheless universally and necessarily true; for instance, the relations of magnitudes and numbers. Our judgments concerning these are something over and above the perception of their presence, which we owe to sense. It is maintained that we form synthetical *à priori* judgments concerning God, the soul, and the universe. In the third lecture it is shown that space and time are the conditions of all human knowledge. For, in order to know, we must distinguish; we can only distinguish by differences of time and space. Now time and space are not derivative ideas, but original, and they must not be confounded with particular times and spaces. And these original ideas are not sensational conceptions, but pure phenomena, or forms with which thought clothes its objects, and without which no thought would be possible.

In our last number we noticed a pamphlet entitled "Essays and Reviews Anticipated," in which we attributed the well-known translation of Schleiermacher's "Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke," with its Introduction, to the present Bishop of St. David's, when a young clergyman. A reviewer in the *Spectator* newspaper did the same. The bishop, in consequence, addressed a letter to the editor of the *Spectator*, which appeared in the number for April 20th, in which his lordship, naturally enough, demurs to the judgment, "that the opinions of the Bishop of St. David's must have undergone a complete change on many essential points before he could possibly bring himself to join in even the most qualified condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews.'" A difference of opinion of this kind between the reviewer and the reviewed very often occurs. And it is not that to which we wish to draw attention. There is a matter of fact stated by his lordship which requires further elucidation. The bishop says, "The pamphlet states that the work is universally attributed to Mr. Connop Thirlwall. Your readers are informed that it was the work of a clergyman. It was the work of a young law-student. I can hardly conceive that you can regard this as an immaterial circumstance." His lordship, it might be said, has never, hitherto, excused himself for the work, or repudiated as a clergyman the compliments which have been paid to him for it, as by Dean Milman; or withdrawn it from circulation, even since his elevation to the episcopal bench, or ever before hinted that *it was the work of a young law-student*. The book bears the date of 1825. On turning to Crockford's "Clerical Directory," 1860, we find, "The Right Rev. Connop Thirlwall, Lord Bishop of St. David's—Trin. Coll., Camb. Bell's Scholar, 1815; Craven Scholar, 1815; Sen. Chancellor's Medallist, Sen. Opt. and B.A., 1818; M.A., 1821; B.D. and D.D., per literas regias, 1840; *Deac.*, 1821, *by Bishop of Ely*; *Pr.*, 1822, *by Bishop of Bristol*." The literal truth, therefore, of what the bishop has asserted requires, that during the period 1818–1821, when he was *a young law-student*, Mr. Thirlwall employed himself upon the translation of the essay with the introduction; that he changed his mind with respect to his future profession, and after his ordination, having meanwhile kept the manuscript of the work in his desk, he pub-

lished it, when a clergyman of four years' standing, in 1825. The bishop thinks this "not an immaterial circumstance." Neither do we. The bishop thinks that if the book was *written* by him as a layman and *only published* by him as a clergyman, he saves his clerical consistency. We think he illustrates the clerical casuistry. He publishes as a clergyman, and for years circulates as a clergyman, a book which it now appears he would be ashamed to have written as a clergyman. The bishop thinks it a material circumstance that, though he published the book as a clergyman, he wrote it as a layman; we think it a material circumstance that he should have put forth such a truly *episcopal plea*.

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### POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

TO the abundant evidence of an acute intellect afforded by the book itself, Mrs. Austin, in the second edition of her husband's "Province of Jurisprudence determined,"<sup>1</sup> adds, in her memoir of the author, the portrait of a high-minded and over-sensitive character—a character very endearing to the circle within which it chooses to confine its life, but one which, tried by the favourite standard of its possessor, may be pronounced less generally beneficial than one of a much less refined type. The reader's admiration and gratitude are constantly checked by the regret that so much learning and sagacity should have been alloyed by an impatience which could not await their sure reward; and this feeling is only increased by the constant signs which are afforded by the supplementary matter appended to this edition from memoranda left by the author: that had the work been recast by him, as he once intended, it would have been as admirable as a system, as it is as an introduction to the philosophy of jurisprudence, and that it would have also gained in graces of style and clearness of illustration, to a degree which would have rendered it, what its extreme conciseness and careful minuteness of distinction will perhaps always prevent its becoming, as popular as it is searching and profound. Both the personal character and favourite studies of the author were too lofty for immediate popularity, and in such a nature it is a weakness to be regretted which throws aside pursuits because they are not sufficiently lauded and appreciated by voices which it despises. A certain tone of disappointment which pervades Mrs. Austin's memoir is surely a little out of place: the prizes which she regrets are for the strong runners, for men who will endure the coarse trials of public conflict. Those who prefer the contemplative "hill retired" have their own reward: that it is immediate and evanescent is but just; the pleasures of a literary and philosophical retirement are not to be had except at a price which excludes external success and contemporary renown. Much more legitimate regrets are those which will be entertained by every

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<sup>1</sup> "The Province of Jurisprudence determined." Second Edition. By John Austin, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: J. Murray. 1861.

reader of the present volume, that any personal weakness should have lessened the larger debt he would so willingly have owed to its accomplished author. In defining the subject-matter of his treatise, Mr. Austin distinguishes law properly so called from the commands of morals and religion, by the appropriate marks that laws must be the commands of some determinate person, or body of persons, exercising authority over others; and that they must be supported by some definite sanction or penalty. Thus the determinate source distinguishes them from the commands of morality, which issue only from the indeterminate body politic; and from those of the divine law, which are supported only by an extramundane sanction.

While disengaging his subject from any possible confusion with the moral law, he takes occasion to define the latter in a Benthamite sense, and to trace with great acuteness and success its foundations in utility of expediency. In this part of his work he successfully rebuts many of the popular objections to the system of utilitarian morality, and displays his great powers of minute method and arduous analysis. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that he declines any investigation into the relation between positive and divine law, but accepts, in common with his predecessors Hobbes and Locke, such laws as are *revealed* without any of that criticism which they now call forth. The modern tendency to identify the *jus gentium* with the *jus divinum* finds no express echo in his book. The determinate origin of all positive law renders it necessary that every form which that origin can assume, should be investigated and reduced to its essential character; this necessarily leads the author to a minute analysis of every form of government or sovereignty, which fills the last lecture, and contains many of his happiest conclusions. Mrs. Austin promises a second volume, which will contain the rest of the lectures delivered at the London University, together with papers on Codification, an essay on Interpretation, the excursus on Analogy, referred to in the fifth lecture, and the commencement of a project of a Criminal Code. We sincerely hope that nothing may interfere with the execution of a design by which all who care for these important questions, would be such great gainers.

The second series of Mr. Francillon's elementary and familiar lectures on English Law<sup>2</sup> has recently appeared, and is as clearly and popularly written as its predecessor. It is far more miscellaneous in its contents, and is chiefly devoted to such portions of the law as have been affected by recent legislation. The great multitude of topics treated of precludes any very detailed account of its contents: it is sufficient to say that it will be found a very handy and accessible means of information on a great variety of legal topics, that its table of contents is very full, and makes it, what it would otherwise be far from being, a convenient book of reference for all those who are called upon to have some knowledge of our statutes, but who do not aspire to any very full intimacy with their details.

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<sup>2</sup> "Lectures, Elementary and Familiar, on English Law." By James Francillon, County Court Judge. London: Butterworths. 1861.

It is impossible to doubt that the decline of English influence on the Continent may be measured by the ascendancy acquired by the Emperor Napoleon III.; only by the greatness of the power which has taken its place can the magnitude of that decline be properly appreciated. It is something startling to compare the position of the ruler of the French in 1861 with that he occupied in 1851. England has found on the Continent so few parties with whom she could cordially co-operate, and at the same time has always entertained so high a reverence for the letter of international contracts, that nothing but the most imminent and pressing necessity will induce her to interfere with the progress of events where she could hope for such feeble seconding in her interference, or to release herself from pledges, which though they have been broken and disregarded by all who took them in common with herself, she yet with perhaps too literal a sense feels to be binding on her honour and consistency. It is the fault of all such eloquent appeals as Mr. Louis',<sup>3</sup> that they assume a perfect freedom of action to be possible on the part of England, and totally forget that a policy of high-handed intervention in the affairs of Europe is hardly consistent with that faithful maintenance of existing treaties which, until they are abrogated by a state of war, must tie her hands from a more decided influence than that which can be derived from such appeals to national morality as are certainly not infrequent on her part. It is not remarkable that when conscientiousness and consummate duplicity contend for influence, all the first victories should be gained by the latter. Nowhere, perhaps, can the history of England's decline in European influence be so well read, or the causes of it be so well understood, as in Mr. Louis' masterly review of the English and French alliance. This eloquent indictment of every political party in the nation is too well reasoned and too fully supported by the accumulated facts, to admit of any complete and satisfactory reply. But however forcible may be the accumulated argument, it is very difficult to say at what point of the downward progress the nation would have adequately supported an energetic resistance to the subtle encroachments of our ally. That events are preparing in Europe of unparalleled magnitude and importance, is the belief of every observer of the progress of contemporary history; that the central States occupy a most critical position between France and Russia will not be for a moment denied. It is more than probable that in the inevitable conflict between Italy and Austria, France and Prussia will espouse opposite causes, and whichever side prove ultimately successful, the consequences cannot be other than disadvantageous to ourselves.

Mr. Louis does well in forcing on the English public the consideration of such questions as these, which our imperfect sympathy with continental ideas causes us too greatly to neglect. But in our opinion it is sufficient that we hold ourselves in readiness; that we prepare ourselves for eventualities. We do not go to war for ideas; not because

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<sup>3</sup> "England and Europe: a Discussion of National Policy." By A. H. Louis. London: R. Bentley. 1861.

we do not appreciate every pure and lofty one, but because we will not allow ourselves to enter upon enterprises that we do not see to be in some sort practicable; and mainly because the advocacy of ideas is the result of longing after some new state of things from which improvement is rather vaguely hoped, than clearly seen to be the natural consequence. The prospect of the most flattering future ought never to entice either man or nation from the duties of the present or allegiance to the past. It may be a misfortune for England and Europe, that her allegiance has been given to a perishing system; but that system must be more completely destroyed than has hitherto been done, before her hands are perfectly free to do the work that is demanded of them. It is, perhaps, even well that English influence is in abeyance while this process is going on; once completed, there will be nothing between England and the assertion of her due weight in any proposed reconstruction of Europe. There is as little fear that England will ever occupy the ridiculous position of Prussia at the Paris Congress, as that she will play the part which exposed her to it. The doctrine of non-intervention, against which Mr. Louis so violently inveighs, is no doubt as theoretical as he chooses to call it, and as open to infraction as any other law; but it is no weaker in sanction than any other command of international jurisprudence, and this has never been thought to make any other rule less incumbent upon that comity of nations of whose general customs and wishes it is but the expression. The principle of non-intervention is the last and best of those rules which nations endeavour to lay down for their mutual intercourse, and is more fruitful in good results than any passionate appeal to the feelings of any, even of the most advanced of those nations. These appeals only facilitate the infringement of the rule itself, and strengthen the hands of force and violence. Those who insist upon the good to be derived from the prevalence of this doctrine, by no means renounce the power of appeal to force when it is set aside. Though we reason with our adversary as long as he will listen, we do not give up the alternative of knocking him down if every other means be ineffectual; the blow is none the less heavy because many words have gone before it. English unreadiness, so severely scourged by Mr. Louis, has its roots in some of our best qualities. If we are "slow to enter quarrel," we at least bear ourselves, when once engaged, so that our adversary may beware of us. This last quality our author knows and exults in, but he cannot endure the first. The time is not yet come for English interference, and we doubt greatly whether any diplomatic intervention on her part would obviate the impending struggle, whose coming shadow is so truthfully depicted in this very able and interesting volume.

Another very like it in tendency, and exhibiting a remarkable similarity in many of its arguments and illustrations, will be found in a pamphlet published by Messrs. Longman and Co., on Admiralty administration.<sup>4</sup> This subject, generally looked upon by the public as

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<sup>4</sup> "Admiralty Administration: its Faults and Defaults," Second Edition. Revised, with a Postscript. London: Longman and Co. 1861.



the highest *arcana* of Government mystery, is handled with the greatest ability by the author, and the causes of the extravagant expense, when measured by the result gained by it, which has so long been vainly complained of, are laid bare and fully traced up to that most inefficient of all administrative arrangements—a governing Board. When a responsibility is shared among six different people it makes itself felt by none of them, and when the members of such a Board know that their tenure is liable to be brought to an end by any defeat of their party, all motive to energetic action is withdrawn. Who will sow if he has not some fair prospect of reaping? There is but one way out of this dilemma—viz., personal chiefs for every department, with full powers and as full responsibility, answerable to the Minister for the time being, and through him to Parliament; but not removable except for misconduct. The fullest account of our present system, whether in the Admiralty itself, in the dockyards, or in the means for manning the Navy, will be found in this very telling pamphlet, as well as many practical suggestions for a better mode of transacting the business of this important department, which our limits only prevent us from entering on.

Mr. Hollingshead's "*Ragged London in 1861*"<sup>5</sup> is a picture of the social condition of the very poorest classes during the late severe winter. The volume is founded on some letters published by the author in the *Morning Post* and papers furnished by him to other periodicals. Though collected from such various sources, the whole account is pervaded by a unity of tone and feeling that is very rarely found in books on similar subjects composed under much more favourable conditions. It is very seldom that the condition of the lower orders is treated with that sobriety which alone rivets the attention of thinking men. Mr. Hollingshead's book is completely free from every trace of sentimentality and factitious feeling. He neither shrinks from painting the wretched alleys and desperate, demoralization in which the lowest orders of the London population live, nor from ascribing, as is so justly due, a great portion of their sufferings to themselves. It requires no little moral courage in the present day to speak out the truth on the reckless marriages, the hopeless improvidence, and, saddest of all, the contented indifference to their condition which characterizes those who have once given up all hope of rising above the very dregs of their kind. Who can help them that will not help themselves? And yet how difficult the task for any individual to extricate himself from the evils which the habits of his class have inflicted upon them all! Some will not thank the author for his revelations: it is not pleasant to find model lodging-houses occupied by people who could afford to shelter themselves without accepting a *quasi* charity provided for the needs of their poorer fellows, nor to be obliged to confess that soup-kitchens, coal-clubs, hospitals, asylums, and charity schools seem to demoralize by much charity, and to sap the foundations of self-reliance and self-

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<sup>5</sup> "*Ragged London in 1861.*" By J. Hollingshead. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

respect rather than to make any permanent impression on the mass of misery with which they endeavour to contend.

The author is intimately acquainted with all those haunts of poverty which lie so close on many of our great thoroughfares. The fullest description of all the London haunts of misery and crime will be found in his volumes. The wretched courts traversed by an open drain leading to a common privy, and lined with ruinous tenements, each room of which shelters a family perhaps of three generations, are painted in his pages with all their revolting moral and physical features. The dreadful suffering undergone in these abodes when any occasional stoppage of work brings the inhabitants in four-and-twenty hours face to face with starvation, has long been daily before his eyes; and yet he is forced to write as follows, forced by the sad truth, and he should be respected for the courage with which he speaks it:—

“The simplest forms of insurance are neglected by them, the usurious loan offices, whose thousands of branches spread in every district, are welcomed as friends; early reckless marriages are contracted—marriages, as I have said before, that are as much a dissipation as gin-drinking, or any other abomination—children are produced without thought, set upon their feet without clothing, taught to walk, turned into the street without food or education, and left to the Ragged School, the charitable public, or the devil. Homes for such outcasts spring up on all sides; large-hearted men and women rush forward to help the neglected; and the class is sometimes unfortunately increased by the very efforts made to amend it. I am grieved to have to write like this of honest labourers—of men who ought to do their work, keep homes over their heads that are something better than dog-kennels or pig-sties, and shrink from a gift as if it were a wound. They increase and multiply, and all for what? To become paupers; to glut the labour market; to keep their wages down at starvation point, to swell the profits of capital. They look to every one to relieve them, but make few efforts to relieve themselves. The most perfect poor-law, the most perfect administration of that poor-law, the most lavish charity can do nothing for them compared to the wonders of self-help. Let them defer their marriages for six or seven years, and they will turn their backs on strikes and starvation. My sympathies are with them in any well-considered schemes to benefit their condition.

“I have lived among them, and know their ways; and willingly acknowledge their many virtues, their generosity, their endurance under suffering, but I want to see them with a little more pride. They may not always beg themselves, but they make their wives and families beg for them. The disgrace is theirs when the poor pinched women in scanty clothes are sent to crowd round the parsonage door, or to hold out the well-thumbed creased petitions in their thin bloodless hands.”

What can be done with such a people as this? What influence can rescue from such habits as these? How can adults be turned from such an evil way? These are questions not to be answered; the laws of nature cannot be contended with. The only resource, and that not a complete one, is to rescue the young. To this inevitable conclusion Mr. Hollingshead of course comes, and we are sure that it will be shared in by all who read his excellent book.

There is a valuable appendix on the Bethnal-green district, and on the action of the police-courts during the last winter, with the fullest practical detail of the working of the numerous charitable societies

which at present struggle with this overwhelming task of thinking for the thoughtless and providing for the improvident, and who would welcome as an alchemist would the philosopher's stone any test by which misfortune could be distinguished from misconduct through the thick disguise of a common misery.

Mrs. C. H. Dall, who has published in America a volume on "Woman's Right to Labour," and whose historical pictures, retouched, is a series of biographies of women who have in any way rendered themselves remarkable, has just printed what she calls a practical illustration of the subject of the former of these works in a memoir of M. E. Zakrzewska, M.D.<sup>6</sup> Quite apart from any interest it may have as the autobiography of a very independent self-relying woman, the volume contains many particulars of social life in Berlin, where the writer was born, and of the struggles to which an emigrant without friends is exposed in America, that give it a value of its own entirely extraneous to that claimed for it on the title-page. The moral which will most naturally be drawn from the story is, rather that a merely accomplished or even learned woman may starve in New York, while energetic self-help will sustain any one who courageously accepts the immediate conditions of her position. A woman who leaves her native country that she may be able to escape the hindrances she encounters in Berlin, in her attempt to establish a female medical college, and finds on her arrival in America that she has, like many Germans, merely christened with that name a region of their own Utopia, and who, on the utter disappointment of all her projects, sets aside, but only for a time, her ambitious aims, while supporting herself by tassel making, is too exceptional a character to be justly called a practical illustration of anything but the power of a strong individual will. This autobiography is distinguished by strong common sense, and by an utter absence of those sentimental appeals which usually disfigure the greater part of the pleas for woman's rights. The writer has been busily employed in German hospitals and penitentiaries from a very early period of her youth, and had her attention turned while yet a girl to the consideration of medical subjects by her mother, who was an authorized midwife (a position, be it observed, of very different social standing in Germany to what it is with us). Some of the chief medical men of the town took an interest in her studies, and gave her advice and assistance, by which she was enabled to attend medical lectures *pari passu* with the other students in the hospitals, and ultimately to take the same medical honours. Her want of success, or rather the exasperation produced by the intrigues to prevent her succeeding in Berlin, ultimately disgusted her with her native country. After overcoming family hindrances which at first appeared insurmountable, she started full of high-flown hopes for America, where, after a long struggle for the means of life in New York, she is now superintending a hospital at Boston in connexion with the female medical college in that town.

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<sup>6</sup> "A Practical Illustration of Woman's Right to Labour, or a Letter from Marie E. Zakrzewska, M.D.," late of Berlin, Prussia. Edited by Mrs. C. H. Dall. Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co. 1860.

"L'Ouvrière," by M. Simon,<sup>7</sup> is a republication, with additions of articles contributed by him to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on Woman's Work and Wages. Though professing by its title to treat of the condition of female operatives only, the whole subject is necessarily investigated. His object in restricting his title is to call the more attention to those measures on which alone he relies for the amelioration of a condition of things in France with which we are but too well acquainted at home. The destruction of all domesticity by the direct and indirect influences of manufacturing industry is, in M. Simon's opinion, the root of all the painful phenomena connected with it. The wife, as the necessary centre of all family life, is the point to which the benevolent author devotes all his care. He considers the only prospect of improvement in the condition of the labouring classes to be indissolubly connected with the possibility of re-awakening in their minds an attachment to home and home influences which has been so seriously affected by the incidents of their employment. The judgment and good sense with which the writer reviews their present condition, the absence from his pages of all chimerical desires, the full acknowledgment of those economical laws so often ignorantly declaimed against, are beyond all praise. The necessity of an appeal to the feelings of honour and independence in the minds of the operatives themselves is brought forward with a courage and good feeling which promises a far more fortunate result than all the Socialist remedies which have been so much in vogue in France. As a picture of the industrial classes on the other side of the Channel, the book can be highly recommended, and the account of the efforts made by M. Dolfus and others at Mulhouse, to establish workmen's villages on the model, and without the frequent shortcomings, of our building societies, will well reward the attention of those who can take a practical part in improvements of this description.

The narrative of the measures by which the Punjab was saved and Delhi recovered in 1857, furnished to *Blackwood's Magazine* by the Rev. J. Cave Browne,<sup>8</sup> has been extended by him to two goodly volumes, which enter into very full detail of all those bold measures which the short but timely notice of the fall of Delhi enabled Sir John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, and Brigadier Corbett to adopt for the salvation of the Punjab, and for the formation of a base of operations for the recovery of the city. As soon as the moveable column under Nicholson was formed, the author volunteered to accompany it as chaplain, and was appointed to the post by Sir John Lawrence. His narrative has consequently all the life which is produced by the strength of personal impressions, and his wide acquaintanceship in the ranks with which he served, has supplied him with abundant material for the description of events at different stations to which his own duties did not take him. Into these particulars we cannot, of course, in this place follow him. Indeed, the separate deeds of resolute courage are

<sup>7</sup> "L'Ouvrière." Par Jules Simon. Paris: Hachette et Co. 1861.

<sup>8</sup> "The Punjab and Delhi in 1857." By the Rev. J. Cave Browne, M.A. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1861.

now overwhelmed in the great result; and it is one of the chief uses of accounts like the present, that they preserve the memory of many an act of isolated heroism that would perhaps be otherwise undeservedly forgotten. It seems at first sight inadequate to account for so grand and simple an event as the Indian mutiny by an accumulation of separate causes which each bear so small a proportion to the grandeur of the result; but the more the question is looked into, the more evident it becomes that in this direction only can a satisfactory explanation be found. There is no doubt that a host of accumulated grievances might be made out by any advocate of the Sepoys, if such a person could be found; and, indeed, it has been done by the Sheik Heydayut Ali, of the 8th Native Infantry, now in the Sikh Police Battalion, who drew up a paper recounting numerous cases in which the Sepoys had been forced to lose caste in the Kabool campaign and elsewhere, which throws a great light upon the accumulated grievances of the common soldier in this respect; but similar grievances had been complained of justly and unjustly for so many years, that but little attention was paid to them; and while they were growing, the sympathy between the ranks and officers had, partly from improved social morals among the Europeans, and partly from a most pedantic effort at centralized administration of the army itself, become so much weakened, that they were less known and heard of than in a time when they were much less resented. The endeavour to protect the native soldier from caprice was carried out in such a manner as to tie the hands of capacity, and completely to withdraw from the officers the power of action in any unexpected emergency. The case of General Hearsey and Mungul Pandey speaks volumes against the system which thus dissociated officers and men. It was not so much the absence of officers on staff appointments as the absence of interest which their regimental powerlessness induced, that weakened the influence of the Europeans with the men under their command.

The author of these volumes, however, thinks that had it not been for the coincidence of a Mohammedan conspiracy with the discontented condition of the troops, the revolt could not have assumed the magnitude it did: he looks upon them as independent in their origin, and only forced by the pressure of events to that complete identification which they afterwards assumed. We are more inclined to think that the discontent was the provoking cause of the conspiracy among the Mohammedans, who would hardly have ventured on such an enterprise had they not known that the material of probable success was already prepared to their hands. The picture, however, of the result can hardly be more full than in the pages of the Rev. J. C. Browne; and in one respect it has no doubt gained by the length of time which has elapsed between the events and his account of them. The book is deformed by none of those discredited accounts of Oriental obscenity which so stirred up the English mind in the first accounts of the mutiny; and it is evident that nothing but the lengthened time for reflection has banished them from his pages. In describing the fall of Delhi, he says: "Neither age nor sex was spared; nay, unoffending women and helpless babes seemed to be the special objects of their *lust*

and hate. From one end of Delhi to the other did these fiends in human form hold their orgies, and glutted themselves with Christian blood." This is too much like coming back in generalities to what cannot be any longer maintained in any individual case. Not one of the harrowing tales which came over with the news of the fall of the city has been found true. No case of mutilation has been authenticated, no violation has been substantiated. On this subject we can strongly recommend a thick pamphlet by Mr. E. Leckey,<sup>9</sup> in which every one of the fictions connected with this outbreak is subjected to such a cross-examination as would be given them in an English court of justice. Not one holds water. The celebrated stories of little children's boots lying about the roads with the feet in them, of parents being made to swallow the flesh of their children, are shown to be without any foundation; and the far-famed Lucknow Jessie is reduced to that absurdity which only the picturesqueness of the story, and the heated imaginations of its auditors, for one moment saved from immediate detection. An account like the Rev. Mr. Browne's ought to have contained an express disclaimer and repudiation of all such stories, which have become with many minds so inextricably connected with the subject that any history pretending to be a calm account of these events is not justified in passing them over *sub silentio*, much less in indicating their possibility under the cover of general terms. The author, too, is not free from a professional desire to claim as martyrs all who fell in self-defence in these disastrous days:—

"What of the dead?" he says. "Enough to know that such deeds were permitted by an inscrutable but ever-wise Providence, enough to know that they who fell died because they bore the name of Christ, enough to hope that many a soul, through that *Baptism of Blood*, passed away to wear a martyr's crown; and to hope, too, that the blood of saints there shed may there be the seed of the future Church."

This is a style of reflection that is as justifiable in the mouth of a Mohammedan or Brahmin as in that of a Christian. There were martyrs on both sides if there were on either, and the seed of the future Church of India must be sought for in the principles of a Christian life rather than in the baptism of blood with which many of that name gave up their lives at Delhi. It is pleasant to turn from the contemplation even of victory to the consideration of the more important, though much less exciting, theme of education in India, and it will be difficult to find more good sense and accurate appreciation of its condition and difficulties than is to be met with in the small pamphlet on the subject, by the Rev. Edward Arnold, M.A., late Principal of the College at Poona.<sup>10</sup> From his trustworthy testimony, it is plain that the schools, like the army, are weakened by the same Government patronage of the high caste Hindoo; the priestly caste fill the schools in the proportion of

<sup>9</sup> "Fictions connected with the Indian Outbreak of 1857." Exposed by E. Leckey, Author of "Principles of Goojuratee Grammar." Bombay: Chesson and Woodhall. 1859.

<sup>10</sup> "Education in India, a Letter from the ex-Principal of an Indian Government College to his appointed Successor." By Edward Arnold, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1860.

a hundred to one; their poverty compels them to adopt this means for qualifying themselves for the poor employments which the State places at their disposal. The complete imperviousness of this class to all dogmatical Christian teaching is well shown in the following dialogue, which, however, is characteristic of the quick-witted Hindoo, whatever may be his caste:—

“At the village fire after the day’s shooting I have conversed upon these things; something like this would follow.—*Hunter*. The Saheb missed the shingh wallah (the Horn fellow). Wah! it was destiny.—*Saheb*. It was a bad shot, not destiny. Haven’t you heard the German Padre Saheb?—*Hunter*. Yes! he spoke at Alaudi two—three days back.—*S*. What did he say?—*By-standing Native*. First he said *tumtsa bap mot’ahe* (your father is very fat) (*chorus of suppressed laughter*).—*S*. Chut. You know what he meant.—*Brahmin Carikoon* (repressing them with private delight)—Yes, yes, he meant *toomtsa pap* (your sin is great).—*S*. What else?—*Bystander*. He said his Dev (God) gave a *burra khana* (big dinner) to a lakh of people, with a few chupatties and ‘two—three’ fish.—*Brahmin*. That is like Krishna! he eat up a houseful of cakes while his nurse looked away, (*chorus of consentient “Hoys,” Yes! Yes!*)—*Bystander*. Then he said the Dev walked on the ‘Black Water.’—*Brahmin*. It was Shiva that drank it all up—that’s *chaumut-karik* (wonderful) now! (*Chorus of admiring “Hoys.”*)—*Saheb* (too tired to argue). That’ll do. Take the dinner to my tent. Gunesh!—*Bus*. *Ereunt omnes*.”

This conversation gives a typical instance of two most injudicious practices that few missionaries are free from: the first, attempting instruction in a language they but imperfectly know, and the second in endeavouring to accredit Christianity by the evidence drawn from miracles, to a people whose whole theology reposes on a similar foundation, and who are ready to meet such arguments with as serious an attention as a European would devote to capping one good story with another. Mr. Arnold believes that we must first conquer their minds before we can influence their beliefs—too rational an opinion to be extensively popular—he points out the weak places in the effort made in this direction by the Government. The poverty of the appointments, and consequent low character of the schools, are things that must react upon each other in a way that shuts out all hope of that progress which a more liberal support would produce, and would be justified in demanding; but the present necessity of carrying on the system with only such inferior instructors as will be contented with the poor stipend they receive, puts a limit to what would be the just requisitions of the inspectors, and constantly deteriorates the character of the higher schools, from the absolute inefficiency of the teaching in the lower ones. Mr. Arnold is needlessly pedantic and fond of scholastic attitudinizing, but these defects are not with him the sign they usually are, of incompetence to comprehend the world around him. Very few Indian pamphlets are so well worth reading, or throw so much incidental light on Hindoo life, manners, and opinions.

Anahuac, by the water side, is the Aztec name first applied to the Vallèy of Mexico, from the situation of the town on the banks of the lakes, and was afterwards used to denote a great part of the present republic of Mexico, In this sense Mr. Tylor uses it as the title to his agreeable account of a summer journey through that most beautiful

and distracted country.<sup>11</sup> In the spring of 1856 he joined an American, Mr. Christy, in a tour to most of the interesting spots round the ancient capital of Montezuma; without pretending to any such scientific universality as that which gave its unique value to the work of Humboldt, he yet fully exemplifies the old saying, that what a man learns in a foreign country is in exact proportion to the knowledge he brings with him. There are few subjects of interest connected with the country he was visiting on which Mr. Tylor is not adequately informed; and the immediate consequence is a very instructive and amusing account of a peculiar society, and a constant readiness to seize on the many striking peculiarities of native life and natural scenery. Leaving Vera Cruz, they were obliged to diverge to the north of the accustomed route to Mexico, on account of the siege of La Puebla, which lies midway between the coast and the capital. This first note struck gives a strange notion of the state of the country they were visiting, when the siege of the second town of the republic merely turns ordinary travellers a little out of their course, and this effect on the reader is only rendered the greater when we find, that after a few months' ramble round Mexico they were able to return by the besieged town, which had fallen under the combined attacks of dollars and distress, and capitulated after the loss of five-and-twenty of its defenders. Mexican revolutions have become very bloodless affairs since the fashion has arisen of allowing the rebellious forces to take service in the ranks of the victorious party. Mutual extermination has worked its own cure so effectually that these conflicts now more resemble the engagement of free lances in the Middle Ages, when a desperate conflict was found to have resulted in the death of but one man-at-arms suffocated in his harness, than any efficient warfare in which more than the fortune of the leaders is concerned. In passing the elevated range which separates the plateau of Mexico from the coast, the traveller leaves a tropical for a temperate climate, to be succeeded by an almost freezing one, so that each day's journey brings with it a change in vegetation and consequent habits of life among the natives, as great as is usually represented by many degrees of latitude. The exuberant fertility of the country gives, under these circumstances, the strangest variety to the external appearances of nature, and makes it one of the most interesting in the world to the naturalist or scientific traveller. After presenting letters of introduction to a Spanish American family, who received them with the greatest hospitality, Mr. Tylor and his friend set to work in the most business-like way to see all that was worth their attention in the neighbourhood. The pictures Mr. Tylor draws of Creole life in Mexico are most attractive; and were it not for the wretchedly unsettled state of the government, there would be few more desirable places for a lengthened residence. In their various excursions they everywhere met with traces of the old Aztec inhabitants, in fragments of their wares and abundant relics of their obsidian cutting instruments, exactly similar to those flint celts

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<sup>11</sup> "Anahuac: or, Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern." By E. B. Tylor. London: Longman and Co. 1861.



which have lately caused so animated a discussion among ourselves. The fullest account both of these ingenious instruments themselves, and of the obsidian mines from which their material was procured, will be found in Mr. Tylor's pages, and many very curious specimens and figures from examples in a collection made by Mr. Christy. The view which assumes the system of decimal notation to have arisen from the number of a man's fingers, is curiously supported by the native Indian manner of counting; their word for five means "hand depicting," for ten, "handhalf," meaning not the half of the hand, but the half of the whole person, which you get by counting his hands only. The syllable *ma*, which means hand, makes its appearance in the words five and ten, and nowhere else, just as it should be. It is curious that they should have this peculiarity in common with the Persians and many Indo-European races as in *decem* and *digitus*, and the German *zehn*, ten, and *zeh*, toes, &c. The bull fights in Mexico are but poor affairs when compared with those of the mother country, but they are always succeeded by a diversion peculiar to Mexico, of which the following extract gives an account.

"The colear is quite peculiar to Mexico, and is done on this wise. The colcador rides after the bull, who has an idea that something is going to happen, and gallops off as fast as he can go, throwing out his hind legs in his awkward bull-like fashion. Now suppose you are the coleador, sitting in your peaked Mexican saddle, that rises behind and before, and keeps you in your seat without an effort on your part. You gallop after the bull, and when you come up with him, you pull as hard as you can, to keep your horse back; for, if he is used to the sport, as almost all Mexican horses are, he is wild to get past, not noticing that his rider has got no hold of the toro. Well, you are just behind the bull, a little to the left of him, and out of the way of his hind legs, which will trip your horse up if you don't take care; you take your right foot out of the stirrup, catch hold of the end of the bull's tail (which is very long), throw your leg over it, and so hoist the end of the tail round your leg below the knee. You have either got the bridle between your teeth or have let it go altogether, and with your left hand you give your horse a crack with your whip; he goes forward with a bound, and the bull, losing his balance by the sudden jerk behind, rolls over on the ground, and gets up, looking very uncomfortable. The faster the bull gallops the easier it is to throw him over; and two boys of twelve and fourteen years of age coleared a couple of young bulls in the arena, in great style, pitching them over in all directions."

The farmers and landed proprietors are immensely fond of these sports, which the bulls, by the way, seem to dislike most thoroughly. The Mexican fondness for, and dexterity with, the lasso, is seen in every saddle, none being made without the curious projection to which it is fixed. Mr. Tylor was once riding with an English settler, who had become fanatically fond of the sport, and was constantly lassoing everything, even to the mile-stones, that came in his way.

"Wherever we saw a bull in the distance Don Juan and his grand little horse, Pancho, plunged over a bank and through a gap, and we after him. At last Don Juan cut off the retreat of an old bull, and galloping after him like mad, flung the running loop of the lasso over his horns, at the same time winding the other end round the pommel of his saddle. The bull was still standing on all four legs, pulling with all his might against Pancho. Galloping

after him so as to slacken the end of the lasso, we contrived to transfer it from Don Juan's saddle to mine. In the mean time Don Juan had dropped the noose of my lasso just before the bull's nose, and presently that animal incautiously put his foot into it, when Don Juan whipped it up round his leg, and went off at full gallop. My little black horse knew perfectly well what had happened, though his head was exactly in the opposite direction, and he tugged with all his might, and leant over more than ever. The two lassos tightened with a twang, as though they had been guitar strings, and in a moment the unfortunate bull was rolling with all his legs in the air, in the midst of a whirlwind of dust. Having thus humiliated him we let him go, and off he went at full speed. All this time the proprietor of the field was tranquilly standing on a bank, looking on. Far from raging at us for treating his property in this free and easy manner, he returned our salutation when we rode up to him, and, addressing our sporting countryman, said, "Well done, old fellow; come another day, and try again."

It is impossible that a fondness for the national sport could be more characteristically shown. These extracts will give a good idea of the pleasant style in which Mr. Tylor recounts his adventures; our limits will not allow of our touching on the great variety of matter contained in his volume, when treating of the state of education among the natives. He mentions that he took up, among other books, a catechism, when, to his unspeakable astonishment, the multiplication-table turned up in the middle of the book, a table of fractions followed, and then it began again with the Holy Trinity. The volume is abundantly illustrated, and has some very effective lithographs of native costume from clay models made in the country. Another book on South America, by Mr. Bollaert,<sup>12</sup> full of interesting detail on the Incarial and other monuments of Peruvian nations, may be well consulted for antiquarian and ethnological information on New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Chili, but it is so wretchedly ill-arranged, and so completely devoid of method, that it is perhaps impossible to find any other which so annoys its reader; the most incongruous subjects succeed one another within the limits of a single page, and the result is a confusion that weighs heavily against the author's learning and industry, and will deprive them of much of their legitimate acknowledgment.

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#### SCIENCE.

**A**MONG the reprints of articles contributed by men of eminence to the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, we have met with none which is more likely to be generally acceptable than the unpretentious volume in which Mr. Fairbairn has condensed a vast mass of important information regarding the Iron Manufacture of this

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<sup>12</sup> "Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in New Granada, &c." By W. Bollaert, F.R.G.S. London: Trübner and Co. 1860.

country.<sup>1</sup> The article was originally put together with too much haste to be complete; but it has since been carefully revised and considerably extended, and has been made to represent the condition of this important branch of our national industry at the present time.

With the subject of iron that of Coal is most intimately connected; and Mr. Hull's treatise will serve as a worthy and seasonable companion to that of Mr. Fairbairn.<sup>2</sup> The chief object of the author, who is actively engaged in the Geological Survey of Great Britain, and has access to the most authentic materials for such a summary, is to supply reliable information regarding the resources of our coal-fields, the extent to which they have been already exhausted, and the length of time for which the present supply can be maintained—questions as to which the want of sound data became apparent in the course of the parliamentary discussions that took place last year on the commercial treaty with France. In order to make the work more complete, introductory chapters have been furnished on the nature of the carboniferous rocks, the character of the vegetation of the coal period, and the formation of coal itself; and short sketches have been added on the nature and extent of the coal-fields of other parts of the world.

Prof. Milne-Edwards's admirable treatise on Comparative Physiology and Anatomy continues to make satisfactory progress.<sup>3</sup> The two parts which form the sixth volume are now before us; and these are entirely devoted to the Anatomy of the Digestive Apparatus in the Vertebrated series, and to that of the subsidiary organs of mechanical reduction and of secretion, with the composition and properties of the secreted fluids. The volume terminates just as the author is about to enter upon the consideration of the digestive process, and of the share taken by each of these liquids in the conversion of the alimentary materials; a subject on which there is at present the greatest contrariety of opinion, and as to which we shall be disposed to attach great value to the eminently judicious and well-considered opinion of Prof. Milne-Edwards, than whom no man is more qualified or more likely to give a sound and impartial judgment.

Since we last noticed Prof. Bronn's valuable survey of the Animal Kingdom, its publication has proceeded with commendable regularity.<sup>4</sup> The first volume, containing the *Protozoa*, and the second volume, embracing the *Actinozoa*, have now been completed; and the parts before us, which form the commencement of the third, nearly conclude

<sup>1</sup> "Iron: its History, Properties, and Processes of Manufacture." By William Fairbairn, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. &c. Edinburgh: 1861. Post 8vo., pp. 235.

<sup>2</sup> "The Coal-fields of Great Britain: their History, Structure, and Duration. With Notices of the Coal-fields of other Parts of the World." By Edward Hull, B.A., F.G.S. With Illustrations. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo., pp. 194.

<sup>3</sup> "Leçons sur la Physiologie et l'Anatomie Comparée de l'Homme et des Animaux, faites à la Faculté des Sciences de Paris." Par H. Milne Edwards, Professeur au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Tome 6ième. Paris: 1861. 8vo., pp. 532.

<sup>4</sup> "Die Klassen und Ordnungen des Thier Reichs, wissenschaftlich dargestellt in Wort und Bild." Von Dr. H. G. Bronn, Professor an der Universität Heidelberg. Mit auf Stein gezeichneten Abbildungen. Dritter Band. Weichthiere: Malacozoa. 1—5 Lieferung. Leipzig und Heidelberg. 1861.

the account of the classes of Bryozoa and Tunicata in the Molluscan sub-kingdom. The work is one of great value, the information it contains being drawn from the best and most recent sources, and being thoroughly well digested and systematically arranged, with ample references; so that the reader is put in possession of a condensed summary of what is known in regard to each class and order of the Animal Kingdom, with adequate illustrations, and with references to the best sources of more detailed information. The British naturalist greatly needs a work of this kind in his own language.

After a very long interval, during which its publication was entirely suspended, Mr. Lovell Reeve has brought to a conclusion a general treatise on Conchology,<sup>5</sup> which is specially designed to teach collectors of shells what they ought to know about the natural history of the animals which form them, without aiming at any elaborate account either of their anatomical structure or physiological peculiarities. Under each genus the technical characters of the Animal and of the Shell are first given; and this is followed by a more popular account, including a notice of its habits and geographical distribution, and finishing with a list of species. A coloured figure, drawn on stone by Sowerby, is given of every generic type of shell; and a number of figures are also given of the principal forms of animals, for the most part derived from the zoologies of the French exploring expeditions. The work is one which may on the whole be strongly recommended to those conchologists who cannot afford more complete systematic treatises; but we cannot help regretting that the author should have lessened its value by too servilely following the classification of Lamarck, especially in the case of the *Cephalopoda*, in which class the true relations of the testaceous forms cannot be understood without the adoption of Prof. Owen's subdivision into *Dibranchiata* and *Tetrabranchiata*.

Since the publication of Dr. Martin Lester's "*Tractatus de Araneis*," in 1678, little attention has been bestowed in this country upon the natural history of Spiders, until the subject was taken up by Mr. Blackwall,<sup>6</sup> and for almost every advance which was made in it during that long interval, we are indebted to the talent and industry of continental zoologists. The zeal and industry of this gentleman, in the pursuit of Arachnology, however, have gone far to redeem British science from the stigma of indifference to this department of zoology; and the Ray Society has done an acceptable service in affording him the means of publishing a complete systematic treatise on British Spiders, admirably illustrated by coloured figures (enlarged when requisite) of the entire animals, and by magnified representations of the parts on which the systematist bases his differential characters. Mr. Blackwall does not enter into any minute details as to the internal anatomy of his

<sup>5</sup> "*Elements of Conchology; an Introduction to the Natural History of Shells and of the Animals which form them.*" By Lovell Reeve, F.L.S., F.G.S. In 2 Vols. London: 1860. Royal 8vo., pp. 463.

<sup>6</sup> "*A History of the Spiders of Great Britain and Ireland.*" By John Blackwall, F.L.S. London. Published by the Ray Society. Part I. 1861. 4to., pp. 173. With Twelve Coloured Plates.

favourites; and for this we may to the beautiful work of M. Blanchard,<sup>7</sup> of which the portion relating to the Arachnida is now approaching its completion.

On the kindred tribe of *Acarida* we have another part of Dr. Pagenstecher's admirable series of monographs,<sup>8</sup> which gives a most elaborate account of the anatomical structure of the *Ixodes ricinus*, the common "tick," illustrated by numerous figures, with shorter notices of the other species of the genus.

Prof. Van Beneden has added to his valuable series of contributions on the Littoral Fauna of Belgium the first part of a monograph on the *Turbellaria*,<sup>9</sup> in which he gives an anatomical and systematic description of all the species he has had the opportunity of observing; with the intention, in the second part, of entering into those more general considerations in regard to the physiology and embryogeny of this remarkable tribe of animals, to which his researches have led him.

Mr. David Page, who has made himself favourably known by his "Text-books of Geology," has now brought out a little treatise of a more popular character,<sup>10</sup> the object of which he states to be—

"To present a sketch in outline of the 'World's Life-System'—tracing from the earliest organisms in the stratified crust to the forms that now adorn and people its surface. The aim has been to link the remote to the recent—the living to the extinct, that the general reader may be enabled to form some intelligible conception of the whole as a great and continuously-evolving scheme of vegetable and animal existences. There is no attempt whatever to teach anatomical details, or point out specific distinctions, the volume being intended not as a Handbook of Palæontology, but simply as a readable sketch for the information of those who have neither the time nor the preliminary training to avail themselves of works of higher scientific pretensions." —(Preface). "And yet," continues the author, "the reader will find in these pages a reliable résumé of the science, as founded on its most recent discoveries, and a treatment of its bearings from a higher stand-point than can be conveniently taken by the mere text-books and manuals of Geology. At a time when the question of life is receiving a wider audience, such a résumé may also be of utility in indicating the line that separates the assumed and hypothetical from the known and ascertainable, and so prevent the unprofessional inquirer from ascribing to Geology what it does not affirm, or from expecting from its teachings what they cannot reveal."

After a short introductory chapter on the scope and bearings of Palæontological Science, Mr. Page sketches the principal aspects of the existing Vegetable and Animal Life of the Globe, and then, after considering the nature and value of the evidence which geological research

<sup>7</sup> "L'Organisation du Règne Animal." Par Emile Blanchard. Livraison 32<sup>e</sup>. Arachnides, Livraison 15<sup>e</sup>. Paris: 1861. Small folio.

<sup>8</sup> "Beiträge zur Anatomie der Milben." Von Dr. H. A. Pagenstecher, Dozenten an der Universität Heidelberg. Heft II. *Ixodes Ricinus*. Mit Zwei Lithographirten Tafeln. Leipzig: 1861. Small folio, pp. 45.

<sup>9</sup> "Recherches sur la Faune Littorale de Belgique." Par F. J. Van Beneden, Professeur à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Turbellariés. Bruxelles: 1860. 4to., pp. 56. With Seven Plates.

<sup>10</sup> "The Past and Present Life of the Globe; being a Sketch in Outline of the World's Life-System." By David Page, F.G.S. Edinburgh and London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo., pp. 256.

affords in regard to the forms that have become extinct, he sketches in like manner the Life of the Far Past (Palæozoic), of the Middle Past (Mesozoic), and of the Recent (Tertiary and Post-Tertiary). The last chapter is somewhat ambitiously designated "The Law;" and we examined it with some curiosity to see what view the author would take of the questions that have been recently discussed in regard to the mutual relations of the successive forms of organic life, and what law he would propound as expressive of those relations. This, however, is the most unsatisfactory part of his treatise; for the author indulges in a good many vague rhetorical platitudes, and reiterates his conviction that there is such a law; but he shrinks from committing himself to the advocacy of either the "development," or the "natural-selection" hypothesis; and we can only gather, from such general and inexact phrases as that "the genera and species have been continually changing and pressing forward under the operation of pre-appointed laws to new and different forms," that he regards the existing forms of life to be genetically descended from the past. The distinction which he would draw between the phenomena of vitality and those of the inorganic universe, as belonging to different categories,—the former expressing the thought of the Creator, whilst the latter are simply materialistic—we hold to be altogether unphilosophical. If the will and power of the Creator are exerted in the former set of phenomena, they are equally so in the latter; if the law of physical causation can give a sufficient account of the latter (which we do not believe) without any recourse to an "efficient" cause, there is no reason why it should not do so in the former.

Among the discoveries in various departments of Biology, in which the researches of the last twenty years have been so fertile, there are none of higher scientific interest than those which relate to the processes of Reproduction.<sup>11</sup> It is only, in fact, when we look back to the state of our knowledge, or rather of our ignorance, until within a very recent period, as to the mode in which these processes are carried on throughout a large proportion of the Vegetable and Animal kingdoms, that we come to appreciate at their full value the labours of those who have contributed to our present comparative enlightenment. Twenty-five years ago, nothing was certainly known as to the process of generation in Cryptogamia; and some of the most distinguished botanists scouted as absurd the idea that anything comparable with the sexual apparatus of Flowering plants could exist among them. Yet the occurrence of sexual generation, under some form or other, as an alternating act with the gemmation which plays a most important part in their multiplication, is now generally admitted. On the other hand, among Flowering plants, the production and maturation of fertile seeds by certain forms possessing female organs alone, without any access of male influence, constituting the *agamio* form of generation, must be

<sup>11</sup> "The Genetic Cycle in Organic Nature; or, the Succession of Forms in the Propagation of Plants and Animals." By George Ogilvie, M.D., Regius Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Aberdeen. Edinburgh: and London: 1861. Post 8vo., pp. 296. With Six Lithographic Plates.

regarded as a fact equally well established. In the animal kingdom, again, it is only within the period we have named that anything has been certainly determined, save in a very few instances (such as the class of insects), in regard to the reproduction of Invertebrate animals, the extent to which propagation by gemmation takes place among them, or that diversity of the forms resulting from the alternation of the products of gemmation with those of sexual generation, which caused their mutual relations to be so completely misunderstood that the successive states of the same animal were frequently ranked in different classes; and it has only been during the last few years that the attention of physiologists has been systematically drawn to the occurrence (which seems to be in some tribes the rule, rather than the exception) of *agamie* generation—that is, the production of ova that resemble those ordinarily resulting from the sexual act, without the fertilizing male influence which has hitherto been regarded as essential.

It is the object of Dr. Ogilvie's treatise to "take stock" (as it were) of these acquisitions, by bringing them together and arranging them systematically, so as, first, "to determine the mutual relations of those diversified forms which the recent researches of Naturalists have shown to be propagated from each other, in many different species among the lower orders of both kingdoms of nature; and secondly, to consider what analogy can be traced between the successive forms in these species, and the phenomena which occur in the reproduction of those highest in the scale of organization, where, to all appearance, like always produces like." This object he has accomplished as satisfactorily as the present nature of the inquiry admits, consistently with the conciseness which he has aimed to maintain throughout his treatise. And we can strongly recommend it to students of any department of Biology—whether Zoology or Botany, Animal or Vegetable Physiology—as containing a well-digested summary of the most reliable researches on animal and vegetable reproduction, with deductions which, if not yet entitled to reception as established truths, may fairly claim a provisional acceptance, and are only advanced as likely to lead to conclusions of more permanent value. To personal researches on the subject of which he treats, the author cannot make much pretension; but as an intelligent teacher of Physiology, he has been led to take a lively interest in the observations of others. And our knowledge of his character leads us fully to indorse his remark, that his comparative freedom from influences which are apt to bias the minds of original observers, affords some compensation for his liability to fallacies and misconception in making his statements at second-hand; and we most fully believe that "he may at least, in all honesty, claim to have entered on the consideration of the question without conscious prepossession one way or other." We have only to regret that he had not originally decided upon the introduction of those illustrations, without which such a treatise could be intelligible only to the few who are already conversant with the subjects of it; and that instead of woodcuts incorporated with the text, he has been obliged to satisfy himself with a set of somewhat rudely executed lithographs appended to the end of the book, and not referred to in the course of it.

The appearance of the first volume of a new series of the Transactions of the Société de Biologie,<sup>12</sup> affords us an opportunity of drawing attention to this valuable repertory of original observation and research, which includes contributions on anatomy, physiology, and pathology, comparative as well as human, from a large proportion of the most able and zealous cultivators of these sciences in France. Each volume contains, in its Comptes Rendus, a notice of every subject brought before the society; this, if not too long, is given *in extenso*, but otherwise in abstract. Its second and larger division consists of such memoirs as are judged worthy of publication in full, with illustrations where necessary. We have long watched with interest the unpretending but most valuable labours of this society, which has been the means of bringing before the public a large number of important contributions to the various departments of Biology. It was there that Bernard, Brown-Séquard, and others scarcely less eminent, gained their first hearing; and we are glad to see that, although their names have of late appeared less frequently in its proceedings than they did of old, yet that they still continue to give it that support which they originally received, and that their places are well filled by the zeal and intelligence of the younger men whom they have trained in their own line of pursuit.

A most interesting application of Photography to the representation of Anatomical subjects has lately been commenced at Munich, with a degree of success which will, we trust, lead to an extended development of the art in this direction. Every anatomist knows how difficult it is to obtain delineations of an elaborate dissection, which shall be at the same time truthful and yet artistic, which shall exhibit clearly what the dissection is intended to bring into view, and shall yet be free from the diagrammatic character which the aim at such clearness is almost sure to induce. There has been a special want of an atlas of full-sized figures of the Nervous System; and there are special reasons why the production of such figures should be both difficult and costly. It was to supply this want that Dr. Rüdinger turned his attention to photography, as affording the means of giving an exact reproduction of the objects to be represented; and he fortunately had within reach an able photographic artist who entered into his views, and who has shown the highest skill in carrying them into practical operation. The fasciculus of their joint work, now lying before us,<sup>13</sup> contains five large photographs; the first being a view of the base of the brain, the medulla oblongata, and the upper part of the spinal cord, with the origin of their nerves; the second being an admirable view, on one side, of the base of the skull prepared so as to show the emergence of the cranial nerves, whilst on the other side is seen the base of the

<sup>12</sup> Comptes Rendus des Séances et Mémoires de la Société de Biologie. Année 1859. Paris: 1860. 8vo., pp. 770.

<sup>13</sup> Atlas des Peripherischen Nervensystems des Menschlichen Körpers: Bearbeitet von Dr. Rüdinger, Prosector an der Königl. Anatomie in München, mit einem Vorwort von Professor Dr. Th. W. L. Bischoff. Nach der Natur Photographirt von Joseph Albert. Erste Lieferung. München: 1861. Folio.



brain with the origin of the same nerves; the third displaying the distribution of the fifth pair of nerves, as seen by a dissection carried down from the surface; the fourth showing, in like manner, the distribution of the facial nerve; and the fifth containing five figures illustrative of the internal distribution of the fifth pair and of the sympathetic system of the head. It is obvious that, as Professor Bischoff states in his prefatory notice, these dissections must have been made with extreme care and ability, and with express reference to the requirements of photography, which would not be served by an ordinary preparation even of great excellence. He candidly informs us that the figures illustrating the distribution of the nerves have been retouched, in order to bring out with sufficient distinctness the minuter filaments; but he avers (what we can very well believe) that nothing has thus been introduced which does not actually exist in the preparations; and the marvel to us is, that the difficulties arising from the nature of the subject should have been so far overcome as to allow a success to be attained, which it would, until recently, have been thought quite hopeless to aim at. And the cheapness of these representations, as compared with engravings of anything like the same fidelity and elaboration, is not the least part of their merit.—We have seen representations (as yet unpublished) of the brain of a chimpanzee, by one of our own best photographers, which will not suffer by comparison with those of the Munich artist; and we need scarcely point out how infinitely more valuable are such representations, as affording evidence which cannot be gainsayed in discussions like those recently carried on between Professors Owen and Huxley, than any delineations whose truthfulness depends upon an almost impossible combination of the purest good faith and the highest technical skill on the part of the artist.

It is long since anything has been written in this country on the History of Medicine; and we agree with the authors of both the works before us, that the time has come for a new attempt.<sup>14</sup> Nothing, however, can be more different than the purpose and character of the works they have respectively produced. The object of Dr. Meryon has been, not to give a mere history of events, but to narrate the steps by which an inductive foundation has been gradually laid for a true science of medicine, and for the establishment of principles which may be applied deductively as an art; or, in other words, to exhibit the progress of medicine from a system of mere empiricism towards that combination of sound doctrine and practical skill in the application of it which constitutes the rational medicine of the present day. "I shall endeavour," he says, "to record faithfully the hypotheses which have been of high value as partial interpreters and provisional guides to higher truths, and, to the best of my ability, with that spirit of toleration which teaches men to regard dissidents from received standards of opinion with

<sup>14</sup> "The History of Medicine; comprising a Narrative of its Progress from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time, and of Delusions incidental to its Advance from Empiricism to its Dignity as a Science. By Edward Meryon, M.D., F.G.S., F.R.C.P. Volume I. London: 1861. 8vo., pp. 482.

"The History and Heroes of the Art of Medicine." By J. Rutherford Russell, M.D. With Portraits. London: 1861. 8vo., pp. 491.

charity, if not with respect; for no one can be aware how well-founded the opinions he holds are, until he has heard all that can be said against them." The portion of the work which has now appeared brings down the history of medicine from the earliest ages to the end of the sixteenth century; and it includes, with biographical notices of the physicians who figured most prominently during this period, an account of the principal epidemics of which authentic records are preserved to us, as well as of those prevalent delusions which have manifested themselves at various periods and in various countries, displaying the strange tendency which exists in certain classes of minds to self-deception and to a craving for abnormal excitement. We would suggest to Dr. Meryon that in his second volume, which is to bring the history of medicine down to our times, he should avoid the dilution which results from the endeavour to embrace as much as possible of detail, still more that which proceeds from the indulgence of a tendency to fine writing; and that he should concentrate the attention of his readers more closely on the influence of those systems and modes of thought—originating sometimes in the commanding power of individual minds, in other cases resulting from a general growth of opinion and a gradual development of specific doctrine—which have successively exerted a dominant influence on the minds of the profession and the public.

The design of Dr. Russell's treatise is very different. It professes to represent the condition of the art of medicine and its practitioners at successive periods of history, by a series of biographies of certain individuals who have left the greatest impression upon the medical doctrine and practice of their own and succeeding ages. The following are the individuals thus selected: *Æsculapius*, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, Dioscorides, Roger Bacon, Jerome Cardan, Paracelsus, Lord Bacon, Von Helmont, Harvey, Des Cartes, Sylvius de la Boe, Robert Boyle, Sydenham, Stahl, Hoffman, Boerhaave, Haller, Cullen, John Brown, Jenner, and Hahnemann; those who were not practitioners of the healing art having been introduced on the ground of their having contributed in a more or less important measure to the progress of medical science. Their biographies are pleasantly told, and their teaching, for the most part, fairly represented; but the discriminating reader will not fail to perceive that the merit assigned to each is made to depend, not upon the value of his contribution to rational medicine, but upon the degree of his approximation to the doctrines of Hahnemann, especially in regard to the existence of *specific* remedies for the several diseases to which the human body is liable, and to the fundamental law of homœopathy, *similia similibus curantur*. Thus he glorifies Bacon, Boyle, and Sydenham for having maintained that in the discovery of specifics lay the consummation of the art; and lauds Haller for having maintained that, as each part is endowed with its own specific impressibility, so it should be the aim of therapeutic science to ascertain by experiment the relationships between the specific properties of remedies and the specific impressibilities of different parts of the system. We suppose that it is because John Hunter's whole system of medical philosophy was in antagonism to

this doctrine of specific remedies, that he is not thought worthy of mention among the heroes of medicine; whilst Hahnemann obtains nearly one sixth of the whole volume to his exclusive share.

Dr. C. B. Radcliffe has been for some time known in the medical profession as the persevering advocate of a doctrine of Muscular Motion in direct antagonism to the current notion on the subject, which doctrine he first advanced in a treatise on Epilepsy, having apparently been led to it by the study of the pathology of that disease. He has also applied himself to the systematic study of Animal Electricity, and has tested with great care the experimental results obtained by Matteucci, Bois-Reymond, and more recently, Chauveau. Of these results he gave an excellent summary in his Gulestonian Lectures, delivered last year at the College of Physicians; and he has now incorporated them in a third edition of his Treatise on Epilepsy, which he has so completely re-cast that it is almost rather a new book than a new edition.<sup>15</sup> The first one hundred and twenty-four pages, in fact, are entirely occupied by a physiological discussion on the nature of muscular motion; in which the author makes out his case, which seems *primâ facie* a very strong one, against the generally-received theory that muscle is endowed with a vital power of contractility which may be called into action by certain *stimuli*, of which nerve force is ordinarily the most potent; and in favour of his own doctrine that "there is a state of polarity in living muscle during relaxation which produces relaxation, and that contraction is nothing more than the necessary result of the muscle being liberated from this state, and left to the operation of the attractive force which is inherent in the physical condition of the muscular molecules." He considers muscular motion, first in relation to the action of the blood; secondly, in relation to the action of nervous influence; thirdly, in relation to the action of electricity; and fourthly, in relation to mechanical and other stimuli by which contractility is usually supposed to be excited; and he draws from ascertained and admitted facts in each of these departments of inquiry, a set of deductions which converge marvellously towards the conclusion he labours to establish. His attack is conducted not only with great skill and circumspection, but also with great modesty, in this respect contrasting most favourably with the arrogant and dogmatic tone of some recent physiological iconoclasts. In fact, no one seems better aware than Dr. Radcliffe himself of the weakness of his former arguments, and of the need of a thorough re-investigation of the subject before the existing doctrine can be proved to be fallacious. But it is scarcely to be expected that such an inquiry could be impartially conducted by one who starts with a foregone conclusion; and it is right that we should warn our readers that our author must be dealt with as an advocate, and that no judicial decision upon his views—which will now, we doubt not, excite the general attention of physiologists—can be valid, until his facts and arguments shall have been thoroughly

<sup>15</sup> "Epileptic and other Convulsive Affections of the Nervous System; their Pathology and Treatment." By Charles Bland Radcliffe, M.D., F.R.C.S., &c. &c. Third Edition. London: 1861. Post 8vo., pp. 312.

sifted by free discussion. Among what strike us as weak points in his theory, we may mention the following:—(1.) He professes to regard the relaxed state of a living muscle as one of *polarity*. Now, it is the essence of a “polar” force, that it admits of reversal; and therefore, the state of contraction should be the result, not of ordinary molecular attraction, but of the reversal of the polarity. (2.) He does not draw a sufficient distinction between the two forms of contractility which have been recognised by physiologists, namely, the *irritability* which is manifested in rapid contraction speedily alternating with relaxation, and the *tonicity* which is shown in slow persistent contraction, and which survives as the *rigor mortis*, or death-stiffening, after the irritability has departed. Now the former seems to us very like a “polar” force, in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used. The latter may very probably be, as Dr. Radcliffe urges, the manifestation of a molecular attraction between the particles of muscle, which may be called *vital* in so far as it endures so long as those particles retain their integrity, and disappears with the commencement of decomposition, but which cannot be placed in the same category with the former, whose continued manifestation is dependent (as the experiments of M. Brown-Séquard have so admirably shown), upon the circulation of blood through the muscle.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

TWO volumes of a work by the Count de Montalembert, bearing the title of “The Monks of the West,”<sup>1</sup> form apparently but a portion of the literary structure which their author designs to erect. These volumes comprise the early history of monastic institutions, and contain the lives of some of the chief heroes of the cloister, during the period which elapsed from the birth of St. Benedict (A.D. 480) to the establishment of the colonies of Luxeuil, in the seventh century. The introductory essay describes and discusses the rise, progress, decline, and nature of the monastic life. Conceived in a mystical and devotional spirit, it displays some beauty of thought and sentiment, but too often substitutes for philosophical investigation theological rapture or indiscriminate panegyric. In enumerating the services rendered to Christendom by the monks, M. Montalembert places in the first rank that of prayer, and deservedly so, if by this *more than omnipotent* weapon of our weakness, they really “established the equilibrium between the empire of heaven and the empire of the earth.” Next, to prayer, we believe, come the Christian virtues of self-denial and charity—virtues which only the bigoted or ignorant would deny to many of the old monks. That they relieved indigence, cultivated learning, preserved and multi-

<sup>1</sup> “The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard.” By the Count de Montalembert, Member of the French Academy. Authorized translation. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1861.

plied the monuments of Greek and Roman literature, and restored the agriculture of great part of Europe, the sceptical Gibbon and deliberative Hallam long since acknowledged. In selecting western monasticism for the subject of his book, M. Montalembert has acted wisely; since in the West, monasticism attained its highest development as an agent of mediæval civilization. Society, according to our author, was mainly preserved from the ruin that threatened it, by two conspicuous causes—the irruption of the Barbarians, with their double sentiment of freedom and honour, and the appearance of the monks who devoted themselves “to heal the miseries of invasion and to gather the fruits of victory.” The monastic life, originating with Pachomius and Antony in the East, was propagated in the West by St. Athanasius. Forming an intermediate body between the clergy and the faithful, the monks were at first interdicted from accepting ecclesiastical dignities, nor were they even admitted to holy orders. Eventually, though under what circumstances it is not easy to ascertain, the prohibition became inoperative, and from the monastic ranks issued the most powerful bishops of Christendom, the most distinguished fathers of the Church, the proudest leaders of speculative thought. Besides the Introduction, the first volume of this work contains three books on the state of the Roman Empire, after the Peace of the Church, and on the monastic precursors in the east and west. St. Benedict, St. Gregory the Great, the monks under the first Merovingians, and St. Columbanus, are the subjects of the four books in the second volume. The avowal that history would lie to herself if she affected to deny or ignore the supernatural intervention of Providence in the life of his saints, suffices to indicate the philosophical attitude of the writer. On the whole, these volumes present us with an eloquent and entertaining Hagiology of the Monastery; and if, on the one hand, they protest with superfluous outcries against tyranny, unbelief, and spoliation, they afford, on the other hand, happy indications, valuable as corrections of Protestant bigotry and oversight, of the services which ecclesiastical cœnobitism conferred on Christian civilization.

A more satisfactory and far less ambitious work may be found in Mr. Charles Pearson's “*Early and Middle Ages of England.*”<sup>2</sup> To give, in a compendious form, the results of inquiry into the primitive and early mediæval history of our country—twelve hundred years of English life, action, and thought—is the object of this suggestive work—an object in which we think Mr. Pearson has very fairly succeeded. Hastily reviewing the races of Britain, our author devotes three chapters to the Roman Conquest and settlement in England. The occupation of Britain by the masters of the world he compares with the French colonization of Algeria. Austere and harsh as were the conquerors, the Roman dominion was favourable to commerce. In the middle of the fourth century, eight hundred vessels visited the English coast for the corn trade. In fact, through the Roman conquest England was

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<sup>2</sup> “*The Early and Middle Ages of England.*” By Charles H. Pearson, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of Modern History at King's College. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861.

made a part of the European commonwealth, participating in its traffic, its alliances, and its ideas. As to the Christianity of that early period, Mr. Pearson thinks that it "was never firmly established in the Romanized parts of the island, but existed side by side with Paganism as a habit rather than a conviction." Among the peculiar phenomena of the fifth century, he includes a reaction in favour of British Paganism, and believes that the facts taken from the Gospels were freely worked up into a new mythology. The evidence, however, in favour of this theory is by no means convincing. Mr. Pearson makes no attempt to construct a history of the Saxon conquest, but accepts the broad facts as retained in popular memory. He rejects the common statement that the Keltic population was exterminated or driven into Wales and Brittany by the Saxons. To the Kelts, and not the Saxons, our author, agreeing herein with M. Renan, attributes the creation of the chivalrous ideal of woman. In his judgment the Saxon woman was either a virago or a fawning spaniel. Among the biographical portions of the book those relating to Dunstan, Alfred the Great, William the Conqueror, and Anselm may be commended for significant detail and judicious treatment. In the chapter on the Contest with Becket, the question of the natural antagonism of Church and State is discussed with candour and intelligence, and though Mr. Pearson evidently believes that very militant churchman mainly in the wrong, Becket's title to heroism is not disallowed. The topics of the more expository chapters are the Anglo-Saxon police, civil law, literature, and the Church, feudalism, chivalry, Anglo-Norman law-courts, Anglo-Norman society, and mediæval literature. Chronologically the present volume (for Mr. Pearson half promises a second) closes with the death of Richard Cœur de Lion, the Crusader, whom he contrasts with William Rufus, a non-crusading king, so astoundingly wicked that when a number of poachers had cleared themselves of the crime with which they were charged, by passing the divine ordeal of fire, he declared "that God was no judge of offences against the game-laws, and punished the men notwithstanding."

The early history of England may be studied now, by all who wish it, in the various annals and chronicles published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. We can do little more, with our limited space, than mention the two last contributions to the national library of history. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*<sup>3</sup> "comprises the period from the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry II. in A.D. 1154; and is conjointly with the ecclesiastical history of Beda, the principal source whence our early chroniclers have derived their matter." The translator seems inclined to refer it in part to the age of King Alfred, and even to look on that monarch as one of its originators. The after-portion of the chronicle he is disposed to regard as a contemporaneous narrative, though not free from interpola-

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<sup>3</sup> "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several original authorities." Edited, with a Translation, by Benjamin Thorpe, &c. In two vols. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

tions of later date. The first volume of the present edition contains (unannotated) the original text (in Roman characters) with a preface; the second a translation, with indices and glossary. Of the "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry the Sixth,"<sup>4</sup> one volume only is now before us. The documents which it contains are derived from two sources. For the greater part of them we are indebted to the two great national depositories of France, the Bibliothèque Impériale and the Archives de l'Empire. The original text is accompanied with a translation on the same page. The remaining part is transcribed from various sources in England—French, Latin, and English. Mr. Stevenson, the editor, has prefixed to the work a useful elucidatory preface.

The fifth and final volume of Lord Macaulay's "History of England"<sup>5</sup> is given to the world precisely as it was left. With a wise forbearance Lady Trevelyan has supplied no connecting link. To that portion of the brilliant writer's manuscript which was fairly revised by himself she has added, however, a few pages containing the first rough sketch of the last two months of William's reign as a fitting conclusion to the life of his great hero. Of the four hundred pages of which the volume consists, one quarter is occupied with a copious index of references to the entire work. The remaining three hundred are distributed into three chapters, and relate the historical events of something more than two years. The controversy on standing armies, the debate on a peace establishment, the fire at Whitehall, and the negotiations relating to the Spanish succession, are among the topics of the first chapter. The second chapter treats of the altered position of the ministry; the elections; the partition of the Spanish monarchy, 1698; the bill for disbanding the army; the naval administration, and the expedition to Darien. The third chapter relates the singular trial of Spencer Somers; describes the national discontent; sketches the career of Kidd, the privateer and pirate; enters into the question of Irish forfeitures, and the dispute between the Houses; and gives an account of the death of the two monarchs, the ex-king James and his successor and displacer, William our "Deliverer." It is needless to say that Lord Macaulay, in his last volume, is equal to himself. The same splendid rhetoric; the same melodious if somewhat artificially constructed periods; the same richness of illustration and ingenuity of argument that have been noted in his earlier volumes, re-appear in his latest. The same intellectual glow which illuminated so many passages in the previous portion of his history lights up more than one passage in the last instalment. The description of the Czar's visit, the Darien story, the portrait of Charles II. of Spain and of Montague, testify to the correctness of this statement. There are two questions

<sup>4</sup> "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England." Vol. I. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

<sup>5</sup> "The History of England, from the Accession of James the Second." By Lord Macaulay. Vol. V., edited by his sister, Lady Trevelyan. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

discussed in this volume in which Lord Macaulay's verdict is hostile to received opinion. He defends the Partition Treaty, on the ground that Spain was merely a heterogeneous political aggregate, and not a living national organism; and he justifies the determination of England to avoid hostilities with Spain, when she declined to undertake the championship of "the squatters who had occupied Darien." However these questions may be decided, those who quarrel most with Lord Macaulay's historical prepossessions, must acknowledge that in this great, and happily almost completed biography, we have a noble and eloquent record of the life and actions of an able ruler, if not blameless king.

To the revolutionary era inaugurated with the Third William, succeeded in natural course the oligarchical rule of the great Whig families. Though not unfaithful to their traditionary principles, the Whigs grew to look on themselves too much as the sole legitimate claimants of ministerial power; splitting up into cliques and factions, and merging the distinctive policy of their party in the personal objects of its leaders. This family confederacy George the Third, on his accession to the throne, determined to break down. The circumstances under which, and the agencies by which, he sought to effect this purpose, are clearly set forth in Mr. Erskine May's "*Constitutional History of England*."<sup>6</sup> Jealous of ministers who derived their authority from Parliament rather than himself—defective as the organization of that Parliament undoubtedly was—he determined, by a system of intimidation and corruption, to restore the personal influence of the sovereign which the Revolution had so much impaired. Systematically violating the privileges of Parliament, the king participated in the direction of every political event. Identifying himself with Lord North's ministry, he long triumphed over all opposition. At a later period, when Fox's India Bill was before the House of Commons, he concerted a bold and unscrupulous plan with his friends for defeating the measure and overthrowing his ministers. During the administration which succeeded, that of Mr. Pitt, "if the king's independent exercise of influence was somewhat less active," the power of the Crown itself was really greater than at any former period. The court policy, however, was not in the end successful. Far from strengthening the throne, the king's attempt advanced the popular cause; and "claims of prerogative became the signal for the assertion of new rights and liberties on the part of the people." Coming down to a comparatively recent period, we find William IV., at the period of the second Reform Bill, actually extending the popular liberties, by an irregular, but strictly honourable and unselfish interference of the Crown with the freedom of Parliament,—the distribution of his circular letter to the opposition lords. Having estimated the influence of the Crown during the reign of the last two Georges, and of their immediate successor, Mr. May shows, first, the diminished influence of the Crown after the sudden dismissal of the Melbourne ministry and the expulsion of Sir Robert Peel from office; and secondly, its increased influence under due control, conjointly with

<sup>6</sup> "*The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of George the Third, 1760—1860.*" By Thomas Erskine May, C.B. Vol. I. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.



the continued ascendancy of the great families, after Peel's second administration in 1841, and Palmerston's removal from office in 1851. The third chapter of Mr. May's important treatise reviews the prerogatives of the Crown during the minority or incapacity of the sovereign; the fourth treats of the Civil List, pensions, and revenues of the Crown, and its rights in relation to the royal family; the fifth, of the House of Lords and the Peerage; the sixth, of the House of Commons; and the seventh, of the relations of Parliament to the Crown, the law, and the people. It is scarcely possible to overrate the amount or value of the information contained in Mr. May's very able and important volume—the precursor, we are happy to find, of one which, among other topics, will comprise a history of party, of the press and political agitation, of the Church and civil and religious liberty.

In the "History of the Siege of Delhi,"<sup>7</sup> by an anonymous officer and occasional correspondent of the *Times*, we have a new, and in some respects original contribution, to the literature of the great Indian Rebellion. His theory of the insurrection is briefly this. In a period of growing discontent, and when efforts had already been made to gain over the native army, the religious sentiment of the Hindoos was exasperated into open hostility by the introduction of the greased cartridges. The mutiny was immediately "caused by a combination among the Sepoys to defend themselves against a threatened deprivation of caste, taking afterwards a wider aim." While admitting that no people in the world would have shown more moderation, under the circumstances, than the English, our officer is still of opinion that in the suppression of the rebellion we were unreasonably and cruelly vindictive. In the recital of events which occurred at Delhi, Meerut, or in the Punjaub, he inserts many striking and animated passages, relating to Hodson, Havelock, and Nicholson. The last-named of these heroic men won such an ascendancy over the pliant Asiatics that he was actually canonized by a brotherhood of Fakirs on the Hazara frontier, who called themselves Nikkul Seynees. On the fall of their soldier-saint before Delhi, their leader deliberately destroyed himself, declaring with an artless pathos that "he could not live in a world where there was no Nikkul Seyn."

Of the revolutionary movement which in Europe characterizes the year 1848, M. Garnier-Pagès has constituted himself the historical expositor.<sup>8</sup> The prominent position which he occupied among the French republicans of that period, bespeaks our attention for a narrative, which in itself, perhaps, is sufficiently known in its general outline to all but the younger minds among us. In addition to the official knowledge which the author commands, and the personal experience which promises to lend reality to his communication, he can boast of a third source of historical superiority. Manin, the Venetian hero, examined his work, page by page, sometimes even phrase by

<sup>7</sup> "History of the Siege of Delhi." By an Officer who served there. With a Sketch of the Leading Events in the Punjaub connected with the great Indian Rebellion of 1857. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1861.

<sup>8</sup> "Histoire de la Révolution de 1848." Par Garnier-Pagès. 2 Vols. Paris: 1861.

phrase, and word by word, exchanging documents with the author, and approving or challenging the correctness of the opinions advanced. It can scarcely be doubted that the portion of the narrative which relates to Italy, and which occupies the whole of the first volume, would gain in clearness and accuracy by this process of critical revision. The history, thus corrected, was finished previously to the last Italian war. Out of deference to his adviser, M. Garnier-Pagès has not permitted himself to make any subsequent alteration, not even such as would accommodate his recital to the changed circumstances of the times. The "History of the Revolution" is written, as might be expected, from what some of our countrymen would consider a Frenchman's point of view. For instance, it is said that the influence of France on the destinies of the world was never carried so high or so far as after the last great social convulsion in Paris; and the book, it seems, is so planned as to enable us to follow with increased facility the general movement, and to observe the correlation of events with the historical *ensemble*, and with the situation of France. Of the three divisions into which the book is distributed, the first extends from its commencement to the 25th March; the second from the 25th March to 4th May, when the Provisional Government gave place to the Constituent Assembly; the third from 4th May to the moment when the Executive Commission gave in its resignation. Of this Executive Commission, M. Garnier-Pagès was a member. Foreign politics speedily engaged the attention of the depositaries of the national power—MM. F. Arago, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and our historian. At the request of Lamartine, his colleagues agreed to concert in secret a policy which was afterwards to be submitted to the ministers, and then to the National Assembly. The passage in which the views of the gentlemen composing this council are stated, exhibits their respective gradations of opinion, and notifies their final decision to intervene in the liberation of Italy, if circumstances rendered intervention necessary and legitimate—that intervention being made dependent on the invitation of the Italian people to assist them in their struggle for liberty. The invitation, it is hardly requisite to say, was never given. The insurrection in Italy was conducted by Italians alone. Too late, says Garnier-Pagès, did Milan, Rome, and Florence discover the error which they had committed in refusing the assistance of those who were to prove "their friends, their brothers, their saviours;" too late did it become evident that the immense preparations of the French Republic were undertaken with the view to support an elevated and generous policy, and not to favour a base and egotistic ambition. The progress of the Italian Revolution, recounted in the first volume of the work before us, was closed by the final defeat of Charles Albert. In his second volume, M. Garnier-Pagès traces the course of the revolutionary ferment in England, Ireland, Germany, and the Austrian empire. There is abundance of detail, with some happy exposition in our historian's narrative. It is written with energy, enthusiasm, and French clearness and precision. The author acknowledges the merits of the constitutional policy of England, which, unlike that of the various governments of France, ensures by wise concession the maintenance of liberty

side by side with authority. His belief in the progress of humanity appears in a short prediction, in which he announces,—“Les États-Unis de l'Europe,” voilà ce qui est écrit ! Le règne de la paix, de l'ordre, et de l'harmonie sera fondé.”

In the first volume of the “Memoirs and Correspondence of King Jerome,”<sup>9</sup> we have a tribute to the memory of that accommodating ephemeral monarch, conceived in a somewhat anti-Anglican spirit. England's maritime tyranny, England's determination to possess herself of the colonial dependencies of other nations; England's unheard-of pretensions, are all indicated with the impartiality for which some French authors are remarkable; and the First Consul's grand project of vanquishing the oppressive Queen of Ocean on her own element (it was like his impudence !) is honourably commemorated. “Son imagination, aussi vive que son génie était profond, se lança avec ardeur dans cette voie nouvelle.” Five years before he bid “un dernier adieu à son rêve le plus cher,” he determined to make a sailor of his brother Jerome, and accordingly on the 29th of November, 1800, the future King of Westphalia entered the navy. While cruising off the American coast the unfledged monarch contrived to win the affections of Miss Paterson, a young lady of Baltimore. On bringing his bride to Europe in 1805, the committer of matrimony got a tremendous blowing-up from his big brother, while the poor lady, forbidden to land on any part of the Continent, was obliged to seek a refuge in England. The particulars relating to this matrimonial transaction, and the whole Bonaparte-Paterson affair, are given at great length, with much illustrative correspondence. The naval career of Jerome is the sole subject which the volume discusses; it is considered under the four leading divisions of Expedition of Ganteaume in the Mediterranean, 1800-1801; that of St. Domingo, 1801-1802; that of Algiers in 1803; and that of Willaumez, 1805-1806.

The *Moniteur* thought fit, on one occasion, to describe in somewhat glowing colours, the services rendered to his country by the youthful admiral. To this “embellishment of truth” his present biographer takes exception. Jerome can hardly be said to have distinguished himself as a seaman, though he managed to take pretty good care of his ship. Once, indeed, he seems to have mistaken the signal, and so to have got separated from the squadron to which he belonged; but he made up for this by capturing a rich English convoy, and by not being captured himself. “Le frère de l'Empereur prisonnier dans les rues de Londres n'est pas possible, et il le dit à ses officiers,” remarks our admiring author. In addition to this rapid survey of the volume before us, we need only observe that the principal source from which the narrative is derived, consists of an immense collection of unedited materials formerly belonging to King Jerome.

In M. Royer-Collard we find a man of a very different stamp from the temporary King of Westphalia. An ample account of the public life, speeches, and writings of this able politician is furnished by M. de

<sup>9</sup> “Mémoires et Correspondance du Roi Jérôme et de la Reine Catherine.” Tome premier.” Paris, 1861.

Barante, in his recently published work.<sup>10</sup> Royer-Collard was born (1763) at Sompuis, in Champagne. M. Royer, his father, married Angelique Collard, a woman of grave and even rigid piety, and of a "severe tenderness" towards her children. For his early education her most distinguished offspring was indebted to the College of Chaumont. From Chaumont he went to St. Omer, and afterwards studied at Paris, where he decided on following the legal profession. Two years after the Revolution broke out, and the young barrister shared for a while the common hopes and illusions of the wisest and most honourable men of the time. Chosen by his section to be one of the members of the municipal council, or, as it was called in the language of the day, the Council of the Commune, he sat on the same bench with Camille Desmoulins, Manuel, and Danton. On the tenth of August he quitted an assembly in which Marat reigned and massacre was decreed. In May, 1793, when the Girondins were again in the ascendant, he presented an address, at the bar of the Convention, of so fearless a drift, that he had to fly from Paris, and take refuge in his father's house. He owed his life, in fine, to the respect with which Madame Royer had inspired the civic functionary at Vitry. After the 18 Fructidor, Royer-Collard, whose *extreme* views had always been comparatively moderate, co-operated with others in the endeavour to promote the restoration of royalty, in the person of Louis XVIII. Opposed alike to the revolutionary and the ultra-royalist parties, he became one of the most illustrious of the so-called Doctrinaire school. Though disinclined to political abstractions, he always sought to elevate his opinions into principles, and thus encircled his convictions with a kind of dogmatic halo. Nevertheless, circumstances were always largely taken into consideration by him in deciding on the merits and demerits of a measure. Hence, perhaps, an occasional seeming compromise or inconsequence in his political life, as when he voted for restrictions on individual freedom and the liberty of the press. Sincerely attached to the Restoration, he was never a servile supporter of the ministry. His recusancy in the question of electoral reform, caused him the loss of his position as a member of the Council of State. He opposed the war with Spain; he opposed the Septennial Act; he opposed the law of sacrilege; lastly, he opposed the law for the increased severity of the press regulations.

Under the Martignac ministry he was known as an eminent leader of the popular party, and an able expositor of constitutional opinion. On the dismissal of the Martignac ministry, and the accession to power of their frantic opponents, the famous Ordonnances were issued, and Charles X. was hurled from his throne. The active life of Royer-Collard terminated with this catastrophe. Ascribing Charles's fate to his own frenzy, and seeing in the recognition of Louis Philippe the only chance of salvation for France, he yet felt as if in the miscarriage of the Restoration he had lost a country. He still sat in the Chamber

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<sup>10</sup> "La Vie Politique de M. Royer-Collard, ses Discours et ses Ecrits." Par M. de Barante, de l'Académie Française. 2 Vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

of Deputies, of which he had once been the president, but he ceased to play a prominent part in the parliamentary drama. Royer-Collard lived many years after the Revolution of July. In 1844 he became seriously unwell, and in the following year he died, a sincere Christian and devout Catholic. There is about this man a kind of massive grandeur and almost Roman dignity very attractive to an English mind. His thoughts were as generous as his character was elevated; his speech was in harmony with his conceptions; his eloquence was impressive, severe, and placid: his oratory, his acts as a public man, his opinions and sentiments, are not inadequately commemorated in M. Barante's grave and solid review of his political life.

Royer-Collard was among the first to read and appreciate the great work of Alexis de Tocqueville, a portion of whose hitherto unpublished papers and letters is now given to the world by his friend and correspondent Gustave de Beaumont.<sup>11</sup> Additional value is conferred on the present collection by the agreeable biographical notice with which it is introduced. Among the writings of De Tocqueville, now first communicated to the world, are included extracts from a manuscript entitled "*Voyage en Sicile*:" an account of an excursion to Lake Oneida, and of a fifteen days' journey in the desert north-west of New York; "*fragments*," says his editor, "which will exhibit the author to the public in a new light." Following them, we find two passages from an unfinished work on the French Revolution, of which the first portion appeared in 1856. Of these two passages, one is intended to show that the Republic in 1799 was quite ready to submit to a master, and the second to prove that the nation, though no longer republican, was still revolutionary. The author maintains that the Directory, the nominally governing organ, did not fulfil the functions of government. Its rule was "an anarchy tempered by violence." In the moral exhaustion and effeminacy which the Revolution had generated, the application of cruel and violent laws had, however, become increasingly difficult from the very nervelessness of the resistance which they encountered. Nor was this state of mental lassitude exhibited only through the application of the revolutionary laws; it showed itself also in the selection of punishments inflicted. Thus the scaffold was succeeded by deportation, a penalty which at once fully gratified the sentiment of hatred, being often really worse than death, and saved languid sensibility the inconvenience of witnessing what was painful. In 1799 the French, who ten years before had conceived a passionate love for liberty, ceased to care for it, or indeed for anything else. The rhetoric of the Revolution alone survived. Soldiers were still *warriors*, husbands *spouses*, wives *faithful companions*, and children *pledges of love*; yet, if the Republic was a matter of indifference or dislike, the Revolution was dearer to the people than ever, and a return to the old *régime* was regarded with horror. The fact is, the peasants and operatives had largely profited by it. It had abolished a multitude of imposts,

<sup>11</sup> "*Œuvres et Correspondance Inédites d'Alexis de Tocqueville. Publiées et précédées d'une Notice.*" Par Gustave de Beaumont, Membre de l'Institut. 2 Vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

tithes, feudal rights, the *corvée*, the *gabelle*, and the *taille*. (It is a significant circumstance that M. de Tocqueville, travelling in Canada in 1831, found the word *taille* used by the peasants of French origin as a synonym of wretchedness: "Ils disaient d'un événement très-fâcheux: c'est une véritable taille.") The army, again, recruited with workmen, was closely interested in maintaining the Revolution, favouring, as it did, the advancement both of the men and of the officers. Nay, it *was* the Revolution—the Revolution under arms. Understanding nothing of representative government, it detested assemblies, wished only for a strong single rule, for natural independence and victory. Thus towards the end of 1797, the approach of a great change was vaguely felt. No one knew whence it would come; only M. Fiévée remarked, that the one question put to him by the peasants in field, wood, and vineyard, was, "What news of General Bonaparte? why doesn't he come back to France?"

It is, we believe, pretty generally known, that De Tocqueville regarded democracy, involving equality of conditions, as an inevitable result of civilization. He did not so much ask whether it was desirable as accept it as a necessary social condition. He appears, in a letter addressed to Eugene Stoffels, to have denied to society, founded on the democratic principle, poetry and grandeur, but to have considered it susceptible of order and morality. Elsewhere, while still hopeful of the world's future, he expresses a belief that the revolution has not ended, and is not yet likely to end; and affirms that no one can predict the period of its termination, or the precise goal to which the human race is advancing. This crisis, moreover, he considers to be not merely French but European. Not even England, he says, will be exempt from the decisive social transformation which he announces. For many other profound and valuable reflections on the French Revolution, which he looks on as a kind of preternatural phenomenon, in its advance from 1789 almost to the present day; on the June insurrection, on the subdivision of landed property in France, on certain social characteristics of England, as well as for various remarks on Plato, Mohammedanism, the connexion between political passions and religious sentiments, we must refer to this collection of thoughtful and deeply interesting letters, addressed to some of the most intimate of his friends and most esteemed of his acquaintances: as, to le Comte Louis de Kergorlay, Eugene Stoffels, Gustave de Beaumont, A. N. W. Senior, Henry Reeve, J. S. Mill (amusingly called in one of the headings, "Lord John Stuart Mill, Esq."), Mr. and Mrs. Grote, Lord Radnor, Count Molé, and others.

Of the revolutionary spirit which De Tocqueville's countrymen, two generations ago, sought to diffuse over Europe, William Pitt has been held to be the most determined practical opponent.<sup>12</sup> His administrative and financial abilities (apart from his Sinking Fund project) are now admitted even by the friends or admirers of his great rival. The

<sup>12</sup> "Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt." By Earl Stanhope, Author of the "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht." Vols. I. and II. London: John Murray. 1861.

statesmanlike and magnanimous policy to which he would have given effect in Ireland, his liberal reforming tendencies, his views of commercial freedom, and his philanthropical aspirations, have also received due recognition. Not satisfied, however, with these admissions, Lord Stanhope undertakes to vindicate this able and successful peace-minister against the weighty accusations brought against the second part of his political career, by the Foxites generally and by Lord Macaulay especially. Thus he defends the Bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, which Mr. Pitt introduced in 1794; he justifies the Crown prosecutions in the case of Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others, although Lord Campbell has argued that, if the ministerial measure had succeeded, all political agitation must have been extinguished in England, and even George III. rejoiced in the acquittals, telling the Lord Chancellor, "You have got us into the wrong box; constructive treason won't do, my lord." The military policy of Pitt, too, is justified as against Macaulay on two grounds: first, that Pitt's moderate views were very preferable to the "Holy War" project of the Burke party, of which the historian of the English revolution approves; and, secondly, that the frequent ill-success of the British arms by land is not ascribable to Pitt, whose unremitting toil, diplomacy, and vigilant activity Lord Stanhope applauds, but to the stupidity and inefficiency of our military officers, whom Lord Grenville not very complementarily describes as old women in red ribands. We cannot attempt to discuss the question of Pitt's alleged errors and shortcomings here. Lord Stanhope has indicated the grounds of his dissent from the censure of Pitt's opponents or critics, and promised to estimate in his pages the various questionable acts of the legislative or executive powers one by one. As yet, his task is only in part accomplished; his second volume concluding with the death of the Empress of Russia, in 1796, so that present decision would be premature. Meanwhile, we may remark, that though Lord Stanhope in general assigns reasons for his own conclusions, or explains his divergence from opinions commonly entertained, we are not by any means convinced that he is right. Truthful and candid as he is, he yet justifies or excuses conduct usually held to be exceptionable, as the minatory interposition of George III. in the case of the first India Bill, and the seemingly ungenerous animosity of Pitt to Fox in the Westminster Election transaction. But whether successful or unsuccessful in his attempted vindication of his hero, Lord Stanhope, we would briefly say, has produced an account of the great statesman's career during many years of his administration, which may be read with both pleasure and profit. If it is deficient in power or philosophic insight, it is at least the production of a reflective, graceful, and sympathetic mind. Its very antagonism, too, to popular prepossession is valuable, inasmuch as it irritates the lazy acquiescence of partisanship, so fatal to historical investigation and the distribution of justice to political opponents. The materials of which Lord Stanhope has availed himself in the composition of these volumes are, 1. The papers bequeathed by Pitt to Dr. Tomline, now in possession of Colonel John Pringle. 2. The Rutland MSS. 3. The Malmesbury, Melville, Buckingham, and Cornwallis papers. 4. Pitt's letters to his mother

and to his brother, Lord Chatham. 5. Letters from Pitt's colleagues and various remarkable public men; and, 6. George III.'s M.S. letters to Pitt. To one of these letters Lord Stanhope refers for confirmation of his very probable theory of Lord Temple's perplexing resignation. He attributes it to resentment occasioned by the refusal of a ducal coronet or some other mark of royal favour; whereas Macaulay (who acknowledged and promised to correct his error) ascribed it to Temple's desire for an immediate dissolution. The notices introduced by Lord Stanhope of Pitt's early life are few, but we get some intimations that under his "state-paper" exterior there once lay a witty, genial man, very unlike the Pitt of the *Rolliad*, who is made, even at the tea-table, to preserve his parliamentary dignity, to—

"Pass muffins in Committee of Supply,  
And buttered toast amend by adding dry."

These occasional glimpses into Pitt's private life, the clear narrative and extensive information which characterize this new biography, will procure it general acceptance, while the Tomline compilation, the happy product of "his [episcopal] lordship's sharp and faithful scissors," will now retire to the appropriate obscurity of a remote bookshelf.

The private correspondence of Thomas Raikes is quite unique in its way.<sup>13</sup> Many of the letters which it contains are written by men of an extinct genus. The *Dandies*, we are told in the introduction, "worked the indigenous material of English high life into a *coterie* which combined, at least, the pleasures of intelligence with those of dissipation." Some of these dandies were among Mr. Raikes' correspondents. From their letters we may derive a more or less correct notion of the peculiar "science of civilized existence" which they possessed. Mr. Raikes' own letters to the Duke of Wellington, among other things, record his impressions of Louis Philippe and the "Men of July" in general. Of the citizen king he says: "His accession to the throne was a mere commercial speculation." Reporting the opinion of "one of the most intelligent men in France," he describes the venality of the Chamber of Deputies as more contemptible than that of Sir Robert Walpole in England. Of the remaining letters, those contributed by C. C. Greville are perhaps the most sensible, and those by Scrope Davies and Lord Alvanley the most lively. The nobleman tells a capital story of Talleyrand's death, and the recantation which he subscribed when dying. To a priest who declared the act of subscription to be a miracle, Montrond rejoined that he knew of just such another miracle; that "when General Gonvins was killed, he (Montrond) went to the spot where he lay, and that they asked the only person who had seen the catastrophe how it occurred; this was a hussar, who replied, 'Le boulet l'a frappé, et il n'avoit que juste le temps de me dire: Prenez ma bourse et ma montre; et il est mort!'"

Mr. Watson's "Life of Richard Porson,"<sup>14</sup> the famous Cambridge

<sup>13</sup> "Private Correspondence of Thomas Raikes with the Duke of Wellington and other distinguished Contemporaries." Edited by his daughter, Harriet Raikes. London: Richard Bentley. 1861.

<sup>14</sup> "The Life of Richard Porson, Professor of Greek in the University of Cam-



professor, who spouted Greek as fast as he swallowed brandy, or when there was nothing better going, spirits of wine for the furniture, and the embrocation for an invalid friend, is a somewhat uncouth and priggish specimen of a biographical narrative. There is necessarily much in it that none but scholars can appreciate, while the want of vigour, descriptive power, and command of material, unfortunately can be appreciated by all. The volume, however, contains a variety of curious erudition and some entertaining stories, and conveys an adequate idea of Porson's metrical achievements and textual emendations. The account of the Travis Controversy, though perhaps too long, is clear and instructive. The convenient text, 1 John v. 7, is not, it appears, the only passage in the New Testament which Porson rejected as spurious. 'The story of the woman taken in adultery (St. John's Gospel, vii., viii.), he also pronounces a pure interpolation; "an opinion," observes Mr. Watson, "happily supported by the recently discovered Codex Sinaiticus, a manuscript which is considered as old as the fourth century, and in which that passage is not found."

A new edition of the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, printed in clear type, appears to possess the following recommendations:—purity of text, short and serviceable foot-notes, and a correct memoir by Mr. May Thomas.<sup>15</sup> The two volumes of which it consists, or will consist when completed, represent the three-volumed edition published in 1837. The Biographical Anecdotes by Lady Louisa Stuart are retained, and Mr. Dallaway's inaccurate memoir alone is omitted. The careless grace, the playful wit, and Greek naturalness of the charming letter-writer are well known. The introduction of the practice of inoculation into England, and thence into the rest of Europe ranks her, in the opinion of some, among the benefactors of mankind. Writing from Adrianople, in 1717, to Miss Sarah Chiswell, she tells her:—

"Every year thousands undergo this operation; and the French ambassador says, pleasantly, that they take the small-pox here by way of diversion, as they take the waters in other countries. . . . I am patriot enough to take pains to bring this useful invention into fashion in England; and I should not fail to write to some of our doctors very particularly about it, if I knew any one of them that I thought had virtue enough to destroy such a considerable branch of their revenue for the good of mankind."

The autobiography of Dr. Somerville, though less racy and hearty than that of Jupiter Carlyle, reminds us of the kindred work of the clerical patrician of Inveresk.<sup>16</sup> It is written in a pleasant, easy, but steady manner; and does not want for a kind of old English literary grace. Dr. Thomas Somerville, minister of Jedburgh, died on 26th February, 1830, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was a descend-

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bridge from 1792 to 1808." By the Rev. John Selby Watson, M.A., M.R.S.L. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

<sup>15</sup> "The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Edited by her great grandson, Lord Wharnccliffe. Third Edition, with Additions and Corrections derived from the original manuscripts, Illustrative Notes, and a new Memoir by W. May Thomas. In two volumes. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1861.

<sup>16</sup> "My own Life and Times—1741-1814." By Thomas Somerville, D.D., Minister of Jedburgh, &c. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

ant of the ancient family of the Somervilles of Cambuslang; he was the uncle and became the father-in-law of the distinguished authoress of the "Connection of the Physical Sciences;" he had some reputation as a man of letters, his two principal works being a history of Queen Anne and an account of the political transactions of the reign of William III. As a clergyman, he was active, tolerant, and irreproachable. His almost centenarian age gave him numerous experiences of men and manners. His London Journeys supply illustrations of the changes which time introduced within one eventful century. This volume abounds with notices of famous men, many of whom he knew. Robertson, Campbell, Erskine, and Mr. Crosbie, the Counsellor Pleydell of Guy Mannering, are among the minor celebrities whom he mentions; Pitt, Fox, and Burke among the greater. He heard Pitt, "utterly insensible to the attraction of female charms," propose a tax on maid-servants; he heard Sir James Johnstone set the House in a roar by his reference to the "ungallant rapacity" of the minister, who, however, had laid his hands so gently on them that his wrath was appeased; he saw Fox, with fingers of perpetual motion, catching the drops that fell from the wax candles, and turning and forming them into little pellets; he heard Burke, when both were guests at Sir Gilbert Elliott's, descend on politics, criticism, and theology, and was "astonished at the richness and brilliancy of his language, and universality of his knowledge." Had Dr. Somerville lived to our own day, he might, perhaps, have eulogized the great orator's "prophetic strain," for—

"He said that he would not be surprised at the defection of some of the colonies from the Union. I believe he mentioned the Southern States. Their constitution was not then settled, and the democratic party threatened to overpower the interests of the Federalists, to whom he gave full credit for wisdom and patriotism."

Dr. Somerville completed his "Life and Times" in 1814; but the very capital retrospect of the social state of Scotland in his youth and boyhood appears to have received some additions in 1827 or 1828. To this valuable sketch we invite special attention. In 1750, there were, perhaps, not more than two turnpike roads in all Scotland; stage-coaches ran only between Edinburgh and Berwick; once a month, one of these already well-nigh obsolete vehicles lumbered in ten days from the Scotch to the English capital; then all the mischief that was done was ascribed to Satan, instead of to the cat, the modern 'Old Scratch;' so late as 1775 or 1776, the witch was still *scored* above the eyebrows, to avert the baneful effects of incantation. In those days, superstition and small-pox, intolerance and intemperance, had a nice time of it; hospitality was then fast and furious, though one of the principal appliances was scarce. "I have seen," says Dr. Somerville, "a single glass go round a large company." The fashion changed. An old Border toper—Armstrong of Sorbie—thought the change no improvement, and grieving in his latter days over the growing degeneracy of the times, declared that "it was a better world when there were more bottles and fewer glasses." The book thus inadequately noticed was written in the years 1813 and 1814. It is in fulfilment of the author's

instructions that his representatives have allowed an interval of nearly half a century to elapse before making it public.

Gelzer's estimate of Baron Bunsen,<sup>17</sup> as author and statesman, can scarcely fail to satisfy the admirers of that learned and cloudy theologian. The events of his life; the relation in which he stood to his age; his religious mission—the attempted reconciliation of the spiritual and critical or historical tendencies of human nature; his friendships, particularly that for Dr. Arnold; his aspirations and characteristics, are briefly but clearly delineated in a pamphlet-memoir, very well worth reading.

A similar miniature biography commemorates the important incidents in the life of a Portuguese Jew,<sup>18</sup> Manasseh Ben Israel, and has some value as a contribution to the history of his countrymen in England. Manasseh, the son of Joseph, a man who, after being tortured and deprived of his property by the Spanish Inquisition, took refuge in Holland in the early part of the seventeenth century, was distinguished by his literary talents and his philanthropic exertions in behalf of his race. An account is given in this little work of his residence in England, and of his presentation of an address to Cromwell and to the English republic. The Hebrew patriot found favour in the eyes of the Lord Protector, who granted him a pension of 100*l.* a year, a bounty which, unfortunately, Manasseh did not live to enjoy. His death occurred in the year 1657.

"A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell," an American legal celebrity, will scarcely we think interest an English public.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Tazewell, however, was a man of considerable local distinction, and probably deserves much of the praise which Mr. Grigsby awards him. His eulogist writes, occasionally at least, in the true American eagle style. Not only is Virginia "the bride of liberty," but she is also "the mother of heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.'" (!) *Lord, gie us a gude conceit o' oursel's*, is a prayer that Transatlantic patriotism has apparently no need to prefer.

The alliance between Prussia and England during the seven years' war is the subject of an essay, by Dr. Arnold Schäfer, in which the military movements of Frederick the Great are indicated, and the war policy of Pitt (Lord Chatham) commended. The chief object of the treaty, on George the Second's part, was to secure Hanover from French invasion. A general community of interests, arising out of the circumstances which characterized the two countries, determined this alliance between Prussia and England; Frederick was the hero of a war, the history of which, it has been rightly remarked, was the

<sup>17</sup> "Bunsen als Staatsman und Schriftsteller. Eine Gedächtnissrede gehalten am 3 Januar, 1861." Von Dr. Heinrich Gelzer, Professor der Universität, Berlin. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>18</sup> "Manasse Ben Israël. Sein Leben und Wirken," &c. Von Dr. D. M. Kayserling. 1861. London: D. Nutt.

<sup>19</sup> "Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell," &c. &c. By Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D., &c. Norfolk (in America): J. D. Ghiselin. 1860.

history of continental Europe. Such are some of the positions maintained by Dr. Schäfer, in his *Preussisch-Englische Bündniss*;<sup>20</sup> a Tract probably intended to be suggestive of some similar future alliance.

In another politico-historical pamphlet, by a Magyar, we have a summary recital of the principal events in the collective life of Hungary from the ninth century to our own time, with remarks on the present condition and on the requirements and prospects of the Hungarian people.<sup>21</sup> The Magyar inveighs against the sly, selfish, and oppressive policy of Austria, and demands for Hungary entire independence of the reigning dynasty. Nevertheless, he is not unwilling to admit of some federal arrangement of a liberal kind.

One part only of a "History of Freemasonry," by J. G. Findel, has come under our notice.<sup>22</sup> Besides a general introduction which describes the spirit of the institution, glances at its literature and its rudimentary anticipations in antiquity, the first instalment contains a sketch of the history of Freemasonry previous to the year 1717, comprising among its topics the legend which explains its origin, and which makes Abraham Euclid's tutor and David Euclid's pupil; an account of the German stonemasons; the building associations of England, &c. It is in the mediæval architectural societies, and not in any more recondite source, that Herr Findel believes Freemasonry to have really originated. Freemasonry, according to its admirers, is a very noble spiritual phenomenon, being at bottom nothing less than a central impulse of the soul for union, instruction, form, and work—the predominance, in short, of the good or ideal tendency of human nature over the opposing element, the Bad, which consists in the exclusive dominion of the *Ego*.

About a year ago M. Auguste Jal was summoned into presence of the imperial projector of a history of Julius Cæsar. He was terribly frightened at first,"—*ému, troublé, comme on peut le croire, mais bientôt rassuré par la grâce noble et charmante, par la bonté digne et familière, avec laquelle Sa Majesté daignait m'accueillir.*" On recovering his senses he still found himself unable to answer the emperor's question on the construction of the ships of the ancients, and retired, *désolé et presque humilié*, from an audience with a real emperor and a possible historian. Subsequently, however, he appears to have succeeded in solving the problem to his satisfaction. M. Dupuy de Lôme, the surveyor-general of the Navy, is, he tells us, building a trireme conformably to this solution, and M. Jal has published his "*Etudes sur la marine antique.*"<sup>23</sup> These studies are three in number: the first and longest is an essay on Cæsar's fleet; the second and shortest, a paper on the meaning of a Homeric expression, (*ξύρον ναύμαχον*);

<sup>20</sup> "Das Preussisch-Englische Bündniss im Sieben-jährigen Kriege. Ein Vortrag." Von Dr. Arnold Schæfer, Ord. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Greifswald. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>21</sup> "Ungarn's gutes Recht," &c. Von einem Magyar. London: Franz Thimm. 1861.

<sup>22</sup> "Geschichte der Freimauerei." Von J. G. Findel, &c. Erster Band. Erste Lieferung. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>23</sup> "La Flotte de Césaire," &c. Par Auguste Jal, Historiographe de la Marine Impériale, &c. 1861.

while in the remaining part M. Jal maintains that the nautical terms employed in Virgil's "*Æneid*" are strictly and professionally accurate, and endeavours to ascertain their exact significance. The second paper is ingenious; the representation of the lance attached to the mast of the ship, in the vase found at Agrigentum, together with the citation from Vegetius, give an air of plausibility to the theory that the weapon (we believe but twice mentioned by Homer) was what our author calls a "*bélier d'abordage*" suspended to the mast, and worked by means of a pulley. The two passages, however, in the fifteenth book of the "*Iliad*," do not seem to us favourable to this theory: the *ἐνσπῆρα ναυμάχα* were probably the ordinary boarding pikes used in Homeric times. But we leave it to the classical archaeologist to determine this point, as well as to decide on the general value of M. Jal's contribution to our knowledge of the Ancient Marine.

Mr. Ellis,<sup>24</sup> after a seemingly careful and laborious analysis of the residuary vocabularies of Cappadocia, Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, &c., as well as of various existing inscriptions, is of opinion that—

The evidence of language so closely agreeing, and in so many nations, with that of history, will lead to a simpler explanation than that offered by Micali of the Asiatic customs and monuments of Etruria, by exhibiting the Etruscan nation as a member of the western branch of the Asiatic Aryans; a branch which had its original seat in Armenia, a country bordering on Assyria, Media, and Syria, and whose inhabitants were therefore in a position to acquire those rites, arts, and practices which we find exemplified in the monuments of Etruria."

This hypothesis assumes that a single race once occupied the countries between Nineveh and Rome; an assumption that does not startle Mr. Ellis, who parallels this Thracian area with that still possessed by the Indians or Persians in Asia, the Germans or Slavonians in Europe, or that anciently held by the Celts, whose language is now confined within limits of nearly the same extent as that of the Armenians. Mr. Ellis's volume shows research and erudition. It is scarcely necessary to add that none but philologists can adequately appreciate it.

## BELLES LETTRES.

IT is a great gain, because full of promise to her readers, that the last of George's Eliot's works is undoubtedly the finest,<sup>1</sup> the stream of thought runs clearer, the structure of the story is more compact, while the philosophical insight is deeper and more penetrating than in any of her former productions. It has been said that "*Silas Marner*" is

<sup>24</sup> "*The Armenian Origin of the Etruscans.*" By Robert Ellis, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Author of "*A Treatise of Hannibal's Passage of the Alps.*" London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

<sup>1</sup> "*Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe.*" By G. Eliot. London: Blackwood. 1861.

deficient in interest, but the only element of interest in which it can be called wanting, is that which is supplied by the vulgar excitement of exceptional circumstances or of abnormal characters. In "*Silas Marner*," the dead level and dry bones of English country life fifty years since, are illumined and vivified by a power of sympathetic insight which is one of the rarest of intellectual gifts. There is nothing so difficult to a cultivated intellect as to enter into the mental states of the ignorant and uninformed, it is an accomplishment of genius alone, the minutest analysis, and the most comprehensive inductions are but tools and helps in such a task. In the progress towards clear conceptions of any kind, the vestiges of the confused notions they replace are trodden out, the memory of our first feeble intellectual life is as irrecoverable and obscure as that of our physical birth. Insight into the past conditions even of our own minds, is one of the rarest acquisitions of reflection; and the difficulty of attaining such insight when times and men foreign to ourselves are concerned is so great, that it is only within the last generation that even history has aspired to do more than chronicle the events of each succeeding year.

Heretofore novelists have either relied on an interesting and well-constructed tale, or on the gradual and skilful development of a well-considered plot, or on unexpected solutions of prepared difficulties; and when this has been the case the study of character has generally been weak and incomplete; or they have seized upon some particular type of character the growth of which they wish to display, and in this case the circumstances in which the hero or heroine is placed are generally forced and unnatural, being neglected as subordinate to the main purpose of the author. The most remarkable peculiarity and distinguishing excellence of "*Silas Marner*," is the complete correlation between the characters and their circumstances; the actors in this story come before us like the flowers of their own fields, native to the soil and varying with each constituent of the earth from which they spring, with every difference that is implied in defective or excessive nutriment, but yet no more the creatures of blind chance, each asserting his own individuality after his kind, and none over-stepping the possibilities of culture furnished by such a world-forgotten village as Raveloe. It is impossible to dissociate any of the characters from the village in which they were born and bred—they form an organic whole with Raveloe; they are not connected with it by any external, or even humorous bands, but by vital threads that will not bear disruption. The stranger Silas is at last assimilated by the little society, and only truly lives when the process has been completed. Nothing can be more profound than this picture of the manner in which all human beings are influenced by their environment, the consequence of this most wonderful fitness between the characters and the scene of their life, is that on laying down the book we do not dwell upon Silas Marner or Godfrey Cass or Dolly Winthrop, or any particular character, but are forced to embrace them all with all their restricted country life; nothing short of all Raveloe satisfies the memory; there is no episode that can be detached from the story, no character that can be spared,

much less conceived other than it shows itself; there is about them all a certain absoluteness like that which characterizes the works of nature.

In her former works the author has taken a more or less critical position over against society; in the present one, though criticism cannot sleep in such an intellect, she appreciates more fully the strange compensations which accompany incomplete states of development, and brings out, without express statement, that conclusion which has so often stood at the commencement of many a feeble sermon, that there is but little connexion after all between a high moral character and clear conceptions of morality.

The profound insight with which the seed of retribution is shown shrouded in every act, and the intimate fitness which this retribution assumes in her hands is beyond praise; truth calls not for praise, but demands acknowledgment. Novels claim to illustrate the instructiveness of life; but this instructiveness, however, is in direct proportion to the truth of the picture, and the light thrown on it by the author. Mostly it is the case that where the reflections are true and just, the situations are exceptional, or where the circumstances are those of every-day life, the remarks on them are weak, trivial, or obvious. Of "*Silas Marner*" it is impossible to say which is most admirable, the vivid painting of life itself, or the profound remarks on the progress of that life; nor is this all, the kindly humour which glows through every judgment is as conciliating as the verdict is convincing, and the more so as the author shows no foregone purpose in the construction of the fable, but leaves it to bear its own fruit. It not so much directly instructs as adds to the experience of its readers, and like life itself adds to it in proportion to their power of understanding the results it offers. There is no single feature of this novel which will surprise those who are acquainted with the former works of the author, their greatest beauties are to be found in this; the objections which have been taken to the incompleteness and insufficiency of *Captain Donnithorne* and *Stephen Guest*, are here met by the best of all possible answers in the full and masterly treatment of the character of *Godfrey Cass*; the profound truth and delicate discrimination evinced in the delineation of this character are but too apt to be overlooked; it is one of those portraits which gain upon you the more you look at it, and which you leave with the feeling that no art could improve. A somewhat objectionable use of physiological images which certainly disfigured some few pages of the "*Mill on the Floss*," is no longer recognisable, but the author's talent, like some fine crystal, assuming its definite form, has here purged out of its symmetrical structure all impurities and foreign substances. It is impossible that any novel can contrast more strongly with this admirable book than the last production of Mr. Trollope. It is a curious and not very satisfactory phenomenon that a novel so trivial and purposeless as "*Framley Parsonage*"<sup>2</sup> should have acquired the popularity it undoubtedly did during its appearance in the *Cornhill Magazine*. This can be attri-

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<sup>2</sup> "*Framley Parsonage*." By A. Trollope: London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

buted to no higher qualities than a certain facility, not to say glibness of composition peculiar to the author; there is an agreeable facility about Mr. Trollope's way of telling a story which reminds us of the kind of satisfaction we derive from a sensible after-dinner speech, the moral topics are as obvious and the remarks as well worn; we are never alarmed by an appeal to our powers of thought, but are supplied with observations on manners and society which few can have failed to have made at some time or other, and which are accepted as very true and descriptive, because they coincide with the first general and superficial reflections of most of his readers. The misfortune of this style of writing is that however pleasant it may be to listen to an after-dinner speech once a month, it is beyond human endurance to sit out some twenty such inflictions; the diffuse dead level which was even pleasant in detail, becomes tedious beyond description when we are forced to take the whole journey at a stretch. These remarks may, perhaps, appear unjust to many who have read the story from month to month, but any one who thinks so we invite to a re-perusal *in extenso* before coming to that conclusion. We do not think it very probable that the experiment will be made. The habit of writing a story in periodical instalments is almost always fatal to that coherence and proportion without which no work can lay claim to any really artistic merit. The consequence of this mode of publication is that "Framley Parsonage" is rather a series of anecdotes than a well-knit tale. The central notion of the enormity of a young lady, without fortune or birth, aspiring to the hand of a young nobleman with twenty thousand a year, is hardly serious enough to support all that *entourage* of political life described in the words of *Times* leaders of a few years since; there is something ludicrous in the iteration with which this precious case of conscience is discussed by all the *dramatis personæ*. We have the history of that tremendous offer of Lord Lufton's from at least five different persons, who can make nothing of it, nor in any way see their way out of such an astounding difficulty; the only conclusion we are allowed to come to—which after all it must be allowed is somewhat consolatory—is, that if two persons situated like his lordship and Lucy Robarts know their own minds, they have but little to fear from what may pass in those of their friends. Mr. Trollope gives way too in this and other of his novels to a weakness now very common with our writers of fiction, we mean in the return to characters which they have treated with more or less success in former works. This can hardly ever be accomplished successfully, and while it betrays a great poverty of invention, most commonly does but vulgarize, if not destroy, what may have been originally a happy conception. Few, we think, will be edified by the part which Dr. Thorne is made to play in the present novel. It would seem impossible for Mr. Trollope to invent a story without adding to his sketches of the clergy in their relations to general society. Mark Robarts and Mr. Crawley are new figures in this somewhat extensive gallery; his sitters have but little to thank him for, and it may be pleaded by them that there is a fundamental injustice in constantly treating a particular class of men from a point of view which is but accidental to their position.



The view, however, if partial cannot be said to be unjust; and Mr Trollope adds greatly to the weight of the popular conviction, that a young man without external support can hardly be exposed to more severe moral trials in any walk of life than to those he must encounter if he adopts the Church as a profession. Society demands of clergymen a character and bearing for which it, like an Egyptian taskmaster, will not supply the absolutely necessary material conditions; the difficulties of the position, it must candidly be confessed, are, after all, far greater than the weaknesses of those who occupy it; and this truth is not sufficiently insisted on by the happy satirist of prebends, deans, archdeacons, and bishops. In "Framley Parsonage" there is no evolution; the story progresses by constant aggregation of details; in this way novels may be manufactured like Manchester goods, and retailed at so much per yard so long as the colour and design retain their hold, or what after all is no better than a passing vogue.

Without thought it is impossible that any permanent literary work can be brought forth; and we think it as impossible that "Framley Parsonage" should be remembered for a year, as that "Silas Marner" should ever be forgotten. Human nature is *nemini alienum*, but the manners and customs of superfine society are nearly as fugitive as the fashions of their dress, and afford but poor material to those who have the fullest opportunity of judging them, while they do but mislead the distant observer into a genteel vulgarity fatal to all higher excellence.

"Filippo Malincontri," by the author of the "Home and the Priest," is much such another account of the condition of the Italians under the Austrian domination.<sup>3</sup> There is an evident air of truth about the story, the reader is constrained to believe the whole of the long indictment against a government endeavouring to do the best it can for its dependents consistent with maintaining them in their subject condition, and failing even in their best endeavours from the natural repugnance of their subjects to take even good gifts from such abhorred hands. There is a curious mixture of petty details and grandiloquent moral reflections in the way in which the History is told, that of itself is very characteristic and significant. In spite of the author's patriotic dislike of the educational system under which he was brought up, it has exercised the greatest influence on him; the general absence of any practical observations, and the readiness to run off into broad and vague reflectiveness, is a condition of mind which his teachers must welcome in all who are brought under their influence, and speaks as loudly in evidence of their success as any of the direct reproaches with which the author loads their system. The dramatic interest of this tale is of the weakest possible character, but it abounds in sketches evidently from living originals in every station of Italian life in the Venetian provinces. In this consists the value of the book, which would have been greater if the autobiographical elements worked up by the author had been published without a setting which deprives them

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<sup>3</sup> "Filippo Malincontri; or, Student Life in Venetia, an Autobiography." Edited by Girolamo Volpe, translated by C. W. Cayley, B.A. London: G. Manwaring. 1861.

of the force of direct testimony, and consequently weakens their effect as evidence. A very different tale of Italian life will be found in "*Agnes Tremorne*."<sup>4</sup> If "*Filippo Malincontri*" be too level and prosaic, the very contrary may be said of this novel, which is as poetically sentimental as can be wished: we do not intend to use this phrase in an uncomplimentary sense, for the author is a person of refined feeling and cultivated taste; but there is an unreality about the whole story, which never for an instant allows us to forget that we are in the region of genteel fiction. This objection once made, there is room for little else but unqualified praise both of the tone and tendency of the book. It is the history of a beautiful girl, whose whole life has been sacrificed to her family, the appropriate reward of whose disinterestedness and affection is snatched away from her at the moment she was entering on its possession. The plot is very well constructed, and unrolls itself with a gradually accumulating sense of the misfortune impending over the lovers, which is very effective, but yet simple and natural. The reflections with which the tale abounds are the result of much delicate observation, and are often expressed with great elegance and felicity. On the whole, it is a book which, though it produces no great and lasting impression, will yet be laid down with a regret similar to that with which we leave the society of an amiable and accomplished friend.

In turning over such a book as Dean Ramsay's "*Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*,"<sup>5</sup> the first thing which strikes the reader is the rapidity with which social changes are brought about. We are apt when looking forward for some desired improvement, to despair at the slow progress which we appear to make towards a better state of things, but such retrospects as these surprise us by the magnitude of the change which one generation produces on the habits and feelings of a whole nation. Perhaps this is the most valuable result of such collections. In themselves they are apt to become very miscellaneous, and to admit as characteristic many stories which have no national or local peculiarity. Dean Ramsay's book does not escape this common fate; many of his best stories are only Scotch in so far as they are told of Scotch people. It is infected, too, with that tone of indiscriminate laudation of everything Scotch, which is almost as amusing as the local patriotism of many an English provincial, who finds that Westminster Abbey is, after all, not finer than the parish church he has known from his youth. Were it not, however, for this extravagant local feeling, such collections would not be made; the weakness must be excused for the incidental advantages it brings with it in preserving the passing shades of manners becoming obsolete and phraseology falling out of use. An Englishman sinks his native county in his general allegiance to his country, and is apt to look upon the features of provincial life with too great disregard, or, at any rate, to relegate to county histories any notice of quaint customs and disappearing peculiarities.

<sup>4</sup> "*Agnes Tremorne*." By J. Blagden. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

<sup>5</sup> "*Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*." By E. B. Ramsay, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.E. 2nd Series. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1861.

Perhaps it in some degree arises from the approach of a similar feeling among educated Scotchmen that we have recently had such an outburst from Edinburgh in glorification of national peculiarities which are felt to be fast fading away. Dean Ramsay is obliged to go back a whole generation for his eccentric parsons and free-spoken old maids, even though national superstitions are losing colour and becoming faint with age. The following is a good story of the abhorrence in which swine were once held in the North:—

"A clergyman having mentioned this superstition to a clerical friend, and finding that he was rather incredulous on the subject, in order to convince him, told him he would allow him an opportunity of testing the truth of it by allowing him to preach for him the following day. It was arranged that his friend was to read the chapter relating to the herd of swine into which the evil spirits were cast. Accordingly, when the first verse was read in which the unclean beast was mentioned, a slight commotion was observable among the audience, each one of them putting his or her hand on any near piece of cold iron—a nail on the seat or backboard, or to the nails on their shoes. At the repetition of the word again and again, more commotion was visible, and the words 'cauld airn' (cold iron), the antidote to this baneful spell, were heard issuing from various corners of the church. And, finally, on his coming over the hated word again, when the whole herd ran violently down the bank into the sea, the alarmed parishioners, irritated beyond bounds, all rose and left the church in bodies."

Of the ancient partiality for claret there are some good stories; old Scotch conviviality was a very serious matter, as the following story will show:—

"At a prodigal drinking-bout one of the party remarked, 'What gars the laird of Garskadden luk sae gash?' 'Ou,' says his neighbour, the laird of Kilmardinny, 'Garskadden's been wi' his Maker these twa hours; I saw him step awa, but I didna like to disturb gude company.'"

The ladies, too, were not behind their lords.

"A Galloway laird was returning from a supper party with his lady mounted behind him on horseback. On crossing the river Nor, at a ford at a point where it joins the sea, the old lady dropped off, but was not missed till her husband reached his door, when of course there was an immediate search made. The party who were despatched in quest of her, arrived just in time to find her remonstrating with the advancing tide, which trickled into her mouth, in these words, 'No anither drap, neither het nor cauld.'"

But Scotch habits of drinking in reputable society are relatively as much changed as English ones, and if whisky is still the evil spirit to be cast out, what can be expected, says the Dean, "where men and women live in crowded habitations, often with uncertain means of subsistence, and amongst whom there is a constant influx of *English and Irish* labourers, badly if at all educated, and of unsettled and dissipated habits?" This is putting the saddle on the right horse with a vengeance, and is itself a Scotticism more racy than any the Dean has collected. We must find room for the sayings of some Scotch old maids. One, asked to subscribe to raise men for the king during the last war, answered, "Indeed, I'll doe nae sic thing; I never could raise a man for mysel, and I'm no going to raise men for King George."

"Two old ladies going to church, one said to the other, 'War it no a wonderful thing that the Breetish were aye victorious over the French in battle?' 'Nöt a bit,' said the other old lady; 'dinna ye ken the Breetish aye say their prayers before ga'in into battle?' The other replied, 'But canna the French say their prayers as weel?' The reply was, 'Hoot! jabbering bodies! wha could understan' them?'"

With one good story on the subject of volunteers we must close our extracts.

"The first regiment of Glasgow Volunteers had scarcely been raised, when its services were required in a somewhat trying emergency—the mutiny of a regiment of Highland Fencibles, then in the barracks, which had taken offence at being ordered abroad, or for some other cause. The Highlanders were posted on one side of George-square and the volunteers on the other, and their lines were so extended that the conversation of two Highlanders was overheard, running to the following effect: 'Donald,' says one, 'I dinna think thae lads would stan' us.' 'I dinna ken, Angus,' was the reply; 'they're shentlemen, an' they wudna rin.'"

In this respect, at least, the volunteers of the present day may be confidently expected to emulate their fathers.

The wit and humour of these stories, it will be seen, is of no nation, whatever may be the dialect in which it is expressed. Dean Ramsay's book, however, contains many accounts of old customs and forgotten usages which are well rescued from a fast-approaching oblivion, and were it not infected by a narrow nationality, which induces him to drag a discussion on the "Essays and Reviews" into a description of Scottish manners, it would be every way recommendable. It is, however, a strange ground of pre-eminence on which to land his compatriot when he dwells upon the fact that if they have religious dissensions among themselves, they do not touch the essentials of the faith, as is the case with the controversies south of the Tweed. To praise oneself for straining at a gnat while taking credit for swallowing a camel, shows a strange barrenness of resource in an enterprise which has, time out of mind, been generally fertile of much more presentable grounds of self-complacency.

The celebrated, and now rare work of Cæsare Vecelli on ancient and modern costume, first published in 1589, has been reproduced in facsimile by Messrs. Didot, and will be found a very welcome assistance to artists, with whom the original has been long in request.<sup>6</sup> The two volumes contain upwards of five hundred designs, many of such striking excellence that they have been assumed to be portraits, and some of them have even been attributed to Titian himself. This, however, is far from probable, as they were not published until thirteen years after his death, and the opinion once prevalent that Cæsare Vecellio was his brother is certainly erroneous.

Fabrizio and Cæsare were members of another branch of the family of Vecellio, the former celebrated as a painter, while the reputation of the latter rests on the engravings here reproduced. The reprint is charac-

<sup>6</sup> "*Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo di Cæsare Vecellio, précédé d'un Essai sur la gravure sur Bois.*" Par M. A. Firmin Didot. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

terized by all the typographical excellences and editorial care with which the publishers never fail to support the books they bring before the public.

There is an amount of novelty about M. Rivière's two short tales "Pierrot" and "Cain," which makes them more worthy of attention than the general run of novels reprinted from a *feuilleton*.<sup>7</sup> The author has been strongly impressed by the power which a disordered imagination exercises over those who, from weakness or crime, have succumbed to any powerful impression. This original topic lies at the foundation of both his tales; and though he treats the subject with an extravagance that reminds us of Hoffmann or Edgar Poe, there is sufficient psychological truth underlying his exaggerations to redeem them from the imputation of being either a mere purposeless assemblage of horrors, or a facile sport with some of the most mysterious affections of the mind. In the first of these tales, the hero, Servieux, whose mind has undergone the shock of an imminent and terrible death, from which he is only rescued as consciousness was leaving him, becomes subject to hallucinations from which he painfully recovers. Strongly impressed one evening, at the *Funambules*, by the performance of Dubureau as *Pierrot*, he retires to his country house, where he educates himself as a fantastic actor, and gives way to his imagination to such an extent that he imagines himself to be an incarnation of the principle of evil. He exercises himself in the part he has conceived of a cold, cynical wickedness until he is smitten with a moral horror of the character with which he has identified himself. That he may have an adequate support on the stage, he educates for his purpose a vulgar girl he picks up in a company of *Saltimbanques*. In his imaginative excitement he falls violently in love with the girl, whom he terrifies, but dominates, so that while sacrificing her to the interest of his study of the diabolical character he has conceived, he becomes in everything else the plaything and slave of his everyway coarse and vulgar companion. He proceeds to Paris, where his performance meets with signal success; his mistress, subdued by terror in the country, relieves herself in Paris by low intrigues. Servieux is reduced to despair, and only lives when on the stage, where he gives himself up with such completeness to the passions whose outward appearance he had so successfully studied, that he cuts the throat of his rival before the audience, in a piece he had himself written to furnish the opportunity of a revenge which he was utterly incapable of finding when not under the excitement of his dominant idea. The insanity and hallucination which are the consequence of constant brooding on a single idea, is the germ of truth which underlies this painful phantasmagoria.

In the second story, the hero, Georges, has allowed his most intimate friend Raoul to perish under his eyes, that he might succeed to the command of the vessel in which they were the superior officers. The power of the imagination as the avenging Nemesis is worked up in this story to an artificial height, which so outrages the modesty of nature that remorse itself has become disease, and ultimately hunts

<sup>7</sup> "Pierrot"—"Cain." Par Henri Rivière. London: Hachette and Co. 1860.

the successful officer to a disgraceful and despairing death by his own hand.

All Auerbach's recent tales are unfavourably distinguished from the first series of Black Forest stories by the increased proportion which the author's reflections bear to the village manners which they profess to delineate. It is not that these reflections are in themselves any way offensive, but they destroy the proportions of the fiction, and reduce them to the character of moral lessons, which interferes with that full reliance the reader would otherwise be inclined to repose on them as pictures of a strange and out-of-the-way community. "Joseph in the Snow"<sup>8</sup> loses in moral effectiveness from the evident moral purpose of the author; the rough manners and tender hearts do not very well accord with one another; and the general sympathy of the villagers with Martina, the heroine, is but in feeble keeping with that extreme feeling of disgrace which so powerfully affects her father when she returns to his house unmarried, but a mother. She had taken service in the family of the richest peasant of the neighbourhood. These Rottmanns had been famous for generations for their rough manners, enormous stature, and almost superhuman strength. The son and she become attached to one another, and during his absence from home, superintending one of those timber-rafts which annually float down the Rhine, her disgrace becomes evident, and she is thrust out of the house by its mistress, whose temper, never good, has been soured by the death of her eldest son, killed in felling wood on their own forest land. At the son's return he takes no steps to do justice to Martina, contenting himself with saying that he will never marry any one else, thus compromising between his love for Martina and his fear of his mother, who makes all around her bend to her caprices. For years Martina endures her disgrace. When her boy is six years old, she had told him his father would come to see him the next day. The events of this day are the staple of the story. The Rottmanns have determined between themselves that their son Adam shall marry Toni, the daughter of a rich neighbour, and have forced him to attend the *Verlobung*, or contract; while left with his intended bride, he tells her of his affection for Martina, and suddenly remembers that he had promised to see her and his boy that day. He leaves the house in which his parents are celebrating his betrothal, to keep his promise with his first love. The child, who has been all day longing for his father, has started on Christmas Eve through the snow-covered woods in search of him: on Adam's arrival at the village he finds the whole community afoot in search of the boy, who has by this time been missed. The winter search through the snow-covered woods is the great picture of the story, which is humorously contrasted by a tale told by a sempstress of her adventures years ago when lost one summer day in the same wilderness.

The child finds its way to the house of his father's betrothed, but during the search his father and mother are brought together by the strong common feeling of anxiety for their child, and Adam finds courage to defy his mother and do tardy justice to Martina. Toni,

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<sup>8</sup> "Joseph im Schnee." Von B. Auerbach. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1860.  
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the forsaken bride, is consoled with the pastor's brother-in-law. The whole interior of the pastor's house is in strong contrast to the rough community he instructs, and in spite of every effort of the author to throw an intellectual halo round the cultivated tastes of the parsonage, they do not escape from a tinge of effeminacy which leaves a somewhat disagreeable impression. The interest of the tale is well sustained, but, after all, it amounts to little more than a moralized anecdote. The picture of rural life is more elaborate, but less satisfying than of old.

Professor Arnold's three Lectures<sup>9</sup> contain, with a variety of other matter, some excellent advice to Homer's translators, about the aim which they ought to propose to themselves, and the effect which they should endeavour to produce; a brief, but admirable analysis of the qualities which essentially characterize Homer's own manner of thought and language; an estimate of the labours of previous translators, tested by the degree in which they have succeeded or failed in reproducing each of these; and, lastly, some passages translated by the author himself into English hexameters, introduced chiefly by way of illustrating the remarks in the previous lectures. The translator of Homer, says Professor Arnold, should, above all, be penetrated by a sense of four qualities of his author:—that he is eminently rapid; eminently plain and direct in his language; eminently plain and direct in his matter and ideas; and, lastly, that he is eminently noble. Cowper's translation and Mr. Wright's are condemned as wanting in rapidity; Pope's and Mr. Sotheby's as wanting in plainness of language; Chapman's as wanting in plainness of thought; and Professor Newman's as failing most conspicuously, because wanting in nobility. These are true tests, and are well selected and applied; but they do not contain the whole truth. A fifth should have been added here, to which we scarcely find an allusion until the very close of the lectures:—that "Homer has not only the English vigour, but the Greek grace;" that his grandeur "is not the mixed and turbid grandeur of the great poets of the north, of the authors of *Othello* and *Faust*; it is a perfect, a lovely grandeur." A translation might surely be rapid, and direct, and noble; and yet, if it were wanting in grace and loveliness, would fail in reproducing to the scholar (to whom, and not to the public, lies the ultimate appeal) the effect of Homer's poetry.

There are only three English metres, we are told, between which the translator has to choose, the ballad metre being put out of the question as incapable of a sustained nobleness of manner; the Miltonic blank verse, which, though fitted in many points for his purpose, is not sufficiently rapid; the heroic couplet, the movement of which, though rapid, and possibly noble, will not render with truthfulness either Homer's transition or Homer's continuity; and, thirdly, the English hexameter metre, which Professor Arnold pronounces the best, and which he has himself adopted in his translations. These last are not, we think, the most successful part of the volume. In Homeric "grace"

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<sup>9</sup> "Three Lectures on translating Homer." By Matthew Arnold, M.A., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

they are well-nigh absolutely deficient; and in several lines the metre is marked so imperfectly, that a considerable effort is requisite to read them into hexameters at all. What, for example, could we make of such a line as the following, if we found it standing by itself?—

“To a mortal? but ye are without old age and immortal.”

It might appear intended to commence with three anapests, but the end of it would show that this was not the case, and we should probably pronounce that it was prose. Certainly we should not read it, as Professor Arnold does,—

Tō ā | mōrtāl? bū | yē arē wīth | ōūt ōld | āge ānd īm | mōrtāl.

We cannot believe, on the faith of an unrecognised theory of Greek accents, that Homer's own verses were not more distinguishable than the above.

We must say, however, in conclusion, that these three lectures are the work of a man of true feeling and genuine critical power. The Greek scholar and the public, alike, will read them, as we have done, with instruction and interest. They are valuable for what they tell us about Homer's own poems; for the tests which they supply of the success of his translators; and, not least, for their implied protest against the blind admiration with which Englishmen too frequently assign the palm of poetry to the Elizabethan period, and to their own countrymen. Perhaps the best version of any part of Homer which they contain is in plain English prose, a “pale and far-off shadow” of the original. Professor Arnold believes that something more than this is possible. We should be glad to see as much as this done well, done as well for the entire “Iliad” and “Odyssey.”

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THE  
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OCTOBER 1, 1861.

ART. I.—MR. GOLDWIN SMITH ON THE STUDY OF  
HISTORY.

*The Study of History: Two Lectures delivered by* GOLDWIN SMITH, M.A., *Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.* Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker. 1861.

WHETHER the facts of human nature and society are capable of scientific treatment is undoubtedly the question upon which the course of all future thought must depend. Every fresh discovery, theory, or controversy gives a new importance to this central problem. Moral, social, and religious discussions seem all to gravitate to this, and await the answer to the higher question in which they are involved. Debate now turns not simply on the soundness of the reasoning or the accuracy of observation, but upon the very nature of the reasoning process employed, and the sphere of thought itself. No doubt this, like so many famous controversies, must be ultimately decided by the practical good sense of mankind. We believe there is only one conclusive reply to the opponents of the scientific method—*solvitur ambulando*. We doubt if it is possible, and indeed worth the trouble, to argue men into a belief of the existence of any science. But all those who feel an interest in this theory must watch closely the manner, and still more the spirit, in which it is attacked. If we recur to this subject, it is with the purpose, not so much of answering objections as of protesting against the use of polemical invective in a scientific discussion.

In a recent number we pointed out that the new doctrine had made such progress, that at both the older Universities the Pro-  
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fessors of Modern History had thought it necessary to anathematize it with the usual formulæ. We then examined the argument of Mr. Kingsley. We pointed out his misconception of the theory in question, his original ideas about the common axioms of science, his peculiar tenets upon the nature of "laws," and how thoroughly, after all, he conceded the propositions he began by refuting. In a word, when he made it "the business of his life henceforward to teach Modern History in a way that should give satisfaction to the rulers of his University," we thought he must be content with a select rather than a numerous audience.

Since we then wrote, Mr. Goldwin Smith has published two lectures upon the Study of History, in which the same position is maintained with much more vigour, and we fear much less candour. If it were the object of his ambition also to give satisfaction to the rulers of his University, he could hardly have done better than publish addresses which seem better adapted for the pulpit of St. Mary's than the Chair of History, and which, with sundry allusions to his special study, are chiefly a panegyric of morality and religion. His lectures are no doubt very different from that of Mr. Kingsley. A veteran critic—*rude jam donatus*—is in the first place not likely to fall into the extravagances of a popular novelist. We are the very first to do justice to the many excellences this work possesses. Mr. Goldwin Smith is clearly master of a power of expression which has scarcely a rival amongst us. His language has a native strength and purity which rises not seldom into true poetry. He is, too, obviously possessed by real convictions, and a genuine enthusiasm for moral greatness. These lectures have fine thoughts stamped in noble words. There is much with which we heartily sympathize, especially with some admirable examples which he gives us of the theory which he has undertaken to condemn. But, unfortunately, nervous English is not philosophical acumen. Wit is not the ultimate test of truth. And, above all, very decided principles are not the same thing as candour or temper. We do not see that the view of history here propounded is at bottom less confused and inconsistent than Mr. Kingsley's. He at any rate was obviously anxious to do justice to his opponents, and was uniformly courteous. If he occasionally wandered into the language of sermons, he never descended into that of a pamphleteer. But, so far as the argument goes, what we have here is radically the same. We have here the same misconception of the theory attacked, the same confusion about physical science, and even greater admission of the point in dispute.

Now it is impossible to regard the Oxford Professor as an independent reasoner, when we see the use he makes of his position. He opens his two lectures with a pungent apology for Christianity, and ends them with a still more pungent controversy on the attri-

butes of God. We have here the same subjects we find in a Bampton Lecture. We have, in a pamphlet of ninety pages, nearly all the leading problems in theology, morals, and metaphysics. Amongst the preliminary questions disposed of are the attributes of the Creator and the character of Christ—the origin of evil, and a future state—the immortality of the soul, and the sanctions of morality—the doctrines of free will and necessity—the philosophy of the absolute and the theory of the Unconceivable. Comte and Hegel, Mr. Mansel and Mr. Mill, Mr. Buckle and Mr. Darwin, are refuted in successive paragraphs, or tossed upon the horns of a lively dilemma. And all this in two lectures upon the Study of History! And *à propos* of a proposal to reduce that study to a method.

We do not wish to be misunderstood; we are far from denying to the lecturer the right to engage in any theological argument he pleases. We welcome any man who will profess a conscientious belief. We quite think that his belief is conscientious. What we complain of is, that a philosophical question should be treated with the animus of a theological partisan. We protest against its discussion being made subservient to any religious controversy; and we very much complain of the impatient spirit with which this is done. Now what the undergraduates may say to getting extra University sermons, we cannot conceive. All that concerns us is to insist that a purely philosophical question should be treated upon its own merits. We intend to put it exclusively upon that ground, and we think that any one who removes it from that ground loses his right to be heard. That the facts of human society are capable of scientific treatment, is a view which, to say the least, is maintained by some of the most influential modern writers, and is adopted in greater or less degree by a wide and increasing number. Now it pleases the Oxford Professor to denounce this theory as a base materialism, and rank profanity. Those who support it are treated as the enemies of the human race, and are devoid of all the higher instincts of our nature. In a perverse generation the warning voice of the preacher is heard. One voice, at least, shall be heard to uphold morality, religion, and common sense. "Truth, morality, God, are swept away," he cries aloud against one of his opponents—indeed, a brother lecturer. In fact, he has pretty hard words, and some still harder insinuations, for them all. It is refreshing in these days to see a man in such very downright earnest. It is rare to see a genuine passion for a scientific idea. Apply induction to history, indeed! No, cries the Professor: better to be a blade of grass at once. "Try a new method of reasoning," we say—"and sink into a brute," he adds. So is it that a metaphysical discussion is spiced with the famous old epithets,

and "Atheist," "Pantheist," "Materialist," and "Antichrist," enliven an inquiry into the function of induction.

The fact is, that the tone of the lecturer occasionally recalls that of those painful people who are possessed of a mission. One would suppose that Providence had raised him up as a sort of Voltaire on the orthodox side. Here and there it seems as if he had conceived the ingenious idea of sneering religion into favour. As the famous Methodist thought the Devil ought not to have all the good tunes, so he seems to think it a pity to let him have all the bon-mots! Obviously, caricature may be available in the actual state of the Church. He apparently supposes that men are to be made religious by a vigorous application of fun and hard names. Accordingly he has determined to turn his singular powers of ridicule to moral and religious topics, with the intention of satirizing mankind into true belief, and counteracting the tendencies of the age by a sort of burlesque of modern philosophy.

He seems to possess a personal antipathy against what he calls materialism—but what the world calls the progress of scientific ideas. What Reform was to Mr. Croker—what the Revolution is to M. Veuillot—that Materialism is to Mr. Goldwin Smith. It lurks in our popular theories, and pervades our ordinary phrases. The very words "development," "growth," "organization," and "law," savour of it. Of course, such writers as Mr. Mill, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Darwin, or Mr. Buckle, are the very high priests of abomination. M. Comte, of course, is a sort of Ari-manes, or Principle of Evil. In accordance with this singular view, we are told of "the prevailing passion for degrading humanity to mere clay;" of men who desire to "repose under the tranquil reign of physical necessity, to become a part of the material world." We hear of nothing but the "physical school of philosophy," and the "physical theory of the universe," and "materialism," and "scientific atheism," and a "mad mysticism," and of our becoming "a mere grain in the mass of being," whatever that may mean, and of the extinction of all sympathy, self-exertion, and effort, and all the other dreadful things with which the metaphysicians of the last century and the theologians of every century threaten all who dispute their propositions.

We are accustomed to all this from the pulpit. But is this a very enlightened tone for a philosophical discussion? Now is this the language which thinking men use when they are arguing upon the logic of the moral sciences? The doctrine of causation, or what he calls the physical theory as applied to society, is maintained by no one more thoroughly than Mr. Mill. Is this the sort of style in which his system is examined at Oxford? We trow not. Is all this a rational picture of contemporary thought? Who is this that reproves our age for "the prevailing

passion for degrading humanity to mere clay"? Seriously, is this much better than mere academic bombast? One would suppose that he only was left as the Prophet of the Lord amidst the priests of Baal—an Abdiel amidst the rebel angels. For our part, we must say that we do not see around us these degrading passions. We do not think that the public regards the scientific thinkers of the day as so utterly demoralizing. We recommend that serious systems of philosophy should be discussed without caricature; and, on the whole, all this seems to us rather like tilting at windmills.

But there is one feature of the method here employed which strikes us as decidedly unfair. It is the way in which the most different possible theories are confounded together. The view of a true development being observable in history is common to a crowd of very opposite thinkers, and is held by many very orthodox believers. Yet men with very little else in common are all here consigned to the limbo of Materialism. One would almost suppose that they are all—*ex hypothesi*—atheists, even if not converts to the religion of M. Comte. Now, in the first place, we think no fair reasoner would, without explanation, make Positivism identical with Atheism, seeing that Comte expressly repudiates Atheism as “the most irrational form of theology.” But to let this pass, why is Mr. Buckle a Positivist? He has told us how far he agrees with M. Comte, which it seems to us is very little. It is difficult to say which of them would most strongly repudiate the title. But, after all, the application of causation to society is adopted by men who have no other thing in common with M. Comte even philosophically. Of course his is a very unpopular name, and the convenient synonym for his system tells with the public, especially with an ecclesiastical public. But we do not like attempts to put down philosophical theories by a sort of terrorism, and dispose of them by raising a cry of “Mad dog!” The constant use of the sibilant reminds us too much of the way in which the *Record* croaks out “Jesuit” when it quarrels with a clergyman. It reminds us too much of the ingenious divine at Cambridge who urged his religious principles upon a friend with a horsewhip. Theories of history must be examined on their own merits, and not by pointing a sarcasm with the sacred name. Besides which, in philosophical discussions, we respect a really thoughtful discrimination between the various theories discussed. The scientific view of history is maintained from a multitude of different points of view. It is not to be exploded by indiscriminate satire or by a volley of bon-mots. Its leading exponent in England is, as we have said, Mr. Mill. As applied to him, the language here used is an obvious extravagance. Men are not to be made responsible for all they have offered as well

as for all they have maintained. Whilst we doubt whether the doctrine of development can be settled by a few jokes about the Positivist calendar, we do not think M. Comte's vast philosophy of history will be demolished by small fun about Mr. Buckle's theory of food.

Now there is one piece of advice which we wish to give to the Professor. It is this. When a man comes forward as a very vehement defender of the faith, it would be becoming to profess some decent respect for the orthodox system which he maintains. Plenty of invective against unbelievers in general, we have, and much also about the morality of the Gospel, but not one word about doctrines, creeds, or Bible. We have no wish whatever to scrutinize any man's religious belief, but we can only remark, that in this vehement attack upon unbelief, Christianity is uniformly regarded as a "moral system," and not as a "scheme of redemption." For all that we read here, the lecturer might not hold a single doctrine of the Church, though, of course, with his official position, he does hold them all. Yet the way in which he talks about "churches passing away," and the importance of dogmas and formulas, would make orthodoxy uneasy. We are not sure that his language even about "the Founder of Christianity," and the "Christian Type," and the "Christian Example" is strictly evangelical. He tells us "we must put ourselves in the position of listeners to the Sermon on the Mount, and regard the religion in its original essence as a new principle of action and a new source of spiritual life." Why this is exactly that proposal of those with whom the orthodox world is so indignant. We hope the lecturer has no hard words for them, or he must be a perfect Bedouin of theology. But the orthodox do not now take up this position. They set to work to prove the verbal inspiration, and the Mosaic cosmogony, and the doctrine of Atonement. The Professor must be aware that what the dispute has turned on, is the authority of the Bible, the miracles, the doctrines of original sin, vicarious sacrifice, and eternal damnation. What he makes of these, we cannot say; but he tells us in a third lecture about a Christendom which is approaching, "stripped indeed of much that is essential to religion in the eyes of polemical theologians." We are far from objecting to all this. We respect this purpose, and believe it to be sincere. But we think the man who uses this language should be more sparing in attack, and should remove from it every trace of bitterness. The world, we think, will pass its judgment on one who, in the heat of his attack upon scepticism, throws over dogmas and churches, says bitter things about the pure morality of the Gospel, which was never denied, and, abandoning all the outworks of the faith, falls back foaming with wrath upon a religion of love.

We can assure the lecturer that we have no intention of entering upon any religious discussions. We honour the Christian virtues as much as he does, and regard them as part of civilization itself. But the question at issue between us is a scientific, not a religious one. We may say at once, that we are neither Atheists, Pantheists, Positivists, nor Materialists; yet we do adopt the scientific theory of history: and we think that the opinion, that human affairs proceed on intelligible methods is not likely to be exploded by appeals to cling to the morality of the Sermon on the Mount.

We now proceed to point out instances of the spirit of which we complain, and we commence with one which seems to combine nearly all of the Professor's faults at once. We find in the second page the following remark. "It has been said that Christianity must be retrograde, because instead of looking forward it looks back to Christ. It is not easy to see why it is more retrograde to look back to the Source of a higher spiritual life in Christ, than it is to look back to the source of all life in Mr. Darwin's monad." Now we cannot see the meaning of this strange religious squib. What has the theory of history to do with Mr. Darwin's monad? We confess we can see neither analogy nor argument. Does any school, any human being, look back to Mr. Darwin's monad? Does any one worship it as a type for our imitation as the Giver of life, as an object of love, prayer, or obedience? Where is the analogy between a scientific hypothesis and the second Person of the Trinity? Really, all this seems to us very foolish and not very reverent. We can hardly understand the state of mind of a man who can suppose that religion can be advanced by so miserable a joke. We can only imagine that the object is to place opponents in a repulsive light. It would certainly be very retrograde in physiology to hold up the monad as a type of the animal organism. We are not aware that it is supposed to awaken religious emotion in any sect whatever. So far as Positivism, indeed, is concerned, M. Comte repudiates "the cloudy discussions on the origin of animals." The whole passage, in short, is without meaning, or candour, or even wit. It turns solely on a sort of pun on the double sense of the word 'source,' firstly as the 'author' and then as the 'germ.'

We think we once saw this same idea in a journal, together with some fireworks about a 'church of animality' and 'African apes,' and 'monads,' and 'starch,' and so forth, which were somehow supposed to establish the truth of Christianity. If we remember rightly, the pious writer succeeded in turning the words of Christ himself into an epigram, flavoured Gospel-truth with personalities, and insisted upon "a religion of love" with considerable force of sarcasm. The bit of wit before us might be



in place in some academic *Charivari*. We can fancy the common rooms being quite tickled with this last new religious theory—the Sermon on the Mount done into bon-mots; but we must say we hardly expected to find a Professor prefacing a *Philosophy of History* by this strange fun. We must say that with us it prejudices every word that follows. We rather doubt after this that the writer is capable of seriously grappling with any system of philosophy, much less of criticising the theory of the Inconceivable. It sounds to us too much like the smart things which they say in the newspapers.

If this were a solitary specimen of his method of arguing, we should say less; but it is only the first of a series. The Professor undertakes to demolish the famous doctrine of M. Comte—the law of the three stages, the successive phases of the human intellect. For this purpose he repeats the old objection that the stages are not successive but simultaneous, and that the same minds are found using all together. Now surely, Comte invariably insists that the three stages have actually co-existed in nearly all minds. His theory never was that the mind, as a whole, passed through three stages, but that each separate conception and branch of knowledge did, and that in the order of the complication of the subject-matter. Indeed, he states his theory in nearly the same words in which the lecturer states the objection which is to destroy it; for he says, that a man takes a theological view of one subject, a metaphysical of another, and a positive of a third; nor did he ever pretend that one of these methods rigidly excluded the other. Most minds, he says, retain traces of all three, even in the same subject-matter; but qualifications of this kind cannot affect the law or the tendency. Beside which, the terms ought to be properly explained, which is not done here. By the Theological he does not mean the belief in God, because he includes in it Fetichism and Atheism. For the same reason, by the Positive he does not mean Atheistical. These terms, in fact, have been abundantly explained by their author. He says he means, by the Theological method, the explanation of facts by a spontaneous fiction of the imagination; by the Metaphysical, their explanation by a crude theory, or unverified hypothesis; by the Positive, the truly scientific explanation with a systematic verification. Of course, these methods flow into one another and are very rarely absolutely distinct. What an objector has really to show is this, that men use other methods of thought, or that they do not in the main use these successively in the order stated, and that in proportion to the complication of the subject-matter. This the lecturer has not done. Nor will it avail him to show that no epoch exactly corresponds with any of these three methods. It was never pretended that it was so. The theory was simply,

that in successive ages one or other of these methods is seen to predominate. Can he disprove this? The fact is, that a theory like this, involving the aggregate of all the reasoning powers, is not to be disposed of by putting special constructions on the terms in which it is expressed. He asks why the Positive is the last—that is, why scientific reasoning is the most complete. We wish he would suggest a fourth method—that is, some opinion which is neither spontaneous imagination, mere hypothesis, nor positive knowledge. The scientific state of the intellect is thought to be the last, because there is no instance on record of any mind, in any subject, passing out of that into a distinct and superior process of reasoning. We know there are processes thought to be superior, as indeed these lectures remind us; but we think these processes so far from passing out of the Scientific have not yet passed into it—and are, in fact, the Metaphysical.

The lecturer tells us that the same system makes “the scientific faculties and tendencies predominate in man.” Really, this is too bad. Every one who has read anything of Comte’s works, especially the later, knows that it is the very foundation of all his method to give the predominance to the moral faculties. It is useless to quote, because every line he has written would prove it. He regards it as the characteristic of his system. We can fancy a very careless reader of his first work being misled by his statement that the history of society must be explained chiefly by the history of human mind. But in the ‘*Politique*’ this apparent anomaly is elaborately discussed. He there shows that the intellectual, though subordinate to the moral qualities, must be studied mainly in history, because they show a more complex and regular development. “Of the human capacities,” he says, “the strongest (the moral) show no distinct law of evolution—the feeblest (the intellectual) are the ones of which it is most essential to ascertain the progress.” And yet, after this, this Professor deliberately tells us that Comte makes the intellectual predominate over the moral qualities. Having thus misstated his theory, let us see how he overthrows it. “Which view of science,” he asks, “was it that predominated in Attila and Timour?” And this in reply to a theory that the civilization of an age or people is to be directly attributed to its general intellectual condition, or, in the language of Mr. Mill, “that the order of progression in all respects will mainly depend on the order of progression in the intellectual convictions of mankind.” We abstain from comment upon this new mode of establishing the philosophy of history, which seems to us like stating an adverse theory by inverting it and answering it with a sneer.

There are various other instances we might quote of misconceptions, chiefly respecting M. Comte, which though not very

important seem to show the spirit in which criticism is conducted. For instance, he tells us that Positivists have made a sort of "demonology" of eminent reactionists. The sole ground for this is, that in the first publication of his "Calendar," we understand M. Comte marked two names, those of Julian and Napoleon, as worthy of general condemnation. He soon regretted and expunged this very mild imitation of the Commination Service, and his "Calendar" has since invariably appeared without it. Next he tells us, that the same system being guided by success, "con-signs to infamy the memory of men who, though they fell, fell struggling in a noble cause, and have left a great and regenerating example to mankind." Now, if he is thinking of Brutus and Cassius, opinions will differ about the regenerating example of assassination; but we think it fair to point out that, so far from worshipping success, the "hagiology" contained the names of men like Demosthenes, Hannibal, the Gracchi, Coligny, and Koskiusko, who all fell and failed, and M. Comte is full of enthusiasm for many a great but unsuccessful cause. It is indeed an error to talk of his using an "historical morality." If he says "man is to be studied historically," he means the human faculties can only be exhaustively treated by watching them in action. To assert that his meaning is, that "whatever has been is right" is contradicted by every line he has written. If he speaks of success at all, is it only that sort of success which falls in with and promotes the great cause of human progress? Now, as we have said, we have no right to speak on behalf of Positivists. They must speak for themselves. We are not concerned to defend the religious system of M. Comte. Its recognised adherents must do that. We, perhaps, need not state that we do not keep for purposes of private devotion either "a monad" or an "African ape," but we are very much concerned to have philosophical theory dispassionately and fairly examined. In the same way, we must protest against the manner in which Mr. Buckle is similarly treated, whose views, however, we do not intend to endorse. "Other writers," we are told, "erect some one physical influence, the influence of race, of climate, of food, into a sort of destiny of nations." Mr. Buckle, indeed, who if not named is alluded to, may have exaggerated, especially in his first volume, these influences; but he expressly states his belief to be, that the human influences far overpower the physical and tend more and more to do so. Mr. Buckle may be in error, but at least he has devoted his life to conscientious labours. We have no wish to see philosophers disposed of by petulant epigrams, and we think a candid mind could see something in his work beside "the prevailing passion for degrading humanity to mere clay."

There is, however, one instance of misrepresentation which

touches us so nearly, that we are bound to state it. In a lecture subsequently published with which we are not dealing, the Professor alluding to an article in this Review, says "we have been told that Christianity almost stifled the political genius of Cromwell." Now we were speaking not of Christianity but of Judaism. We were pointing out the influence which some of the darker features of the Hebrew character exercised upon modern religion. We were contrasting the respective influence of the Old and New Testament, and were showing how largely the former had affected the Protestant mind, and as an instance we pointed out that it had given a tinge of fanaticism even to the mind of Cromwell. Every word in the passage and paragraph refers expressly to Judaism as contrasted with Christianity. And yet our critic can tell us in the same passage, that Cromwell's Christianity was tainted with Judaism, which is precisely what we were saying. We consider this a plain case of misquotation. We well know that Mr. Goldwin Smith is utterly incapable of conscious misstatement. This serves only to show into what want of care controversy can draw an honourable man.

The above are a few specimens of the misrepresentations which have led us to criticize these Lectures. There is so much with which we heartily agree, and that with which we disagree may be so easily left to itself, that we should hardly have noticed it but for the tendency it exhibits to deal with questions in an off-hand spirit. We object to see such genuine force of conviction and such extraordinary powers of statement made use of with so little care and moderation. We are far from thinking this temper incompatible with very serious purpose and even an honest love for truth, and very noble sympathies; but the handling of philosophical questions requires more patience, more reflection, and more candour. We should like seriously to ask the lecturer whether he doubts, upon reflection, that the principal objects of his criticism are men just as honest in the pursuit of truth as himself, with just as sincere a love for moral greatness; whether he has thoroughly weighed and thoroughly understood their respective systems as a whole, and whether he supposes philosophy or religion can be benefited by speaking of them invariably in the terms most certain to be odious?

We are the more anxious to protest against this spirit, because it occasionally bears slight traces of resemblance to a style very prevalent now-a-days, which seems to us to be doing some harm. There flourishes a species of literature (if we may be pardoned for a mere digression) which seems to regard all things in heaven and earth as mere raw material for epigrams. According to this school, art consists in pitching on some funny point on the surface of the subject, which is made a peg for a string of witticisms.

The favourite "mot" is worked and twisted inside out, until little intelligible meaning remains. A man who starts a discussion on the logic of the moral sciences, will at once find himself pelted with "African apes," and "Darwinian monads," and "Positivist grandmothers," until he might suppose himself in the midst of a sort of literary grinning-match. The process is simple enough. The art consists in grinning down your opponent. You select that point which seems to you most easily made ludicrous, and then you have to place it in an odious light. You may be a very good fellow yourself, but you have to represent yourself as a perfect cynic, and incapable of a gentle feeling. You must be particularly gruff with women. It shows that you are superior to cant. Parallels are useful: they show scholarship. You should compare the statesmen of the day to Wat Tyler and Titus Oates, and foreign monarchs to Attila and Heliogabalus. With religion you need not trouble yourself: it will suffice to be generally pungent and funny. If you think a man a baboon, say so. If you differ from an opinion, call it execrable. If you speak of a man, do so as if he had done you a deadly wrong. It gives brilliancy to the style. Personalities are permissible, if you are master of Greek. Should you know a bit of gossip, out with it: it will certainly amuse; besides, it might give pain. In a word, you will assume that whatever you disagree with, which will naturally include most things, is utterly grotesque and foul, and of course if you think so you must say so in plain terms. We must say that we are rather tired of this sort of thing. It is quite Americanising our literature. It is so eternally smart. Jestings, like other things, grows spasmodic; and we do not want men to be cudgeling their brains all day to imitate Junius. There are other things in the world besides sardonic common sense and grim fun, and we should like to see it remembered that courteousness, thoughtfulness, and sympathy are not yet utterly unmanly.

But to return: we admit that it is only occasionally, as if uncontrollably, that this spirit gets the better of the lecturer, whose usual tone is that of a man serious — nay, solemn. Having pointed out the faults of manner of which we complain, we proceed to deal with the main purpose of these lectures. It is, as we have said, to repudiate the application of scientific methods to reasoning upon human affairs. The entire argument is made to rest upon the doctrine of free will. Man, we are told, is free. His actions are not governed by motives, because he is free to select what motive of action he pleases. Hence his will acts by a process which cannot be reduced to regular induction, to definite laws, or intelligible methods. There is in the will an element which obeys no rules we can conceive,

and which is utterly mysterious. It is arbitrary, irregular, and inexplicable. Hence systematic observation and methodical calculation are impossible, because the facts observed possess a wayward power which transcends every known process of human reasoning. Hence all certainty, all science, and all fore-knowledge, even, it seems, that of God himself, become impossible.

Hence all attempts to discover laws in history are idle, for with this mysterious element there can be no invariable methods of action and no regular principles. Development, certainty, and science in social affairs are impossible. To assert them is to reduce man to the reign of physical necessity, and to degrade him into clay. If man's future is to depend on "laws," it must be rigidly fixed, and all moral responsibility and judgment, nay, all sympathy, are extinguished. Even effort, purpose, and forethought are absurd. Virtue, gratitude, and devotion vanish. Morality, truth, and religion become mere names. Life is a dreary fatalism. Man is absorbed into the material universe, and becomes "a grain in the mass of being." He rots in cold obstruction, and yields himself up in apathy to a horrible "phantasmagoria of fate."

Now before yielding to this remarkable nightmare, would it not have been better if the Professor had asked himself if this was in any sense a fair representation of the theory in question? Is it probable, or even possible, that some of the finest minds amongst us should be the slaves of so coarse a delusion? Has he not proved too much? Has he not, in his eagerness, stretched his refutation to a point where it becomes itself ridiculous? The writer who in this country has most powerfully maintained this theory is Mr. Mill. It is the principal feature of his principal work. Is Mr. Mill then, of all writers, the one who systematically degrades the human character? Does he place man below the brutes, the victim of a dark fate? Is the author of the work on "Liberty" this prophet of blank apathy? Does he teach the hopelessness of effort, the extinction of all character, and surrender of all moral dignity? Or to take another instance: a recent, though we think far from safe, exponent of the same theory is Mr. Buckle, the object of a singular antipathy on the part of the Professor. Is his view of history and society utterly devoid of sympathy with character? is it a mere catalogue of material laws? does it show nothing but a dreary fatalism? Mr. Grote and Mr. Milman are, beyond all question, our two greatest modern historians. Yet both their histories are written strictly upon a theory which our Oxford Professor of History tells us reduces mankind to a lifeless atom, and extinguishes the very ideas of character, morality, and sympathy.

Of all the philosophical characteristics of Mr. Grote's great

work, that of a profound conception of the laws of society is the most prominent, and yet we think few will say that on his theory of history, all love of human greatness, all interest in character and the long struggle of humanity, is impossible. Sir Cornewall Lewis holds no mean place amongst our thinkers. Is he, too, this dark and gloomy fatalist? Yet his works on politics and history are absolutely based upon the theory which the Professor tells us is the negation of every attribute of man. We might add many instances, for there is hardly a philosopher and hardly a popular teacher who does not in some form adopt the theory in question. We must say, that if this be so dreary a materialism, the world of our day must be in a sad way.

Or if the lecturer means to confine his argument to the particular school of M. Comte (which he cannot reasonably do) the case is hardly mended. A principal exponent of his philosophical system in England, Miss Martineau, has, we think, written enough to show that it is possible to be a very ardent adherent of that system without losing all power of interest in human effort, character, or suffering, and without representing mankind as a plaything of necessity. But to come to M. Comte himself. We can understand a variety of objections to his theory of history. But of all conceivable objections, none is so preposterous as to argue that he extinguishes all sympathy with human greatness—that he ignores the force of the human will, or degrades the moral character and moral powers. Most of all, it is preposterous to tell us that he subordinates man to the material world, or represents him as incapable of influencing and even creating his own destiny. Where in the whole range of philosophy can we find more intense sympathy with all greatness, suffering, and effort, a deeper sorrow for wasted powers, a loftier hope of a higher destiny for the race? Yet this is the man we are now told whose system extinguishes every quality of man, and stamps him as a blind puppet of a phantasmagoria of fate.

But if those who support the theory of causation in human affairs see with satisfaction an Oxford Professor attacking it with all the extravagance of despair, still more hopeful must they feel when they observe the method of his attack. That theory is being established by an immense induction of facts, by countless separate testimonies, and the whole current of modern thought, as seen in every popular idea and phrase. From this ground the Professor withdraws, and takes his last stand on a metaphysical puzzle. All the thousand examples of actual laws observed in society, and the instinctive bent of all speculation, around us, to push these observations still further, are to give way to a mere bit of abstract logic. We are asked to reject the conclusions of the principal thinkers of our time, to contradict

the evidence of mankind, by a few of the old dilemmas of the controversies of the last century. The whole argument of the Professor rests upon his theory of free will. This is the cloud-land into which a keen practical reasoner has been forced to withdraw. There, indeed, we decline to follow him. Our readers will hardly expect that we are about to stir the deep dust that buries the tomes upon free will and necessity. We are not about to dispute his doctrine of free will by contending for that of necessity.

We thought that the two dogmas had mutually slain each other, and lay side by side in an honourable grave. We hardly expected to find them dragged forth into the light in this age and for this purpose. But the Professor seems to us to ignore the whole history of this famous controversy. He actually seems to think that the puzzle of ages is at last solved, or at least may be by a few vigorous epigrams. He tells us with triumph that the science of history is based upon the "quicksand" of free will, and seems quite to forget that his whole refutation is based upon the same quicksand too. If the theory of free will is a quicksand, as we verily believe it to be, it must be equally treacherous to both sides. He may maintain any theory of free-will he pleases, but he will hardly pretend that it is generally received.

The fact is, that his theory of history is built upon the assumption of a postulate which has been denied by the greatest intellects, and by ages of metaphysicians, moralists, and theologians. And this is not a branch of his argument, but it is the very root and substance of it. Not merely is it based upon a metaphysical dogma, but upon the most contested and misty of all the dogmas in metaphysics. If there is one question upon which less certainty reigns than another, it is this; and it is precisely this dogma upon which the Professor bases his whole philosophy of history. He may assume his own view to be true, but he must be aware that upon all who reject it, and they are the bulk of the thinking, as well as of the religious, world, his argument is totally lost. If the question of the application of science to history is to await the solution of the great metaphysical problem, it may have another fourteen centuries of interminable debate before it. He may think that the scientific view of history accepts the other horn of the dilemma—the doctrine of necessity. It does nothing of the sort. It stands upon its own proof. It leaves the antagonistic dogmas of metaphysics in their internecine struggle. It accepts and adopts the practical conclusions of both parties. The common sense of mankind seems to have assumed that the will possesses an immense power of subduing circumstances, forming character, and regulating action. All that has been said of its force, of its efforts, struggles, and independence, is taken in its



practical sense as beyond question; as a fact, all admit that man has his destiny in his own keeping. On the other hand, it is no less universally assumed that this will works by intelligible methods, consistently follows motives, is therefore a fit subject for methodical observation, systematic calculation, and scientific reasoning, and is compatible with (at least) Divine prevision. Now both of these two points of view are absolutely necessary to the scientific view of history. No theory can insist more strongly upon the power of the will. None more distinctly reconciles it with the possibility of prevision.

How these two are reconciled may still remain an insoluble problem in the eyes of metaphysicians, but it has now ceased to possess any interest or use. The practical issue is, that none believe the will to be the victim of circumstance, and none believe it to transcend the sphere of knowledge. In the system of a great metaphysician Free-will and Necessity are two contradictories, either of which is inconceivable. With our faculties, he says, it is equally impossible to conceive choice combined with certainty, as it is to conceive volition without a cause.

It is quite true that there have been writers who have literally taught a doctrine of fatalism, and others who have taught what we certainly call materialism. To ignore or to disparage the power of the will to modify its own character—the innate capacity of every man to be in the main what he wills to be, to act as he wills to act—in short, to form his life by the free exercise of his faculties, is no doubt a pernicious error which has been ages ago very vigorously taught. Much of the language of Hobbes and Spinoza is, perhaps, open to this criticism. To exaggerate the influence of the external world upon man, to attribute to his circumstances or his fellows the exclusive control over character or action, is no doubt a very fatal error which has also been maintained. Montesquieu and his school, or such men as Priestley, Goodwin, or Owen, may be fairly open to such a charge as this. We are ready to join in vigorous repudiation of any such view. Anything which tends to deny to man the fullest power to develop his own faculties, to control his own life, and form his future, we are ready to condemn. Against such disputants the language of these lectures about man being the puppet of circumstances, the victim of a physical necessity, the plaything of a phantasmagoria of fate, may have some meaning. And if any one held such opinions, this language might have an object. But no one in this day holds any such theory, least of all those who adopt the scientific theory of history. All its principal exponents have most carefully guarded against such an assumption. And to tell us that the historical theories of men like M. Comte and Mr. Mill are

rank fatalism, degrade man to clay, and annul human effort, is nothing, we think, but a piece of barren mystification.

But to proceed to the arguments upon which this theory is conducted. The Professor starts with telling us that "whatever there is in action will be everywhere present in history, and the founders of the new physical science of history have to lay the foundations of their science in what seems the quicksand of free will." Now here at the outset we must protest against the term "science of history." The Professor tells us that though there is no science, there is a philosophy of history. We are not aware that any supporters of the theory he is attacking have ever spoken of a science of history. So far as M. Comte is concerned, he always calls his work the "Philosophy of History." Besides, why physical? This is a mere begging the question. The point contended for is, that the inductive method is applicable not only to the physical but to the moral sciences. If he means that the term science is only applicable to things physical, why does he himself talk of economical and mental sciences? If he admits that an inductive system is possible in the moral as well as the physical world, how does its introduction in history constitute a physical science? In truth, we fear the term is used merely to rouse a prejudice and insinuate materialism. But to proceed: the founders of a scientific theory of history do most certainly not lay its foundation in the quicksand of free will. They meet a metaphysical objection on its own ground. But their theory is no more based upon any theory of necessity than it is on any theory of the origin of evil.

We will, however, follow the argument when fairly launched into the quicksands of free will. Our knowledge of it, it seems; is deduced from consciousness, and then we are asked, from what source those who repudiate its existence derive the knowledge of their own existence. Surely the school which denies to consciousness the authority to establish any absolute freedom of the will, rejects its authority for any other absolute doctrine whatever. They would say that consciousness can only prove that we feel that we exist, and in the same way may prove that we feel that we are free: upon which we all agree. Consciousness cannot tell us anything about the process by which we exist, or came into existence, or the process by which we will. Besides, what is it we learn from consciousness? That we are not under Necessity; that our will does not struggle against something it resists, it might tell us. But necessity is not alleged. What is alleged is, that our wills are determined by our characters and our circumstances. Can consciousness tell us they are not? How can consciousness tell us that the will is unaccountable, and works upon methods which the reasoning faculties cannot

deal with? That is the real point which it is called in to prove. We might almost as soon expect it to satisfy us about the anatomy of the body.

Next we are told that unless we accept this Freedom, or unaccountability of the will, we must believe in Necessity; and if necessity does not mean the connexion between cause and effect, what is it to mean? The word has a very distinct meaning. From Locke downwards metaphysicians have shown that it means, in ordinary language, compulsion from without overcoming resistance from within. Now we assert nothing of this kind respecting the will. We think it a misuse of language to apply this term, except metaphorically, to the normal exercise of the faculties. Why force upon us a term which expresses an idea we never suggest? At any rate, find some other word which expresses compulsion overcoming resistance. The will is free, and is only free when it can work under the conditions of its nature; that is, when no necessity exists to constrain it. If none exists, it will infallibly follow those conditions. We call man free when he can fairly develop his natural faculties. It seems a misuse of language to say that in doing so he is constrained by his natural faculties. His various powers work freely when they follow mutual relations. Is freedom impossible unless they are independent of relations? In a word, the will is free when it can act according to the constitution of our moral nature, and it would be under necessity if it could not.

We are favoured with an answer to the old objection, that an absolute belief in Free will—that is, the unaccountability of the will—conflicts with the belief in the omniscience of the Creator; that if free will is incompatible with the certainty of science, it must be no less incompatible with the certainty or foreknowledge of God. We cannot but think the answer which he gives us is a strange one. "The real answer," he says, "seems to be this—that the words omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, though positive in form, are negative in meaning. They mean only that we know not the bounds of the knowledge, power, or presence of God." This, we must say, seems to us rather like evasion. It sounds like that theory of the Inconceivable which, he tells us later, sweeps away "morality, truth, God." Is Providence, then (which is omniscience and omnipotence combined), negative in meaning? Does the whole mean that men are not sure what He knows or does not know? They cannot say but that He knows this or that. But how, if this is orthodox theology, does it meet the argument—which is this: "What you are about to do, free as you are, is certain. It must be certain, because it is known to God. For to him all things are known." And then comes the answer: "No: when we say all things are known to

Him, we mean we do not know the bounds of His knowledge—we do not know in what sense He knows it." This is the way in which the question, "Does He know the thing you are about to do?" is answered. We might reply in his own words, "A rooted contradiction in our minds is not to be removed merely by denying us the use of the term in which the contradiction is expressed." We are sure that this is not strictly logical, and we think not strictly orthodox. This particular objection, indeed, is one we rather like. It seems to us a mode in which metaphysicians may be answered according to their metaphysics. The dilemma is strictly inextricable. No sophistry can solve it. If man is absolutely free to choose, and this absolute freedom makes any certain prevision impossible, God himself cannot know what he will choose; and the Professor is hardly sure that He does. No refining about the meaning of omniscience will alter the matter. "Omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence, negative in meaning," indeed! We shall almost expect to hear next, that God's mercy, justice, and truth, nay, creation and Creator, are ideas negative in meaning.

After all, there is nothing like putting this argument in a concrete form, where metaphysical riddles are impossible. You say,—God knows what will take place a thousand years hence, that He knows it all certainly, that He knows it all minutely. If He does not, if you doubt it for an instant, if you only mean negatively that He does, then what do you mean by Providence? Providence has a positive meaning—that He has actually foreseen and provided for the smallest incident. Then it follows that the world's future to Him at least is certain. If so, the freedom of man's will to choose is compatible with a pre-determined result. In other words, our consciousness of the freedom of the will can offer no objection to a science of human society which it does not offer to the foundation of theology.

Having in one paragraph undermined all natural religion, in the next the Professor upsets every recognised theory of the formation of character. It will not avail, he says, to cite the moral certainty with which we predict conduct resulting from settled character. For this settled character was the result of action which was free, and therefore retains the uncertain element out of which it was formed. Now, surely this is to overthrow the established theory of habit, at least as old as Aristotle,—that cases occur in which acts within our control lead by constant repetition to a character from which flow (until the character is altered, or the circumstances wholly changed, which are obviously within our observation) acts which have passed out of our control. Are we certain that a man of perfect honour will not commit an act of treachery? No, says the Professor, certainly not; for the character of honour

was formed by a long course of action, of each step of which we could not be certain. Therefore the uncertain element remains. But it seems to us, that to take this as a universal rule is far more than can be established. Why does the existence of a certain element in each action by which character is formed, require the existence of the same element in the character when formed? There was, for instance, a struggle in the action; will there be any in the character? Besides, it is here admitted that there is a moral certainty by which we predict the future conduct of nations and men. We may say that, as we do not want certainly to predict acts but tendencies, we need no more. Let us examine, too, what this moral certainty implies. Does it not imply that if our belief falls short of absolute or scientific certainty, it is merely that we have not got all the necessary facts to observe? Certainly not that there is an inherent uncertainty about that which we have observed. How could we feel moral certainty about actions, whilst we really believed that the entire nature of the action was such as possessed no uniformity? How feel moral certainty, without a single certain rule at any step of a long reasoning process? It seems to us that the Professor is here putting the unaccountability of the human will far higher than was ever attempted by metaphysicians. Few, we think, have contended for more than that the individual acts by which we form our characters are inscrutable. None, we think, deny the certainty of fixed characters, and the strict relation they bear to their consequent acts.

Then settling deeper in the "quicksand" of Free will, the argument continues. Action, he says, is a choice between motives. It follows *a* motive, but how are we to tell *which* motive it will follow? The only ground we have for calling one motive the strongest, is that it has prevailed before; but this is set aside in every great change of conduct by an effort of the will for which some other antecedent must be found. Why, of course, a new motive. Does the Professor suppose that a man who habitually follows a certain motive will cease to do so, whilst all the circumstances, including his own state of mind, are absolutely unchanged (and a change in either is a new motive)? If so, men would cease to be responsible for their actions. "Action is a choice between motives." Then, if so, the choice determines the motive, and not the motive the choice. If the mind is inclined antecedently to the inducement (and to choose a motive, it must be antecedently inclined), what is the use of the motive? Man can act without motive, if volition precedes the motive. Why does he need the influence of any inducement, if he is free to choose under which influence he will fall? The fact is, the Professor is here simply confounding motives with courses of action. Action is no doubt

a choice between several possible courses in obedience to the strongest motive. There are, indeed, other grounds for calling a motive the strongest, beside that of its having prevailed previously. The state of the mind to be influenced, the presence of a new or extraordinary counter-motive, are all elements in the calculation. The real history of all this is, that he is using the word motive in its vulgar and not in its philosophical sense. The motive to action, in the sense of the cause of action in all such arguments, comprises the whole of the circumstances which precede action, both the inducements presented to the mind and the condition of the mind on which they act. In that sense, and in that sense only, does action follow its motive. No one ever pretended that action could be predicted from a knowledge of mere external inducements. What the theory really is, is this—that, given a complete knowledge of the habitual character, and the actual condition of mind of any person, and all the motives influencing the mind, with their relative degrees of force, the resulting act could be predicted. It is no objection to say that those data are impossible to procure. The only point we have to prove is, that action is invariably determined by the manner in which definite ends affect the moral nature. To make a science of society possible, it is only necessary to add to this, that on a great scale, and to establish only general tendencies, the necessary information can be obtained.

But, proceeds the Professor, "When the action is done, the connexion between it and its motive becomes necessary and certain; and we may argue backwards from action to motive with all the accuracy of science." Then what is the objection to a science of history? In history we have the actions given us; then why may we not from them argue back to the motives—that is, show their necessary connexion with human faculties and circumstances, and that with all the accuracy of science? Besides, how can the connexion between action and its motive be necessary and certain, if each does not imply the other? Where necessary connexion exists, antecedent or consequent cause or effect being given, the other term is ascertained. It can make no difference from which end of the series we start. Where any set of conditions invariably precedes any result, that set of conditions must invariably be followed by that result. Anything which interfered with this consequence would be a new condition introduced. If given a certain action, we know that certain antecedents invariably preceded it; given those antecedents, we can ascertain the action. Here, again, it seems his limited use of the word "motive" misleads him. His instance is peculiarly unfortunate. "Finding at Rome a law to encourage tyrannicide, we are certain that there had been tyrants at Rome." We are certain of nothing of the

kind. There might have been tyrants at Greece, from whence the law may have been copied, or there might have been no tyrants at all, and the Romans may have thought prevention better than cure; or the law might have arisen out of a misconception of a tradition, or may have been a mere whim. In short, it may have arisen in fifty different ways. The Professor forgets that, as there may be different motives each leading to different acts, there may be different motives all leading to one act. If it is impossible to know with certainty which motive a man will choose, why is it so easy to know certainly which motive he has chosen?

He next asks how, upon the Necessarian theory of action, we can account for the facts of our feeling free to act, of our approving or blaming our own acts by conscience, and of our approving or blaming the acts of others. So long as this assumption of necessity is forced into the question, it is impossible to argue it. If we could not help our acts, of course none of these things would be rational. But the causal theory never pretended that we cannot help our acts. To do so is Asiatic fatalism. On the contrary, that theory insists that our acts are caused mainly by our own characters, which are formed mainly by our own efforts. No analysis of the process by which this is done can affect the true freedom of the action, nor can the fact that it has a process at all. The truth is, the answer to all these three objections is the same. We feel free from external compulsion, and what that consciousness can prove to us is a question we have already examined. That the causal theory of action extinguishes praise and blame, conscience, sympathy, and effort, is repeated in these lectures in every variety of form. Now that theory merely requires that every action has a regular antecedent, such antecedent being mainly the disposition of the agent, and partially the circumstances in which he is placed. Praise and blame are simply the judgment we pass upon the exercise of the moral qualities—that is, the disposition of the agent. How then does a theory which simply establishes a strict relation between the disposition and the act interfere with praise and blame—our moral judgment upon the disposition? On the contrary, it much strengthens it. The more certain we are that the act was caused by a certain disposition, the more sure we feel in judging the disposition from the act. In our own case we generally do this with complete confidence. The less means we have of connecting a certain act with a certain disposition, the less able are we to judge. Indeed, when very uncertain, as in cases of mania, we cease to judge at all. “If the will is guided by motives, why do we praise or blame?” It might be sufficient to answer, that praise and blame form part, and a very essential part, of the motives. We find in practice that praise and blame lead to certain results. The more

certain we are that they will be followed by those results, the more certain should we be to use them as the means. If the theory of acts having regular antecedents went on to trace those antecedents wholly to something outside the agent, which is the Necessarian theory, we should no doubt cease, strictly speaking, to praise or blame; but it does not. It traces them up to the moral qualities. "Why do we not praise and blame the material world?" it is asked. Because it has not moral qualities. To ask why we praise or blame the exercise of moral qualities, is like asking why we love or hate. The only new feature now introduced into the analysis of the moral qualities is the theoretic possibility of predicting their action. How does certainty, regularity, or rationality in action, limit the liability to praise or blame? The more certain we are of future conduct, the more strongly do we praise and blame the character. If we are certain that a man will cheat, the more unreserved is our blame; if we are certain that he will not lie, the more complete our praise. Praise and blame vary directly, not inversely, with certainty. In the extremes, perfect uncertainty, as in mania, makes both impossible; the highest character we know is one in which we feel moral certainty. Yet, whilst moral certainty is the highest praise we can give, it is here pretended that the theoretic possibility of scientific certainty extinguishes praise and blame, and puts an end to character.

"How can we feel love or gratitude towards the necessary organ of a human progress?" the lecturer asks. Now that is a question which, since he adopts the doctrine of Progress, we should like to ask him. We suppose he means by the doctrine, that he is sure that the world will progress. Then why does he feel love or gratitude towards those who contribute to an end of which he is sure? He will say he does not mean a necessary progress. Neither do we. We do not mean a progress that the agents are forced into, but one which they are sure to adopt. "How can we feel gratitude to them more than to a fertilizing river?" he asks. We admit that this is a good epigram; in fact, the lecturer thinks it so good that he has indulged in it twice. But does it advance the argument? We feel gratitude towards a certain active disposition, a feeling which moves a person to do good to us or our kind. We do not perceive this feeling in fertilizing rivers. If they have it, they keep it to themselves. Now how does our certainty that this feeling will operate interfere with the sincerest gratitude? We are certain of the affection of a parent; we may believe in a given case that it is impossible that it should cease to exist, yet we are not less grateful. Men are certain of the providence of God: they call it a necessity of His existence, meaning that they cannot conceive Him otherwise; yet they do not cease to feel grateful.



Now surely all this is only a revival of a few old metaphysical dilemmas. Every one of these arguments may be found in any of the old discussions about Free will, urged, we think, with far greater subtlety, though not perhaps quite so tersely. We remember, indeed, almost the same logic, nearly in the same words, used in the controversy with Jonathan Edwards by the now forgotten Mr. Chubb. Had Mr. Chubb lived in this railroad age, he would have learned, no doubt, to dispose of the controversy in half a dozen smart sentences. He might have spared his learning, his ingenuity, and his labour. It is a strange instance of the discredit into which pure metaphysics have fallen, that an Oxford professor argues this question absolutely *de novo*, as though these ponderous discussions had never existed. It is quite right that they should be forgotten; but we must remember that the labour of so many lives will not be compressed into a few paragraphs.

Having seen how the Professor deals with metaphysics, let us see how he succeeds with science. And here we find it necessary to quote a passage which seems to us almost unique:—

“Great stress is laid by the Necessarians on what are called moral statistics. It seems that feel as free as we may, our will is bound by a law compelling the same number of men to commit the same number of crimes within a certain cycle. The cycle, curiously enough, coincides with the period of a year, which is naturally selected by the Registrar-General for his Reports. But, first, the statistics tendered are not moral, but legal. They tell us only the outward act, not its inward moral character. They set down alike under murder the act of a Rush or a Palmer, and the act of an Othello. Secondly, we are to draw some momentous inference from the uniformity of the returns. How far are they uniform? M. Quetelet gives the number of convictions in France for the years 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, severally as 4348, 4236, 4551, 4475. The similarity is easily accounted for by that general uniformity of human nature which we all admit. How is the difference, amounting to more than 300 between one year and the next, to be accounted for except by free will? But, thirdly, it will be found that these statistics are unconsciously, but effectually, garbled. To prove the law of the uniformity of crime, periods are selected when crime was uniform. Instead of four years of the Restoration, in which we know very well there was no great outburst of wickedness, give us a table including the civil war between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, the St. Bartholomew, the Reign of Terror, or the days of June, 1848. It will be said, perhaps, that this was under different circumstances; but it is a very free use of the term ‘circumstance’ to include in it all the evil and foolish actions of men which lead to, or are committed in, a sanguinary revolution. Social and criminal statistics are most valuable; the commencement of their accurate registration will probably be a great epoch in the history of legislation and government; but the reason why they are so valuable

is that they are not fixed by necessity, but variable, and may be varied for the better by the wisdom of governments—governments which Necessarians are always exhorting to reform themselves, instead of showing how their goodness or badness necessarily arises from the climate or the food. If the statistics were fixed by necessity, to collect them would be a mere indulgence of curiosity, like measuring all the human race when we could not add a cubit to their stature."

This passage seems to us so thick set with misconceptions that we can with difficulty believe it was intended for serious argument. It is hard to decide where criticism should begin. We presume, we hardly need say, that statistics of crime—avowedly dealing only with the political aspect of moral questions—are used for the sole purpose of proving that crime bears a fixed relation to the moral condition and peculiar circumstances of the people observed, and they are collected with the direct object of impressing on us the necessity of reducing the crime by improving the moral condition. Yet men are told by the Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, that their object is to show that "our will is bound by a law compelling the same number of men to commit the same number of crimes within a certain cycle." The law, indeed, is, that the same number of men, *with exactly the same characters*, and in exactly the same circumstances, will commit the same number of crimes; and the value of the law is this—that, as we can change the characters, we can in precisely the same proportion diminish the crime. "The cycle, curiously enough, coincides with the period of a year." Truly, a rare bit of wit. Does the Professor suppose the law—*i.e.* the relation—is less true of a period of ten years or six months? Some limits for the observation must be taken, we suppose. Why not tell us that the observation, curiously enough, coincides with the political division called France—or, curiously enough, applies only to murder or suicide? Surely this trick of jesting may become quite a monomania. Again, these statistics "tell us only the outward act." Did they ever profess to tell us more? So far as history is concerned, that is all that is required. As applied to character, they only profess to be rough notes and indications of tendencies. Next he asks, "How is the difference, amounting to more than three hundred, between one year and the next, to be accounted for, except by free will?" Why, by altered characters mainly, and varied conditions partially. How can the similarity be accounted for by free will in the Professor's sense, that is, the absence of invariable relation between character and act? Let us examine what these returns imply. They tell us that 40,000,000 wills, with an infinite change of disposition, variety of temptations, opportunities, and conditions existing every minute throughout an entire year, issue in acts which year after

year vary only as one in fifteen. Let us imagine the myriads of possible complications which these conditions afford, and then try, if we can, to doubt that if the entire character and disposition, and all the motives and circumstances of action, be known, the resulting act can be ascertained. Let us suppose, for instance, that the circumstances of one year were to be repeated in the next—that the same men, with characters absolutely unaltered, with every condition and circumstance identical—every purse as temptingly placed, every knife as ready, every instinct, passion, and pain as keen—can we doubt that precisely the same acts would be repeated, and the whole events of one year exactly correspond with those of the last? And this is all that is meant when it is said that human affairs are the subject of causation.

But he tells us “to prove the law of the uniformity of crime, periods are selected when crime is uniform”—the law of the uniformity of crime! Truly, this is the Nemesis of jesting. The only uniformity is the uniformity of the relation between crime and its cause. Given certain characters and conditions, there follow certain acts. Vary the characters and conditions, and you vary the acts. Very different characters and conditions are followed by very different results. The only thing uniform or constant in the whole process is the *relation*. “Periods are selected when crime is uniform.” Certainly, periods are selected when the characters and conditions are known to be very similar, as successive years in a very calm epoch, and the argument shows that these similar conditions are followed by very similar results. Reigns of Terror are not selected simply because the dispositions are so inflamed, and the conditions are so abnormal, and the data so intricate that all comparison becomes hopeless or useless. But the crime of a Reign of Terror bears precisely the same fixed relation to the characters of the men and the conditions producing it as does the crime of any period of stagnation. If the crimes are then immensely multiplied, it is because the causes of crime—the vices of character and the conditions which lead to it—are multiplied in an equal degree. In comparing the vital statistics of one country and another, we should not select years of pestilence or civil war, simply because the data are obscure; certainly not because we doubt the certain connexion between death and the causes of death.

Social statistics, he tells us, are valuable because “they are not fixed by necessity, but variable.” Does he seriously pretend that any man ever proposed social statistics except with a view of showing how intimate was the connexion between man and his acts, and how impossible it is to affect the acts unless by influencing the character? “Necessarians exhort governments to reform themselves, instead of showing how their goodness or bad-

ness necessarily arises from the climate or the food." This is the old sneer at Mr. Buckle, who, at least, if he has exaggerated the influence of external nature on national character has hardly less exaggerated that of institutions. "If statistics were fixed by necessity, to collect them would be a mere indulgence of curiosity." Who (except as a burlesque) ever supposed a statistician to mean that the actual figures of his returns were uniform, or to collect them with any other view than that of ultimately altering the proportion? Moreover, when statistics are fixed by necessity—i.e., we suppose, by physical causation—are they not often perfectly variable by man, and valuable for that reason? Sanitary statistics drawn from the physical laws of health are perfectly necessary in the Professor's sense, yet the collecting them is not found to be the mere indulgence of curiosity. On the contrary, we can vary them almost at pleasure by altering the conditions. Agricultural statistics drawn from the physical laws which govern the cultivation of the soil are fixed by necessity, yet they are studied in order that we may change them. Even when the statistics are not variable by man, as astronomical or meteorological statistics, the collecting them is anything but the indulgence of curiosity. On the contrary, where we cannot make use of the physical laws, we can at any rate withdraw ourselves and our property from their influence. In short, the subject of all physical science is, as the Professor would say, fixed by necessity or physical causation; and it is precisely this knowledge which enables us to obtain so complete a mastery over the phenomena of nature. Why, then, does the discovery of causation diminish our power over those of society? It would seem that the Professor's system reduces all science whatever to a mere indulgence of curiosity. We wish he would not be so hard upon this pardonable weakness.

A little further on he tells us that "it is worth remarking that an average is not a law: not only so, but the taking an average rather implies that no law is known." If we were giving a lecture upon History, we might perhaps reply, that it is just as well worth remarking that a policeman is not a law; not only so, but sending for a policeman implies that the law has been broken. The connexion is quite as close, i.e. it is verbal. "An average is not a law." Why we always thought an average was nothing but the mean of an aggregate of observations. A law is the relation between cause and effect, antecedent and consequent. What have these in common? The taking an average implies nothing about a law, one way or the other. We might take the average height of the police force quite irrespective of any cause or law whatever. When we compare a variety of causes with a variety of effects, we often compare the average of the causes with the average of effects. We might expect next year's crop to conform to the

average, but only on the assumption of the average of fine weather. Just so, an average state of education is followed by an average state of crime. But this is a mere artifice of calculation. The *law* is the relation (roughly taken) between one average and another. They have absolutely nothing more in common than the rule of subtraction and the rule of three. We may use one without the other, or use one to assist the other. We think it hardly complimentary to the understanding of the undergraduates, that the Professor should warn them against so incredible a blunder. Yet, indeed, we remember a similar warning in the inaugural address of the Regius Professor at Cambridge.

But he proceeds to explain more fully his theory of science. "We may pronounce at once that a complete induction from the facts of history is impossible. History cannot furnish its own inductive law. An induction, to be sound, must take in actually or virtually all the facts. But history is unlike all other studies in this, that she never can have actually or virtually all the facts before her. What is past she knows in part; what is to come she knows not, and can never know." Now, what study ever has all the facts before it actually or virtually? We always thought that induction was a process of reasoning from the known to the unknown. From a few known facts, others out of our reach are inferred. It can make no difference whether the result is future in time or not, so long as the data we require are before us. If an induction did take in all the facts, it would be no induction at all; it would add nothing to our knowledge, but would be, as Bacon says, "simple enumeration." Let us see how the process of such a science as astronomy differs from that proposed in social science. An astronomer observes the daily revolution of the earth, and he infers as a law that it will continue to revolve. The facts of its continued future revolutions are not before him actually or virtually: he infers them by a reasoning process. A social philosopher, observing in history man's uniform habit of forming societies, infers the law that man will continue to be a social being and form societies—a valuable inference made by Aristotle. Wherein does the reasoning process differ? He is not as certain of his inference as the astronomer, perhaps, because the facts are less easy to observe, and liable to far greater modification.

Neither science can give any abstract certainty. Both imply the assumption that what has been will be—the only basis of all human thought about phenomena. Doubtless, the conditions of human society change, whilst those of the planetary system are almost fixed. The planetary system itself is not absolutely fixed or free from unknown perturbations. The earth and all that is on it are in continual change. Nothing recurs in our system under exactly the same conditions as before. But to take a less

extreme case. An astronomer observes a new comet. He has before him but a few data respecting its course. The rest are absolutely unknown to him. He cannot be absolutely certain that this comet is like other comets, or possesses the same laws. Besides, comets have abnormal courses and very dissimilar ones. Yet he determines its course, establishing by induction the law of its progress—"what is past he knows in part, what is to come he knows not," but can by patient science discover. Against this calculation indeed, every one of the objections here brought against a science of society will apply. Can he tell that the course of the comet he is observing may not be the segment of some far wider course and depend on some higher law? How can he predicate of a comet laws at all? Is induction possible in anything so mysterious? Can he tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth? After all, how can his small observation be erected into a law—how can he be absolutely certain or talk of invariable rule? The fact is, in the abstract, no astronomer, no man of science, can say more than that, provided things go on as they are, certain results will follow. These are the conditions of human knowledge. Laws are relative, and express regularity only so far as we can observe.

Again, in forming an induction from social phenomena, it makes no difference, so long as we have the data we need, whether the result belongs to the past or the future. An astronomer will calculate an eclipse as easily for the next century as for the last. The data are given, the inference is drawn. So a social philosopher, with vastly inferior precision, can calculate the results of any given state of civilization in the future as in the past. When an historian speculates, without reference to minor complications, what would have been the general distant consequences of some set of events having happened differently in history (*e.g.* the triumph of Persia over Greece—this all historians do, and our Professor does excellently well), he is doing precisely the same as if he were to calculate the general future consequences of some actual set of events before him. In both cases he reasons from the known to the unknown, and forms an induction without having the facts either actually or virtually before him. What science ever has? Geologists reason about the earth's crust from a few data, without the least possibility of getting at all the facts. They form their laws by assuming many facts they can never ascertain. Meteorologists calculate the course of a storm; by starting from a few known observations, they establish the law of its course. How was the induction complete in this case? Professor Owen out of a few bones reconstructs an extinct animal. Had he all the facts before him? A mineralogist observes the bias of certain strata: he forms his induction, and discovers a

mine. A physician watches a pestilence sweeping over a continent: he ascertains some law, and predicts its arrival at a given spot at a given time. What is he doing but forming an induction from a few known facts to other unknown consequences? But here it may be objected, that each of these was guided in his induction by recorded observations of similar cases, and by general laws of the nature of the subject observed. Certainly; and it is precisely the same with the science of society. Here the Professor is misled by his own misuse of the term Science of History. Of course, there is no science of history. Of course, "history cannot furnish its own inductive law." Who ever supposed it could? The facts of history alone could never by mere inspection lead to a safe induction.

The science of society proposes to establish its laws, first by using the common laws, or call them tendencies, of human nature, and then by comparing these with the facts of the past. A traveller following the course of a mighty river, could never feel certain that if it had run northwards for even 1000 miles, it would continue the same course,—that this was the law of its course—although he would certainly have a most valuable empirical guide. But if he thoroughly knew the geographical conditions which determined its course, and had, over a vast tract, observed the manner in which it obeyed their influence, he could then form a really scientific, though far from an exact notion as to its future course. It might be that this law might prove to be largely in error; but he would be, indeed, void of all common sense if he refused to guide his future journeys by this, the only help which he possessed. Used only as an illustration, something of this kind is true of the social science. It has followed a mighty stream for ages, and has watched the course which it has taken; but it has watched that course throughout from the conditions which affected it, and believes that it possesses some certain knowledge of the nature of both and their mutual relation. It is this mistake of supposing that it was ever proposed to base a science of society on mere facts of the past, and not on the science of human nature and the study of human faculties, which pervades the whole argument of these lectures. Hence we hear of the science of history, and an historical morality, and of ignoring the facts of human sentiment and feeling—, all charges utterly unfounded. M. Comte and Mr. Mill, from different points of view, most emphatically insist that social science must start not with history, but with ethics; that morality is not historical but instinctive; and that there cannot be any phenomena of human nature which must not be dealt with in any theory of human society. But, after all, if an induction from the facts of history is impossible; if after 4000 years of history

any generalization is impossible, because the facts are not actually or virtually before us, what mean the doctrines of "Progress," or of the "Unity of the Race," or the "Succession of Ages"—what means the "Philosophy of History" itself? How does the Professor know that all these which he has observed in the past will continue in the future? How, for instance, does he know that because Christianity has proved good in the past it will in the future? Why are they not mere segments of a higher law? Has he all the facts before him, or how came he with these grand inductions? In a word, is not the objection to generalizing for the future just as fatal to the philosophy as it is to what he calls the science of history?

To us it appears that the whole argument against the science of society proceeds upon an erroneous conception of all science. He brings against this science charges which are just as applicable to all others. Let us sum up the objections here urged against a society of science. We are told that the notion of causation as applied to man, reduces him to an atom of a material universe, extinguishes sympathy, effort, and morality, and conflicts with his consciousness of free will; that society is affected by physical accidents, hereditary qualities, and by many influences quite inaccessible to our research; that no science of society can make us absolutely certain of the future, or can furnish us with exact particulars: all our observations may be subject to some higher law, and, after all, there may be a mysterious basis of thought quite independent of observation and science. Why, every one of these objections could be made against the other sciences in their turn. It is a mere misconception of physical science, to suppose that it exhibits any fatality or fixed necessity in matter: so far from showing us that matter is immutable, it shows us how thoroughly it is mutable. If causation in nature does not extinguish effort to affect it, why should causation observed in man? Science in either case is only a systematic collection of observations and inferences about the respective methods in which man and nature move. No science professes to give absolute certainty in a metaphysical sense. Few sciences descend into exactness respecting particulars. All acknowledge certain influences, as affecting their subject, into which they can gain no insight. No science pretends that some unknown force might not utterly change the whole conditions and nature of things. But each works on quietly until this catastrophe arrives.

The Professor might bring kindred objections against every existing science. To an astronomer he would say, "How can you be absolutely certain that the sun will continue to rise? You can only tell us that it has done so for a few centuries—a mere seg-



ment of eternity! Why may not some higher law intervene to alter its course? Is there not in the celestial system an erratic force, a number of wild comets, many of which, you confess, baffle your calculations? Why may not one of these dash right into the earth, or sweep it away in its tail?" To a physicist he would say, "The whole earth, you say, is cooling and changing within and without; you tell us of electric currents which are quite mysterious. How can you, in this perpetual flux, tell us what the conditions of the earth may be 1000 years hence; and, if so, how talk about invariable laws of matter? Your observations may refer only to a mere phase of its transformations. You talk of laws of the tides: are there not infinite perturbations which affect them?—can you calculate these? You talk of laws of storms and weather. Have you all the facts before you actually or virtually? Predict if the sun will shine at noon next Thursday week." He might go to the physiologist and say, "Your pretended science, which tells us of perpetual composition and decomposition, conflicts with my consciousness of personal identity. Show me how I am the same man this year that I was the last. Besides, prove to me that matter exists, and is not a subjective creation. If not, your science is based upon a quicksand, and may be the study of mere phantasms. You talk of a science of physiology, but can you explain all the *lusus nature*? Do you administer a single drug with absolute certainty of its effects? Are there not mysterious diseases, the least knowledge of which is above you? Do you see laws in them? Is there not in the human constitution a powerful element of confusion? Do you not yourself tell us of the changes which seem to arise in the very conditions of the human frame, and of new maladies which affect it? Such is the basis upon which your pretended science of medicine must be based." And what answer would he receive? "Truly," the man of science would reply, not interrupting his experiment, "there are perturbations, and sorely do they try us. Much of that with which you threaten us is possible. Much of that which you ask of us is impossible. Science is as imperfect as the human faculties. But, such as it is, with many failures, it produces some practical results. It is all that we know. We have no choice. It is this, or none."

In fact, throughout these lectures a notion of the material universe is implied which is quite unwarranted by science. Physical science does not teach us anything about necessity, or matter bound in chains, or an irresistible fate. "Why should science talk of universal laws, or even of laws at all?" asks the Professor. Why, indeed? No man of science ever does imagine that they possess any objective reality. Law is, no doubt, a far from satisfactory term; but it is too late now to change it. Laws

in any science mean, after all, nothing but the methods in which we observe things to accompany or succeed one another. Persons have been even supposed to worship laws. This form of idolatry must be something like worshipping the binomial theorem. It has been proposed with much reason to substitute the term "methods" for "laws." But if laws—if regularity imply a sort of fatality imposed on matter, into what strange difficulties must this theory conduct us! These laws of matter must be as irreconcilable with the will of God as laws of action are with the will of man. Does science imply that God Himself is under necessity? The lecturer warns us against supposing that nature acts under some primeval command without the sustaining hand of a Creator. If He is not working still in nature, he says, we have a strange idea of Providence. Then His will must continue to maintain regular laws. If He does, is He, too, absorbed into this chain of fate? Is His will sunk in a physical necessity? No, they will tell us. He works regularly because it is His nature to act by law. Then why is it so degrading to suppose that this is man's nature also?

After all, let us consider what "law" means, and what "science" means. There is nothing mysterious about either. Law does not imply fatality, any more than "science" implies exactness. Laws are only the generalizations of our experience: science is only the systematising of our generalizations. Imperfect generalizations always exist before they are, as it were, codified into laws. Many laws are recognised long before they are connected and harmonized into a science. What, then, is the real nature of the proposal to establish a science of society? Nothing but to develop our current generalizations, and ascertain others as distinct laws, and to give those laws a new connexion, meaning, and value by arranging them into a strict logical method. And this is all that causes such an outcry! This it is which is to suffocate human nature, and reduce us to brutes. This is to extinguish all human character, sympathy, and effort. Why, this objection, if sound, should have been taken long ago. It strikes at the basis of all calculation about human affairs at all. The objection ought to have been raised when morals, practical maxims, historical or political speculations first began. They all proceed on the assumption which is here so violently attacked, that men do and will act intelligibly, and regularly follow motives. No doubt the assumption of the true uniformity of laws is now consciously expressed, and with very important consequences. We now know that no generalizations possess any high value unless so far as we have carefully verified them by the appropriate logical process. But the reasoning process here involved is identical with that used in less systematic generalizations.

So long as man has reflected on man, he has done so on the assumption that human actions have an intelligible cause, and that human motives will result in action. This is the foundation of all morals, of all politics, of all prudence, and of all education. Whatever knowledge we have reached respecting man, has gone simply on the ground that the human character acted on regular methods, and was a fit subject for systematic observation. Where we could not feel this, we cease to reason at all. A thoroughly capricious character, *i.e.* one in which the motives are too complex to estimate, we cease to study. Exactly as the character rises in steadiness is it a subject for forethought. Now, what is the assumption involved in all these processes? That those motives of action we can ascertain operate in a uniform manner. There is always more or less uncertainty in the result. But why? Is it because we have insufficient data, or because we doubt the uniformity of those we have? If we find a man acting differently to what we expected from our knowledge of his character and motives, we seek for some unforeseen motive, or suppose some motive to operate with an unforeseen force. It is a condition of our mental powers, to imagine some fresh cause which we do not discern; we never acquiesce in the belief that it is from some mysterious quality in those causes which we know. If we see a man uniformly act in a certain way, we assume that, whilst his character is unaltered and his circumstances identical, he will continue to do so. If he does not, we seek for a reason—that is, a new motive,—or else we affirm a change in his character. It would not, in a grave case, satisfy our reason to say he chose differently. Why did he choose, we seek to know; and this is the foundation of all education. If a motive does not operate, we add to its force. If it still fails, we seek for the counter-motive, and seek to affect that. If all fails, we attribute it to a definite character. We never assume that motives act differently at different times, except we suppose a change in the disposition they affect. If over and above our limited insight into dispositions, and our very partial knowledge of circumstances, there were added an inherent uncertainty about their mutual relation, anything like regular forecast would be impossible, and not only moral certainty, but even general rules, hopeless. In short, the moment we begin methodically to calculate antecedents, with a view to predict with confidence results, that moment we are assuming, however unconsciously, the relation of cause and effect.

We have said that we consider the lecturer himself very largely to adopt the theory of history which we have maintained. We will now briefly examine these cases. The first words of the Professor tells us that “the theory of history adopted in these

lectures is in accordance with the doctrine of progress." Progress is afterwards explained, "that the history of the race, or at least the principal portion of it, exhibits a course of moral, intellectual, and material progress." With the increase of the material arts of life "the aggregate powers and sympathies of the race increase." "He has advanced in knowledge, and still advances, and that in the accelerating ratio of his augmented knowledge added to his powers;" and "the character of the race advances through history." "Effort is the law, if law it is to be called, of history." Now with all this we heartily agree. We call this a law of society. We want nothing more. In the first place, the objections here urged against laws of society all apply to this. This theory can only mean that a uniform tendency has been observed in man to advance his various powers, which bear definite relations to each other, and even advance at definite rates or ratios. Their comparative force and rapidity are also ascertained: there is, therefore, uniformity in variety. There are constant relations, there is action and reaction, there is antecedent and consequent; there is regularity, there is permanence, and there is calculability: there is, therefore, "law." It is not enough to show that this is not exact. So long as there is any uniform relation there is a law. Now how was this law ascertained? By induction, not simply from the facts of history but the facts of human nature. Why do not all the other objections apply? If man's freedom makes certainty impossible, how be certain that he will improve? If it is certain that he will improve, why praise those who assist that end? Why is not this a segment of a higher law? Or will it be said that there is no abstract certainty about it? Yet it is a certainty such as we unhesitatingly act on, and that is all we require.

Again, it may be said that this progress is mere increase, and therefore has none of the properties of a law. On the contrary, it is totally unlike accumulation. It is not that the human race grows bigger, or stronger, or richer: it grows nobler, wiser, and happier. It does not increase in bulk: it changes in character. In no respect does it remain the same. It assumes ever new phases. Complex movement goes on. The very character of its parts, and the conditions around them, undergo eternal change. Yet in the midst of this remains thorough unity. The relations of the parts of this vast whole remain uniform. The rates at which they change remain the same. The manner in which they act and react remains. Lastly, the mode in which they modify remains. The comparison of all these together, the relations of the constants and the variables constitute the establishment of a law. It is, in truth, development. "Physical development?" Certainly not; but with all the true characteristics of development. All

that we ask is, that the process should be examined by a qualified use of the methods used in studying other developments. Such is the fundamental conception running through these lectures, we think thoroughly if unconsciously adopted, and admirably illustrated. No doubt the lecturer would say that he means something much less exact or much less uniform. Perhaps he may; but he means more than a metaphor. He means that which is at bottom equivalent to a law. Besides, let him not assume that the scientific view claims any great exactness or metaphysical certainty. The study of the future man must be liable to great perturbations. Doubtless material accidents, remarkable characters, intellects, &c., affect it much. Then the conditions of the race may vary. But all these have their own appropriate explanation. The limits of their influence can be ascertained, and within these limits only is it pretended that society is a subject of scientific study.

Nor let it be supposed that we are laying stress on mere expressions. The same view pervades the whole lectures, and gives them their value. It is impossible to say that he means a mere general motion. He seems to adopt the view of Coleridge, "that in the education of the mind of the race, as in that of the individual, each different age and purpose requires different objects and different means, though all dictated by the same principle, tending to the same end, and forming consecutive parts of the same method." Undoubtedly, any rational view of Providence requires some such conception as this. It requires some common purpose running, even if unseen, through successive ages. But this is absolutely incompatible with abstract uncertainty. It requires a uniform persistence in a defined course. If the hand of Providence affect all that "has a permanent operation on all the destinies and intellectual condition of mankind at large," if ages are "the consecutive parts of the same method," history, in the broad sense, must show mankind advancing along a fixed and ordained course, in accordance with definite principles, and working up into one system. But this is impossible on the assumption of independent and irregular wills, which are without fixed course and fixed conditions. On this assumption, the human wills, however free, must conform to a definite end, and combine in an intelligible even if inscrutable purpose. In short, once regard the human race as one living and growing whole, and all history as one inwoven tale, it follows that uniformity and certainty must exist. All objections to regular order, as such, must apply equally to the regular order of Providence. And if the hand of Providence guides the human world, why should it not guide it like the material, by laws? If the conception of order excludes that of human will in the moral, it must no less exclude that of the Divine will in the physical.

But the lecturer may say, all this falls short of "law." There is really no magic about the term. Let us see how far he will go himself. "A philosophy of history rests upon connexion; such connexion, as we know and in every process and word of life assume, that there is between the action and its motive, between motives and circumstances, between the conduct of men and the effect produced upon their character, between historic antecedents and their results." We do not know that we could more completely express our own faith in this matter. He may tell us that this connexion is merely that of high probability; that result usually follows antecedent; that acts generally follow motives. We have no wish to dispute about terms; only it must be remembered that this high probability runs not seldom into moral certainty. The whole question turns on the examination of this high probability. We require means to estimate it, rules to calculate it, methods of reasoning upon it. Let us have it defined—what is, what is not regular. We ask only for systematic analysis and comparison of these varying probabilities. We need the mass of reasoning upon the subject reduced to a system. At least, we ought to be told what is the amount of the probability assumed. But nothing of this kind is attempted. We are left with a confused body of inferences utterly without method. All that we need is a logic of these various branches of our knowledge. If you object to a scientific logic, construct some other. We need again a "*Novum Organum*" of thought. If you refuse the scientific organum, supply us with a better.

But, after all, this question must be decided *à posteriori*. Let us try how far this method will lead us. A logic of causation we have; a logic of connexion is not even suggested or attempted. In the meantime, let us see if this method of induction will not lead to practical results. As to the want of exactness in the facts observed, that may not prove, for the purposes we require, to be altogether fatal. Many valuable scientific processes proceed upon data *ex hypothesi* inexact. Indeed, as the sciences rise in practical value, the less precise becomes our knowledge of the facts on which they are based; just because the more complex is their subject, the greater is its capacity for modification. But this method has been tried upon a great scale with astonishing success. The lecturer talks of the "moral and economical sciences." Why, are not these physical sciences? He says, Butler was a great discoverer of the "laws of human nature." What are the laws of human nature? Again, he tells us, "society is the necessary medium of moral development to man." What is moral development? He may say that all these are metaphors, that he means nothing physical. Neither, again, do we. But all this proves that his whole conception is penetrated with the idea for which

we contend. He admits that political economy is a science, and even an exact science, until it descends into particular actions. Now, this is almost more than we ask. No science of society pretends to predict particular actions. It deals with uniform tendencies, and assigns limits within which particular actions must fall. But is this, in truth, a question of metaphors? Can he or any one assert that political economy, in the truest sense, has not established a single law? Every one of its conclusions ultimately concerns the human will, whether laws of population, accumulation, or distribution. Is there no one genuine law? And one real law overthrows the notion that "law" is incompatible with the human will. But he goes further. The same conception, he tells us, is applicable to the mind. "In the material and intellectual world we are content to see order and design. The law of gravitation, the laws of the association of ideas, so far as they go, perfectly satisfy our mind." There appear, then, to be genuine laws of mind. But does this degrade the intellect and reduce it to mere clay? Is intellect bound in the chains of necessity? There are therefore economical laws, mental laws, and lastly, laws of human nature. The ground held sacred from the polluted touch of "law" seems narrowing gradually to nothing. Every phase of life, and every element of human nature, in turn exhibits its presence. Thought, ranging over the whole material and immaterial world, pursues one common method. One set of ideas alone, it seems, is to be for ever exempt from method or order.

There is a sentence in the opening paragraph of these lectures which exactly expresses all that we look for in a scientific view of history. "There was needed a habit of methodical investigation with a view to real results, of which physical science is the great school." Now, we consider all this impossible, except on the ground upon which we stand. How can physical science, for which the common postulate is causation, be a great school for investigation where the postulate is the absence of causation? How can there be methodical investigation where the facts observed are not merely obscure, but irregular in a manner and degree to which we have no clue? It would be like investigating the throwing of dice. Lastly, how can there be "real results," except by the use of prevision, which we are told is out of the question? In a word, how can there be not merely science, but philosophy, investigation, or certainty, when we suppose results to follow antecedents in a mysterious manner, unlike anything else ever observed by the mind, and to bear a mutual relation which we do not attempt to define?

We now proceed to quote some passages from these lectures,

which seem to us, in the main, excellent examples of the method we contend for.

"Two great attempts have been made in the history of the world to crush the nationality of large groups of nations, forming the civilized portion of the globe. The first was made by the military Rome of antiquity; the second, of a qualified kind, was made by the ecclesiastical Rome of the middle ages, partly by priestly weapons, partly by the sword of devout kings. The result was universal corruption, political and social in the first case, ecclesiastical in the second. In both cases aid was brought, and the fortunes of humanity were restored by a power from without, but for which it would seem *the corruption would have been hopeless*. In the first case the warlike tribes of the North shivered the yoke of Rome, and after an agony of six centuries restored the nations. In the second case, Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament [*? Bible*] in her hand, and breathed into the kindred spirits of the great Teutonic races such love of free inquiry and of liberty, that they rose and rent the bonds of Rome and her Celtic vassals—rent them, but at the cost of a convulsion which filled the world with blood, and has made mutual hatred almost the law of Christendom from that hour to this. (!) Without the help of Greece [*i.e. intellect*] it does not appear that the gate of the tomb in which Europe lay *would ever have been forced back*. She might have been put up in it for ever, like the doomed spirits in Dante, when the lid of their sepulchres is closed at the last day. Wickliffe and John Huss spent their force against it *in vain*. The tyranny might have been differently shared between the different powers of the universal Church, between Pope and Council, between Pope and King: but this change would have done little for liberty or truth. Nationality is not a virtue, but it is an *ordinance of nature*, and a natural bond: it does much good; in itself it prevents none; *and the experience of history condemns every attempt to crush it, when it has once been really formed.*"

Or again—

"If the doctrines of any Established Church are not absolute and final truth, its corporate interests are apt to come ultimately into collision with the moral instincts of man pressing onwards, in obedience to his conscience, towards the further knowledge of religious truth [*i.e. moral progress, though superior, is guided by intellectual progress*]. Then arises a terrible conflict. To save their threatened dominion, the defenders of ecclesiastical interests use, while they can, the civil sword, and wage with that weapon contests which fill the world with worse than blood. They massacre, they burn, they torture, they *drag human nature* into depths of deliberate cruelty, which without their teaching, it could never have known; they train men, and not only men but women, to look on with pious joy while frames broken with the rack are borne from the dungeon of the Inquisition to its pile. Uniting intrigue with force, they creep into the ear of kings, of courtiers, of royal concubines: they consent, as the price of protec-



tion, to bless and sanctify despotism in its foulest form; they excite bloody wars of opinion against nations struggling to be free. Still the day goes against them; *humanity asserts its power*; executioners fail; sovereigns discover that it little avails the king to rule the people if the Magian is to rule the king; *public opinion sways the world* [*i.e. intellectual convictions*], and the hour of Philip II., of Père la Chaise, of Madame de Maintenon, is gone *never to return* [*a positive prediction*!]. Then follows a hopeless struggle for the last relics of religious protection, for exclusive political privileges, and for tests; a struggle in which religion is made to appear in the eyes of the people the constant enemy of improvement and justice—religion from whom all true improvement and all true justice spring. This struggle, too, approaches its *inevitable close*. Then recourse is had, in the last resort, to intellectual intrigue, and the power of sophistry is invoked to place man in the dilemma between submission to an authority which has lost his allegiance, and the utter abandonment of his belief in God—a desperate policy; for, placed between falsehood and the abyss, humanity has always had grace to choose the abyss, conscious as it is that to fly from falsehood, through whatever clouds and darkness, is to fly to the God of truth.”

Or again—

“In the passionate desire to reach individual perfection, *and in the conviction (N.B. movement determined by conviction)* that the claims of society were opposed to that desire, men have fled from society and embraced the monastic life. The contemplative and ascetic type of character alone seemed clear of all those peculiar flaws and deformities to which each of the worldly types is liable. *The experiment has been tried on a large scale, and under various conditions*; by the Buddhist ascetics; in a higher form by the Christian monks of the Eastern Church; and in a higher still by those of the West. In each case the result has been decisive [*the physical method of concomitant variations*!]. The monks of the West long kept avenging nature at bay by uniting action of various kinds with asceticism and contemplation, but, among them too, corruption at last set in, and proved that this hypothesis of life and character was not the true one, and that humanity *must relinquish* the uniform and perfect type which formed the dream of a Benedict or a Francis, and descend again to variety and imperfection.”

We quote these passages with the greater pleasure, because we think them excellent specimens of the manly eloquence and the enthusiasm for the nobler instincts with which these lectures are full. Yet these passages seem to us strictly based upon a method which may not be the scientific, but is singularly like it. This reads very like the use of scientific reasoning. We have something very like the method of agreement and of difference, and unquestionably the method of concomitant variations. We have, undoubtedly, the use of induction from the experience of his-

tory: we have a theory of development in an institution: we have tendencies established to be irresistible, uniform, and certain—in short, laws. We have all the terms “law,” “conditions,” “experiment,” “hypothesis,” “inevitable,” “decisive result.” It is possible to talk science all one’s life without knowing it. It is surely impossible to call all this metaphor. It is here distinctly assumed that what has happened in the past will continue in the future; that on a large scale sets of events will follow in an intelligible order; that a multitude of wills all conform to a general end; that their action in the mass is perfectly certain; that it is limited by distinct conditions; that wills and characters will be bent by the influences around them; that there is a general consensus of wills against which individual wills cannot struggle with ultimate success; that the whole progress throughout its course has a uniform method; that each element of the progress acts and reacts in a highly complex and subtle manner. This may not be physical, but it is, unquestionably, scientific development.

This we believe to be the germ of a scientific view of history. Could all this very elaborate reasoning have proceeded on an assumption that result bears to antecedent, not indeed the known relation of sequence, but some relation not capable of being defined in words? What more is needed to make it complete? There is only needed that this method should be extended and reduced to a system. In the first place we need a general knowledge of the leading instincts and capacities of man. For this we require, at least, some of the laws of human life and of the human organization which involve some general science and a basis of logical belief. We need also a knowledge of the natural and necessary institutions of human society, and of the paramount laws of human development. Having these we need a truly complete survey of history, especially of its earliest and simplest phases. We need to regard all history as a whole, and to connect it with the rest of our knowledge. Lastly, we need to study it with a purpose, and value it for the use to which we can turn it. It is obvious that the passages we have quoted fall far short of this in degree, but they do not differ in kind. We believe, indeed, that all we sketched as a scientific view of history is possible, without involving one single assumption that is not implied in every line that we have quoted.

After all, social science must establish itself by visible results. The proof of its possibility rests, we think, not upon metaphysical or even logical reasoning, but upon facts. It is being day by day built up by the common tendency of public opinion, by the practice of all who write or teach history at all, and most of all by the necessity all feel for rational methods of

observation, and some comprehensive theory which will render truly systematic and practical a vast body of disconnected thought.

If we have spoken our mind freely to the lecturer, it is because we complain of the contemptuous impatience with which he treats men and systems he dislikes. We see in these lectures nothing to justify such a tone, unless it be a remarkable gift of expression. But we are not insensible to the fine qualities of character they display. We wish we could quote some noble passages upon the social nature of morality. We should like also to point out how these virtually agree with some theories with which we are familiar. With his historical judgments we are disposed generally to concur, and forgive him much for his enthusiasm for our favourite heroes Alfred and Cromwell. We wish, however, he would moderate his loathing for Julius Cæsar. That, however, which seems to us chiefly to distinguish these lectures, is the genuine zeal they exhibit to seek in history a real philosophy of life, and view it mainly in its moral and religious aspect. Here again we have a new proof of the vitality and high purpose which the Universities have given us so many proofs that they possess. There is zealousness and an elevation of spirit in their best aspect which must not be forgotten. It is the true source of the genuine patriotism they inspire. No doubt, their special subjects of study, whilst conducive, indeed, to a manly eloquence, foster a true devotion to moral and social truth and the story of heroic lives. With all this we wish they would exhibit less repugnance to the conclusions of science. These lectures show how commonly these are still regarded with the extravagance of terror. If the new theories attacked by the lecturer were such as lead into the hideous abyss supposed, they would scarcely be worth refuting. The moral feeling and the good sense of the public would protect them from this awful future. We have no such alarm. We have such confidence in the natural goodness of our race and its Creator, in the soundness of our civilization, and the reality of progress, as to welcome all conscientious labours with calmness and good will. We will examine them without paroxysm and criticise them without bitterness. These lectures tell us how a certain man once was hung blindfold over what he supposed to be a precipice, clinging to a rope in his hands. He held on until his sinews cracked and the agony of death was passed; then falling, he found that he had been hanging half a foot from the ground. The lecturer, and many like him and around him, are hanging, we almost fancy, over a similar precipice. Let them not await till the agony of death is passed: let them take heart, and drop whilst they may, and stand with us upon firm ground.

## ART. II.—BIOGRAPHY, PAST AND PRESENT.

*Biographic Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne. Nouvelle édition, publiée sous la Direction de M. Michaud. Tomes 1—27. Imp. 8vo. Paris: 1854—1860.*

THE present year is the jubilee-year of the “*Biographic Universelle*.” Commenced in 1811, it has now reached a second edition, two-thirds of which have been already printed. The new edition comprises a corrected and amended version of its predecessor; incorporates the supplement to the first, itself no inconsiderable work; and since, in the interim, death has added its usual quota to what Sir Thomas Browne finely calls “the famous nations of the dead,” we are justified in regarding this new impression as a new work, and therefore in giving it, though familiar by name, welcome as a stranger.

Why does England, with its array of historical works, afford no collection of lives comparable for value and extent to the “*Biographic Universelle*?” Such a work has often been attempted, and schemes for a general biography have often been announced. But what has been done is imperfect; or what has been projected has not come to the birth. The late Mr. Murray, several years ago, entertained, and, we believe, had proceeded some way in a scheme for supplying this defect in our national literature. The most eminent scholars, historians, antiquaries, and philosophers—some of whom are now themselves subjects for posthumous commemoration—were to be engaged in the work, and to be assisted in it by writers then aspiring, and who have since, for the most part, attained to distinction. The project, however, came to nothing, either because no pilot could be found hardy enough to steer the vessel out of harbour, or because the crew mutinied before they were fairly embarked. Of our existing biographical dictionaries, when not devoted to particular classes of lives, little can be said in praise. That of Aikin no longer satisfies Dissenters, nor that of Chalmers good Churchmen. The biographical labours of the Useful Knowledge Society, although Lord Brougham cried “*Euge!*” and the late Joseph Hume opened his purse in its behalf, wound up suddenly with the first letter of the alphabet. “*Rose’s Dictionary*,” indeed, turned the izzard-point, but mainly by the aid of compilation; and “*Gorton’s Dictionary*” would not be worth even a passing word, were it not

for the circumstance that the lively author of "The Ingoldsby Legends" contributed largely to the lead with which it is ballasted. The old "Biographia Britannica," in spite of its shortcomings and its barbarous idiom, its cumbersome arrangement, and its unacknowledged debts to Moréri and Bayle, is not yet pushed from its stool. But the better portion of these tall folios is devoted to the lives of theologians—a subject which may one day rank for its importance with the lives of necromancers—and bears about the same relation to the "Biographie Universelle" that "Dr. Dilworth's Spelling-book," or "Bailey's Dictionary," bears to Bopp's or Max Müller's works on the "Science of Language." We have yet to seek at home for a general biography. The blame of this defect lies neither on British writers nor the British public. The latter has expressed its demand for such a work by the liberal encouragement given in this country to the French "Biographie;" and Dr. William Smith, in his excellent Dictionaries of Ancient Lives, Antiquities, and Geography, has shown that with a good steersman at the helm, a good crew will pull together strenuously and cheerfully. To what then is it owing that, in an age remarkably fertile in historians, we are thus barren in biographical dictionaries? We believe that this question will be solved by an examination of the plan and progress of the volumes now before us.

Did the "Biographie Universelle" comprise lives of eminent Frenchmen only, we might attribute its success at home, and in Europe generally, to the skill, liveliness, and grace with which French writers execute special biographies. Gray, although one of the most profound scholars of his time, was accustomed to say, that could he make his own Elysium, it should be one that allowed him to lie on a sofa and read the memoirs of Sully, De Retz, and other chronicles of the gossip, as well as the weightier matters of the League and the Fronde. There was some truth in this pleasant exaggeration. Biographical articles, whenever they admit of being so treated, should be abbreviated memoirs—"pictures in little"—of all who by right or accident have a "name to live." A nation which possesses the art or knack of writing memoirs, contains in itself most of the germs of a biographical dictionary. We have, indeed, some excellent samples of this order of composition. Lucy Hutcheson's and Lord Herbert of Chesham's memoirs, Gifford's and Gibbon's autobiographies, Hume's charming sketch of himself as the Scottish Epicurus, and the letters or conversations of Gray, Cowper, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Horace Walpole, and Samuel Johnson are quite as delightful reading as any personal records in or out of France. Of eccentric lives we have also no ordinary store—Dunton, Lackington, Joseph Woolner and George Fox the Quakers, serving as a

few examples in this field. But it is not so with other instances. Either "*vate carent*," or they had better have wanted one. Voltaire himself could not enliven Canon Wordsworth's record of his poetic uncle, or Cuthbert Southey's account of his much-reading and much-writing father. The lives which refresh the souls of the religious world, and fill the pockets of religious publishers, are "very tolerable and not to be endured," from the tedious chronicle of William Wilberforce to the tract revealing the "Experiences of the Rev. Ebenezer Shovelbottom, of Rehoboth Chapel." "What is deader than a door-nail?" was asked by a writer in "Blackwood." "Gilman's Life of Coleridge," was the reply to this funereal question. As a class, indeed, English biographers belong to the *genre ennuyeux*; and although tediousness compressed in the columns of a dictionary is preferable to tediousness beaten flat through volumes, yet no alchemy will turn lead into gold. German biographies are liable to the same fault: they exhaust the subject and the reader. The writers of them are painstaking, veracious men, receiving with patience the rubbish shot down at their doors, but having no gift for picking the grains of wheat out of the bushels of chaff. Too often they write as if three hundred and not threescore and ten years were man's allotted span, and nothing is more ponderous in general than their gravity—except their mirth. The Italians, again, point with just pride to the memoirs of Alfieri, Goldoni, and Benvenuto Cellini. Of the two former it has been truly said, that their lives are more dramatic than their plays; and the latter is, perhaps, the most amusing of braggarts, not excepting even Sir Kenelm Digby or Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Italian biography, however, as a whole, is too rhetorical to be easy reading, and produces "an exposition to sleep." Spain and Portugal have mostly left to other nations the pious office of recording their famous men, unless indeed they chanced to see visions or to dream dreams. Many wonderful lives they have of men and women who never washed, or did the State service, or condescended to toil or spin; but who abundantly flogged themselves, and lived in dark chambers, like bats and owls, thinking "to merit heaven by making earth a hell." But they have scarcely a third-rate native memoir of Calderon or Cervantes, of their great captain or their great cardinal. To sketch by a few strokes of the pen the salient and determining features of a life, to use without abusing the materials collected, is an art in which France has long excelled her British and foreign neighbours.

We attribute, therefore, the success of the "*Biographie Universelle*," as compared with similar collections by other nations, in the first place, to the uniform ease and perspicuity of its style;

In the next, to the amplitude of its contents, which seldom send the readers of it away baffled in their researches; and, in the third, to the skill with which the several families of lives are placed and held in relation to one another.

He who first conceived the idea of a Biographical Dictionary must have owned as stout a heart as he who invented the first ship—at least, if he proposed to himself a scheme at all commensurate with the object in view. For, on the one hand, his plan should have been comprehensive enough to include all worthies; on the other, select enough to exclude all undeserving of record. Cowper, in the following lines, has pleasantly touched upon the infirmity of the “*Biographia Britannica*” in the latter respect—

“ Oh fond attempt to give a deathless lot  
To names ignoble, born to be forgot:  
In vain recorded in historic page,  
They court the notice of a future age;  
Those twinkling tiny lustres of the land  
Drop one by one from Time’s reflecting hand;  
Lethæan gulfs receive them as they fall,  
And dark oblivion soon absorbs them all.  
So when a child, as playful children use,  
Has burnt to tinder a stale last-year’s news;  
The flame extinct, he views the roving fire;  
‘ There goes my lady, and there goes the squire,  
‘ There goes the parson, oh! illustrious spark—  
‘ And there, scarce less illustrious, goes the clerk.’ ”

It is, indeed, a most difficult matter to decide how many Smiths, Johnsons, Joneses, Browns, and Robinsons should be admitted. As Ralph Hempseed said of his family—“ There are a great many of us, and we all expect attention.” Leaders in literature, politics, and religion cause little hesitation to an editor: they claim their places in the biographical synod by right as patent and indefeasible as that which placed the Roman quæstor, after his year of office, upon the senatorian benches. But even the greatest men in arts and arms, in eloquence and literature, are the products of their respective ages, bringing with them a proper ancestry and leaving behind them some posterity. It was for the inventor, as it is still for the conductors of such works as the “ *Biographie Universelle*,” to consider well not only who are the world’s greatest men, but who also are the intermediate links in the chain of human progress. The *minora sidera* which compose the train of Plato, Aristotle, Dante, Shakspeare, and Voltaire are indispensable elements in such a collection. The marshaller of the troops of the innumerable dead stands in need therefore of the qualities of the philosopher and the judge,

since it is for him to weigh, so far as our imperfect nature will admit, the names for which Lethe is the proper receptacle, and the names which merit a "siste viator." He requires the critic's taste, the antiquary's patience, the skill, indeed, of the builder, who from every kind and form of material undertakes to raise a compact and uniform structure in which there shall be neither superfluity nor defect. Even of its greatest men the world often knows little. Generally it is better acquainted with the noisiest than the wisest. The destroyers of the human species are more familiar to us than its conservators and benefactors. It would seem that the most effectual patent for perpetuity is to inscribe a name with blood rather than with ink. Confucius is a shadow, Timour and Genghis are substances. Arrian has composed a history and Curtius a romance of Alexander, and the romance percolated the gloom of the dark ages in the Romaunts of Alysaunder. Of theologians, again, who, if they have not smitten with the sword, have often caused the sword to smite, we have ample and abundant memorials: of philosophers who sought to lead men to justice, temperance, and brotherhood, we possess often feeble and incongruous sketches. We have two contemporaneous portraits of Socrates. Which of them is the true one? Was he the common-place preacher of the soldier Xenophon? Was he the subtle dialectician of Plato? Of Mahomet we have scarcely even records at second-hand. He infused into a nation of robbers organic life: he changed the creed of a third of the world: he remains himself almost as mythical a personage as Theseus or Romulus. The philosophers of the East, whose doctrines often anticipate those of Christendom, are either without a name, or present themselves to our eyes shrouded in mysterious attributes, which, although they may gratify the enthusiast, elude the biographer. They are types, emanations, incarnations, but they are not flesh and blood. Homer is by some imagined to have been the eponymus of a generation of ballad-singers. Who put the first and the last hand to the Niebelungen-lied? to the greater or the lesser Edda? to the story of Reynard the Fox? Was Gerson the author of the well-thumbed volume "*De Imitatione Christi*?" Who actually invented printing, gunpowder, or the mariner's compass? The inventor of letters, when he secured the perpetuity of other men's names, has left no record of his own. Democritus, we know, was the Astley Cooper of his age: but he was not the first who explored the mechanism of life, or the sources of health and disease in the human frame. Moses and Solon were each of them trained in the wisdom of the Egyptians, but who taught the priests of Thebes and Memphis the learning which they imparted to Judæa and Greece. The empire of ignorance is wider than the empire of knowledge; and in the expressive words of Sir



Thomas Browne, "In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations: and and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon. Who knows whether the best of men be known? or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? The night of Time far surpasseth the day, and who knows where was the equinox?"\*

But our inventor of a biographical dictionary is "but in supposition." The first devisers of such a work were men of ordinary clay, and set about it in the soberest and least intelligent fashion. So many square inches of biography were demanded, so many accordingly must be supplied. Sir Roger de Coverley, when he was a school-boy, read the life of Hector at the end of his dictionary; and that record of the gallant Priamides, though, like the sum which Master Matthew took from his purse for his own and Bobadil's breakfast, "somewhat of the smallest," clung nevertheless in the knight's memory, and so far answered its purpose. "In our green and sallet days," there circulated for the use of schools a small biographical dictionary, in which the most famous men were those who held the pen of the ready-writer. The author was one Swan, a writing-master—not one of those who profess to form a "clear and legible hand in six lessons," but one who performed such feats with a goose-quill as disturb ordinary minds to think upon. Swan could write the Apostles' Creed on a half-crown piece: inscribe the commandments in a series of concentric circles without omitting a single inhibition: and flourish a bird of Paradise without once lifting pen from paper. A fair hand-writing was in Swan's conception the index of a fair character, and he awarded his patents of merit accord-

\* On our imperfect knowledge of many remarkable persons, Southey has the following humorous comment. (*The Doctor*, vol. iv. p. 251-2).

"Who was Tom Long, the carrier? When did he flourish? What road did he travel? Did he drive carts or waggons, or was it in the age of pack-horses? Who was Jack Robinson, whose name is in everybody's mouth? Who was Magg? and what was his diversion? Was it brutal or merely boorish? Who was Crop, the conjuror? Who was old Ross of Pottern, who lived till all the world was weary of him? All the world has forgotten him now. Who was William Dickens, whose wooden dishes were sold so badly that when any one lost by the sale of his wares, the said Dickens and his dishes were brought up in scornful comparison? Who was that other Dick who wore so queer a hatband that it has ever since served as a standing comparison for all queer things? Who was Ludlam, whose dog was so lazy that he leant his head against a wall to bark? And who was Old Cole, whose dog was so proud that he took the wall of a dung cart, and got squeezed to death by the wheel? Here are questions to be proposed on the Examination Papers of some Australian Cambridge, two thousand years hence, when the people of that part of the world shall be as reasonably inquisitive concerning our affairs, as we are concerning those of the Greeks."

ingly. Nor was Swan singular in his theory of the mode in which fame should be conferred ; for if we examine early biographies, we shall find in them traces of a similar system. They are tokens of the contemporaneous value of human qualities. They exalt to the first places in the synagogue of names—kings and soldiers at one period, priests and scholars at another ; in some it is a degree of merit to have pulled churches down, in others to have built them up. For a while, science and its professors were regarded as forms and practisers of witchcraft ; and artists were slightly passed over as trivial persons who stained certain yards of canvas or hewed certain blocks of wood or stone. We recommend Mr. Buckle to look into this matter : he will discover in biographical dictionaries some tests of the history and progress of opinions.

The earliest dictionaries were, indeed, scarcely more full of matter than was Sir Roger's oracle—the school dictionary. With our present adjuncts we can barely conceive the helplessness of a time when the genius of Boccaccio was employed in drawing up a catalogue of rivers [*"De Fluminibus"*] ; or when Petrarch narrated to kings and popes stories now familiar, though not always agreeable to schoolboys. Dr. Arnold, in recounting existing obstacles to our knowledge of the Middle Ages, describes indirectly past impediments to a knowledge of men famous in old time. "For the ancient writers," he says, "we have our helps ready at hand, well known, cheap, and accessible. How different is the case of the Middle Ages. We have nothing for their history answering in fulness and convenience to that book so well known to us all as Lemprière's Classical Dictionary."

The original attempts at biography were indeed, like the first essays in every art, rude and cumbrous. But in every age there have been some efforts directed towards attaining the boon of perpetuity. The wars and acts of priests and priest-kings carved on the rock and coloured with brilliant dyes, are the original parents of the "*Biographie Universelle*." But such knowledge was not for the many, who, though they recognised and worshipped the effigies of the mighty hunters and tamers of men, were kept in ignorance of the recondite symbols wherein their deeds and thoughts are preserved. Greece, possessing a people conversant with letters, and ever eager to hear and to tell something new, produced the first biographers ; and it was from their inscriptions and papyrus-rolls that Plutarch, who read every Greek book, and cites no fewer than three hundred authors now lost, compiled his matchless lives of the heroes of old. The Romans were more addicted to biography than the inquisitive Greeks. At Rome the coherence of families was much closer and more regular than it was in Athens or Sparta. The Hellenic

stemmata, after the Homeric age, seldom go beyond the third ancestor of the living head of the house, unless, indeed, its founder boasted a divine or royal progenitor, had conducted a colony or inaugurated a city. But every Roman who aspired to the offices of State, or even the magistracies of a provincial town, piously recorded the names of his progenitors, and even filled up the gaps in his pedigree with "cousins quite removed." At the base of the rude busts in his atrium, before the shrines wherein the waxen masks of his sires were deposited, upon the tombs where their ashes reposed, were inscribed the titles and memorable acts of Caius the son of Quintus, and of Quintus the son of Caius, from the day when the first bearer of the name migrated from Alba or the Sabine Mountains to the Palatine or the Quirinal Hills. Hence, although twenty centuries have passed over the names of the Catos of Tusculum, we know as much of the Porcian house as we know of the Percys and Douglasses of our own island. Nor were such records merely genealogical. The well-known inscription on the tomb of the Scipios commemorates his private worth as well as his public acts; and the family-papers of the Manlian gens extend its arc from the birth-throes of the Republic to the degenerate age of Honorius. To collect, arrange, and illustrate these brief fragments of biography, was the favourite task of the learned Varro, and the accomplished time-server Atticus; and when, with the decline of learning, literature and history alike assumed the form of abridgments and summaries, the Victors reproduced, in the lives of illustrious men and the Cæsars, these compendiums of an earlier age. Suetonius, who, like Robert Southey, was not only a biographer but an omnivorous reader, compiled lives of grammarians and poets, the loss of which, although they are little more than brief memoranda, is by no means the least among the losses in ancient literature. Centuries later, Suidas combined in one lexicon biography, geography, and philology. Books, indeed, that depend on research, more than eloquence or invention, are the proper employment of a time when great libraries have been formed, and board, lodging, and leisure are provided for scholars. The critic, scholiast, and biographer are coevals; and Suidas followed the example of the well-fed and well-paid members of the University of Alexandria, who collected notes, memoirs, and gossip, the gleanings of which are preserved in the entertaining miscellanies of Athenæus, Macrobius, and Aulus Gellius.

It was, however, impossible for ages in which writing materials were costly and to which the art of multiplying copies by other means than transcription was unknown, to put forth works rivaling in bulk our present lexicons and dictionaries. That so much was done under such privations was more remarkable than that so

much was left undone. Collections like those of the Benedictines, of Rymer and Rushworth, or the "Biographia Britannica" would have taxed the exchequer of cities and exhausted the wealth even of an Herodes Atticus. We must therefore come down to a much later period for the origin of biographical dictionaries. Until learning revived in Europe—the learning, that is to say, of the Greeks, for the Latin had never died out—there was little need of biographical collections. Modern literature until the fourteenth century presented few names worth the recording, and of these the most distinguished were registered in the lives of saints and schoolmen, and not of scholars and poets. The history of one canonized saint or of one seraphical doctor so nearly resembled that of another, and all wore so theological or ascetical an aspect, that they belonged, with scarcely any exception, to the Calendars and Acts of the Church, and are for the most part to be now read in that catacomb of faith and folly, the "Acta Bollandorum." But when the fountains of Greek literature were again unsealed, such collections became once more indispensable. In the age of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici no labour was deemed too great if it brought into clearer light the characters of the ancient sages and heroes: no journeys were esteemed too perilous if they held out a hope of regaining an ancient manuscript. As these treasures accumulated, the desire for expanding them grew apace, and after Poggio had discovered, Politian had edited, and Aldus printed the *editio princeps* of Tacitus or Quintilian, the Scholiast began to compose the lives of their authors and of the heroes and orators whom they commemorated.

The year 1596 may be described as the birth-year of biographical dictionaries in the modern acceptation of the term. For then Charles, a son of the learned Robert Stephen,—the same Robert who dealt like a spendthrift in collecting books and manuscripts, and like a miser in keeping them for his own sole use—published, from notes left by his father, an historical, geographical, and poetical dictionary. A translation of this work from Latin into French, by Juigné, was reprinted eight times within eight years—so timely was such a help to readers, and so great the demand for even meagre auxiliaries to learning. Nicholas Lloyd, an Englishman, translated Juigné's version into Latin, and added to its contents, and Stephens, Juigné, and Lloyd appear to have occupied the ground without rivals until the year 1674. In that year appeared the "Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique" of Louis Moréri, who fell a victim to his labours, and died at the early age of twenty-eight. Moréri was the proper patriarch of biographical collectors, for though he did not live long enough to see the second edition of his folio, he prompted others to undertake similar and superior tasks of the same kind.

A single folio sufficed for the first edition ; but the work of Moréri, by successive accretions, was expanded into ten volumes of the same size, and is still arrayed among the anakim of the bookcase. "The laborious scribe," as Mr. Hallam termed Moréri, was destined to evoke labours which far surpassed his own. He was the direct biographical progenitor of Peter Bayle, and Bayle's Dictionary was long the model on which such works were constructed. That Moréri's volume should contain many errors was unavoidable. "Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris;" and doubtless the Osirian plough would not now carry off a prize at the meetings of the British Agricultural Association. Even with our many adjuncts no single writer, were he tenfold as laborious as Moréri, can be competent to narrate the lives of many men or the annals of many cities. Biography is at least as tedious a process as bread-making, and "he that will have a cake out of the wheat must tarry the grinding, the bolting, the leavening, the kneading, the heating of the oven, and the cooling too." Moréri was not the man for such a process. Necessarily, he took much on trust, and he was destitute of the faculty of trying before he trusted. But sifting and winnowing of other men's corn was Bayle's special faculty. He began by correcting Moréri's errors, and ended by composing a work as superior to that of Moréri, as Johnson's Dictionary is to that of Ash or Florio.

The son of a Calvinistic minister in a remote province of France, at the foot of the Pyrenees, Bayle possessed in an unusual degree the biographer's gifts and graces. In his youth he had been a brief convert to Romanism, but long before early manhood had passed, he returned to the bosom of the Church in which he was born and bred. The Calvinists did not gain much by his re-conversion. If he abjured the superstitions of Rome, he did not adopt the prejudices of Geneva, and well described himself in after life as "most truly a Protestant, for he protested indifferently against all systems and all sects." Never was epithet more misplaced than that of "stupid," with which Mr. Carlyle has saddled "Peter Bayle." His fault was exactly of an opposite kind. He was too clever by half. The logical and dialectical mill of his intellect ground all that was presented to it into powder: and he canvassed with equal acumen the most solemn truths and the idlest fancies. Versed in the arguments of both the Roman and Reformed Churches, he opposed them to one another with the vigour of a judge, until the opposite quantities, to use the language of algebra, annihilate each other. With abundant wit he had little or no reverence for either human motives or character; and the reader who weighs them in his balance rises from his examination with the profound conviction that man is perpetually the slave of his own prejudices or interests. Socrates is neither

wise nor clean in his sight : he poaches in the record of Athenæus for foul imputations on Plato : he crosses with a bar sinister the shields of the most illustrious sages and patriots ; nor is he ever so well pleased as when he can demolish, or at least obscure, an established reputation. He is rarely a bitter man, unless indeed when La Mothe de Vayer is his game ; but he is uniformly an indifferent man : seeing always through the spectacles of Pyrrho, and delighting in his self-adopted title of *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς*—the cloud-compelling, or rather the doubt-awakening Jove.

His dictionary is as much a collection of instructive essays as of biographies. Every topic afforded him an excuse for digression, and the life of a saint or a hero is often in his pages an inextricable labyrinth of moral or metaphysical doubts. But Bayle is never dull : if he does not afford the information desired—and he frequently gives none on the point at issue—he leads the reader into by-paths that seldom fail to instruct, amuse, or bewilder him. His pen was ever too ready : and “if,” as Gibbon remarks, “a severe critic could reduce his many folios to a single one, that relic, like the books of the Sibyl, would become still more valuable.”

Between the single-handed labours of Bayle and the appearance of the first volumes of the “*Biographie Universelle*,” it is unnecessary to pause. From the “*Biographia Britannica*,” or Chalmers’ and Aikin’s dictionaries, we might indeed cull articles of considerable or average worth : and France may justly appeal to the similar works of the Abbé Ladvocat, of the Abbé de Barral, or of MM. Chaudon et Delandine. But no one of these collections exhibits the learning or the impartiality essential for such collections : and all of them are defective in some material quality, either of style, sound information, or judicial temper. Thus, for example, the Abbé is possessed with a *rabies Jansenistica*, and sees all characters and events through the spectacles of Arnauld and the Port-Royal. Of his volumes it has been aptly said, “*C’est le martyrologe des Jansénistes, écrit par un convulsionnaire.*” In the Abbé Feller, author of a “*Dictionnaire Historique*,” which, published originally in 1781, reached a second edition in 1797, De Barral had a proper antagonist ; for to be a Jansenist is, in the eyes of the Jesuit, an offence which neither human nor divine law should leave unpunished, a folly “*tribus Anticyris insanabile.*” Between the disciple of Loyola and the disciple of Port-Royal, truth fares worse than the grizzled gentleman with his old and young wife. Him they only made bald by their respective zeal against black or white hairs ; whereas truth, between De Barral and Feller, is served as Pentheus was served by the Thracian Bacchantes—torn, sundered, and scattered irretrievably to the winds. Truth is more gently handled by MM.

Aikin and Chalmers: yet we would recommend all who think and would continue to think well of the English Church, to eschew the former, and those who would retain charity towards dissidents from it, to shun the latter. Perhaps, indeed, the dulness of each of these works will effectually guard readers from their respective influences, whether for good or for evil. "Tom Birch," said Dr. Johnson, of that indefatigable collector of anecdotes, "is a lively rogue; he remembers a great deal, and can tell many pleasant stories; but a pen to Tom is a torpedo; the touch of it benumbs his hand and his brain; Tom can talk, but he is no writer." And Birch was not singular in the latter defect, since among "ordinary men and Christians" it is not very easy to find more lead than went to the composition of Dr. Kippis. We shall be suspected of a wish to furnish hints for another *Dunciad*, if we enumerate more names of the leaden age of English biographers; and as justly accused of preferring strife to quietness, if we dwell longer upon that of French champions in the list pour ou contre les Pères saintes, who, like the Mathematici at Rome, have so often been banished and so often recalled. We are generally infidels in the matter of programmes, prospectuses, and prefaces. Like the player-queen in Hamlet they often "profess too much, and do not keep their word." But the introductions both to the first and second editions of the volumes before us attest the judicious character of the original plan, and after comparing the promise with the performance, we should be hard to please, did we not return a verdict in their favour. From the first, not only were the foremost men in literary France engaged as contributors, and their several tasks carefully apportioned, but also the several portions were submitted to consultation and revision by a committee, in which the editor acted as judge and the principal contributors as jurymen. Authors are usually regarded a "genus irritabile," whether they be "verse-men or prose-men." The "Querelles Littéraires" of French savans afford matter for more than one entertaining volume. The Academy itself, the very Olympus of French eloquence, has been stirred by disputes, even as were the gods living-at-ease of the Homeric heaven. The Sorbonne was often a house not only of many mansions, but of many factions: bruises, and broken heads, and even worse accidents, disturbed the studies of the University of Paris: the Jansenists and Molinists of the 17th century pummelled one another as if Donnybrook Fair had been held on the banks of the Seine. Nor were their feuds allayed without "pulveris exigui jactu;" but it was the powder of the king's mousquetaires that compressed them. A trux-dei, however, to all appearance, prevailed at the *séances* of the writers for the "Biographie Universelle." "When they do agree on the stage, their unanimity is wonderful;" but not less

wonderful seems to have been the general harmony of those who first projected, and continued and conducted this superb biographical series.

"Time," which "antiquates antiquities," unavoidably detects many flaws in both the substance and the surface of this and all similar works. Since the first volume of this colossal series was given to the world, there has been a new earth, if not a new heaven. In 1811 many of the contributors remembered old monarchical France with its theatrical king, its untaxed nobility, its "abbots purple as their vines," its ill-paid army, its starving population. They had seen the France which Hogarth saw at Calais-gate—a picture worth studying by all who read Carlyle or Thiers. More of them were then in the prime of manhood and expectancy; had been baptized in the fires and moulded amid the passions of the Revolution; had looked down the chasm which engulfed "the king, the queen, the courtiers," all that Richelieu had inaugurated, and all that the Great Louis had consummated or cancelled. In 1811 France stood on that giddy eminence from which three years later she was hurled down. Her empire was wider than the empire of Charlemagne. Her eagles had not then been turned homeward. Her foot was on Madrid; her shadow was upon Vienna; Prussia was her footstool; Holland her wash-pot: Paris had gathered into her ample bosom the costliest treasures of art and literature: her language was spoken in every court of Europe: her soldiers garrisoned nearly every European fortress: her *savans* and writers predominated north and south of the Alps. Even contributors to a Biographical Dictionary could not be insensible to the *genius loci*, or occasionally refrain from magnifying the glory and the might of the French nation. In the same period of fifty years (1811-1861), the boundaries of human knowledge have been carried into regions hitherto untrodden. The nineteenth century points to scholars whose researches have made obsolete much of the learning of its predecessors: to chemists, surgeons, and mathematicians, who have followed into depths unimagined before them the secret processes of nature in organic and inorganic matter: to victories over space and time transcending the anticipations of either Roger or Francis Bacon. The trophies of these Napoleons of peace are enduring: neither Russian winters, nor Leipzig carnage, nor Waterloo *saute-qui-peut* will touch or remove them. But this flood of onward movement has necessarily swept away much that was earlier inscribed in the columns of the "Biographie Universelle." Hardly had the Code Napoléon been completed, when the new Digest and Institutes required a supplement of Codex and Novellæ. A supplement was as necessary for the Biographical Digest. The supplement itself formed a work of



magnitude. And this division between the original and the additional volumes was nearly as inconvenient and unseemly as the new cloth which repairs old garments. A double alphabet in the same collection cannot fail of being cumbersome: it appals the indolent and perplexes the diligent. A long perspective of *errata*, however venial, shakes the reader's confidence, nor can errors be amended without some confusion, perhaps also some heartburnings. A new edition of the entire work could therefore alone heal the wounds of time, or cancel the imperfections, quas incuria fudit, and from the manner in which it has been hitherto conducted, the editors are well entitled to inscribe on their title-page—

“Accipe materiam rursus : formamque priorem  
Desere : mutata in melius procede figura.”

More than three hundred writers, says the editor of the second edition of the “*Biographie*,” contributed to the fifty-two original volumes, and the supplement: and to this numerous band, Europe, as well as France, furnished recruits. Nearly all of them were the pride of the Institute, or of the principal scientific bodies of the Continent. The original list is now, for the most part, a register of deaths. Science bewails her favourite sons in Cuvier, the Humboldt brothers, and Delambre: history her Sismondi: eloquence the De Staël, who wrote with the pen of Tacitus, and braved Napoleon and his hundred legions; and Chateaubriand and Benjamin Constant, who adorned by their writings the Empire and the restored Monarchy of France. Time has spared a few illustrious names, and touched gently the sedulous pen and the active brain of Villemain and Guizot. The gaps in the ranks of learning and science have, however, been filled up by men who were to be born, or were lisping infants when the first volume of the “*Biographie*” appeared, and M. Michaud, *junior*, the editor who has devoted “thirty years” to the work of collection and réduction, enumerates among the later generation of his contributors men of European as well as home-born celebrity.

Of a work so various in its subjects, it is impossible to produce samples that would render justice to its contents, or give satisfaction either to those who have consulted it, or to those who are unacquainted with it. We shall therefore endeavour, in the space yet remaining for us, to determine what should be the qualities of a Biographical Dictionary, and how far these qualities are displayed in the volumes before us.

First, of the ancient portion. In some respects this is easier of execution than the modern. The materials for Lives of Alexander and Cæsar, of Plato and Aristotle, of Homer and Demos-

thenes, are at the present moment as complete as they are ever likely to be. The convents of Mount Athos, and the depositories of manuscripts in libraries or in the cities of the dead, will not apparently yield any *spolia opima* to the modern searcher of their chests and shelves. We have nearly recovered Cicero's treatise "De Republica," but his tract "De Gloria," extant in Petrarch's boyhood, has not emerged from the pawnbroker's shop, where it was pledged by his old but unscrupulous tutor. We have given up hopes of a complete Livy or Tacitus; of regaining the lyric poets of Greece—a loss incurred by the bigotry of Byzantine priests, who scraped out the passion of Sappho and the satire of Archilochus, to make room for homilies and hymns which luckily have for the most part perished also. We shall never probably be able to judge with our own eyes why, when Thucydides has been preserved, Timæus and Philistus exist only in a few fragments cited by Athenæus and Suidas. We cannot test the accuracy of Polybius when he asserts, that when the Greeks wrote of Rome they erred and lied, and when the Romans wrote of themselves they lied and boasted. No family-papers, no lurking fragments of ancient literature, are likely to supply the chasms in the succession of its authors or their works. We must therefore be content with, and make the most of, such knowledge as we already have. In this department we observe considerable improvement in the articles of the "*Biographie Universelle*." France, during the last fifty years, has done much, if not to extend the boundaries of classical learning, yet to make it vital and popular. In many pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in many *Essais Couronnés*, and in some more extensive works, her scholars have brought ancient life and manners before our eyes, with sufficient learning and befitting eloquence. They have generally left to the Germans the task of pioneering, but on their lines have constructed comely and attractive buildings, which neither Athens nor Rome need blush to own. The influence of Michelet, Duruy, De Broglie, Merimée, W. Guizot, Salvandi, Villemain, Raoul Rochette, and many others, has reverted from history to biography; and the lives of the ancient worthies, though necessarily less particular than the corresponding lives in Dr. Smith's excellent Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, now afford the general reader all that he requires to be told, and tell the oft-repeated story agreeably as well as fully.

Soldiers, statesmen, and schoolmen of the dark and middle ages present much greater difficulties to the biographer than the corresponding characters of Greece and Rome. The materials for their lives, even if more abundant, are often more dubious and conflicting, since the passions of modern sects and parties

not infrequently date from or enter into the opinions of the divines and schoolmen of these eras. Augustine and Athanasius still influence the Christian Church. The controversies of the Nominalists and Realists are not extinct after many mutations of form; and theologians still cite Chrysostom and Tertullian in defence of their peculiar loves and hatreds. The difficulty is increased when the biographer passes from Europe to Asia, and is led to compare the dogmas of the East with those of the West. In the West, the individual is generally to be seen apart from the events among which he is an actor; whether as leader or follower, his personality is clearly defined. But in the East, where men act and think in masses, and where speculation and custom have always been as potent as individual action, there is a uniformity in the leaders of mankind that renders it often impossible to portray, without weariness to the reader, a succession of similar soldiers, sages, priests, and kings. Like the statues of the Egyptian kings which Herodotus saw at Memphis, one Piromis is the counterpart of another Piromis, that other of a third, until attention flags and memory fails under its burden. It is not easy to remember, for any time, the names of the Attic months or of the kings of Pergamus: it is just as difficult to keep in remembrance the characters of the several Caliphs of Bagdad or Seville, or of the great or wise men who stood beside their thrones. Again, we possess many inconsistent accounts of those mighty hunters of men, who, at the head of Teutonic or Mongol emigrations, made the Roman empire their hunting-field, and swept away the last barriers of Cæsarian power. To the victims of their wrath, Timour and Genghis, Alaric and Genseric, Attila and Omar, appeared the "scourges of God;" and on the modern biographer is imposed the task of discovering that they differed little from Alexander and Cæsar, except in the want of befitting chroniclers for their crimes and conquests.

Of these classes of lives, that which deals with theologians and metaphysicians is the least satisfactory in the Universal or in any other Biographical Dictionary. The articles on Abailard, Aquinas, Athanasius, and Augustine, are compiled with care, and written with much spirit and knowledge of the subject; and the general reader may learn from them all that he needs, or perhaps desires to know of this quaternion of illustrious writers. Illustrious we term them, in respect of their position in their own times, and of their influence upon posterity. Yet it is doubtful whether any one of them contributed to make men wiser or better, while it is certain that, by their dogmas or disputes, they fed many evil passions. Comparing, indeed, the narrow limits, and the often recent date of such knowledge as elevates and humanizes our species, how much of it was crushed or suspended by the fall

of Paganism, how slowly Christian light spread over or pierced the gloom of barbarism, we are disposed to rank divines and speculative thinkers among the retarders and not the promoters of civilization. Other ages will probably change their calendar of saints, and raise to the pedestals now occupied by Augustine, Bernard, the Gregories, and Basil, the venerable forms of Galileo, Newton, and Watt. In every other art and science, it is possible to trace some progress. The statute-books of nations have been purged, even by the hands of lawyers themselves, of cruel and absurd laws. The kingdoms of Pain and Disease have been narrowed by the experiments and inventions of surgeons and physicians: we can mark the footsteps of Art from the Cyclopean walls at Mycenæ to the cathedral at Cologne, and those of Science from the eclipse foretold by Thales to the discoveries of Newton and Laplace. But speculative knowledge has no similar trophies to show. Since the earliest metaphysicians began to dispute about the properties of matter and spirit, since the first theologian laboured to subject reason to faith, their respective inquiries have moved in circles and not in direct lines. For the admirable manner in which these barren topics are handled by the contributors to the "*Biographie Universelle*," we need only refer to the articles on Abailard and Athanasius; and these we select for two reasons, because the portraits are skilfully drawn, and because the originals themselves are more interesting than most of their brethren. Both the schoolman and the saint were the men of the people: abstruse and even absurd as their doctrines may appear at the present moment, when experiment has taken the place of speculation and observation of assertion, they uttered in words what then was in the heart of many. To Athanasius, next to Augustine, the Latin Church owed much of the strength which it displayed in its subsequent contests with the profane world. By him it was saved from becoming, like its rival and for the Greek church, a mere receptacle for notions, a caldron, as it were, for hot and unprofitable theories. To Abailard the scientific mind of the West was indebted for some of that severe discipline in the art of thinking which culminated, centuries later, in those powers of experiment and generalization that now distinguish our Darwins, Lyells, and Owens, as well as the science of Arago and the philosophy of Auguste Comte.

While consulting the pages of the "*Biographie Universelle*" for the lives of the schoolmen, we have been struck with the mutations of form through which knowledge and intellect pass. The great men of one age are apparently dissimilar, yet, closely scrutinised, are as remarkably alike: the great men, we say, for in these only, as the representatives of their time, is the resemblance discernible. Who that compares them can doubt that Augustine

and Luther; that Origen, who thought that all souls would be saved, and Melancthon who thought that all sects might be reconciled, were cast in the same mould, and differed only in the accident of being born in different eras? Again, Dante, who had mastered the science of his day, would, in the seventeenth century, have been a Newton, in the eighteenth a Laplace: in the fourteenth century the discoverer of the law of gravitation and the author of the Calculations of the Infinite (in which book lie the pregnant seeds of the future) would have composed a Divine Comedy. Saint Bernard, whose eye brooded on the external beauty of the world which he abjured, possessed that "inward eye," "the bliss of solitude," for which Wordsworth was so remarkable: and had Aquinas fortunately lived when material science stood in place of dialectics and metaphysics, he would have been a watcher of the heavens, or the discoverer of new powers in the realm of matter. Many are the privileges of modern times: but no one of their privileges is comparable for its worth to this—namely, that science, abandoning the barren region of psychology, has turned itself to the region of matter, in which every step is in advance, and every advance a contribution to the welfare of mankind. In proportion as the power of man over matter has increased, and inversely in proportion as his attention has been diverted from the cloudy tracts of theology to the fertile grounds of physical science, pain has been alleviated, morals improved, the brotherhood of nations cemented, ignorance deprived of its prey, and reasonable service to the Creator exchanged for that blind and torpid homage which, originating with Judaism, was for so many centuries inculcated by Christianity. Reactionary priests may consistently deplore the decay of piety so profitable to themselves: but enlightened philosophy is beginning to arouse from its long slumbers, and to assert that belief is merely the condition of imperfect knowledge, and that the proper life of man is not faith but science.

That the lives and works of French writers should be better and more fully discussed and appreciated in a work devised, conducted, and continued by Frenchmen, it is only reasonable to expect. But, besides the direct or indirect leanings of writers to their own language and people, there are causes for this superiority which it may be advisable to notice. Geographically viewed, the French language does not pervade so wide an area as the English, perhaps not so wide a space as some of the Slavonian tongues. Practically, however, and with reference to the more civilized portions of the world, French is the common dialect of politics, fashion, and even literature. It is spoken equally at Madrid and St. Petersburg, and were an Austrian and a Russian traveller to meet each other at the gates of Peking, the probability is, if they

could confer at all, they would communicate in the *lingua commune* of the French capital. This predominance, however, of the French language was more strongly marked in the 18th than in the 19th century. A hundred years ago Europe may be said to have possessed only one literature that in any sense could be termed popular. The writers of Spain were on the decline; their great classics, in history and the drama, their once famous mystical divines, were scarcely known, even by name, beyond the Iberian peninsula. The Spaniards themselves who aspired to literature laid aside Lope for Racine, and Calderon for Corneille. Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire were prophets south as well as north of the Pyrenees. Very similar was the case of Italy. It was through a French medium that her greatest tragic poet first became acquainted with Dante and Petrarcha: it was in French he laid down the basis of his own dramas. The "Cortes de Voltaire" were better known than the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, and history was composed on the model of Pierre le Grand and Charles Douze, and not on that of Guicciardini or Macchiavelli. The language and the poetry of Germany were still in the cradle: and Bodmer, Opitz, and Gottsched were regarded by the adventurous minds which perused their writings with something of the same surprise that we should now experience in listening to a Caffre poet or historian. It was with wonder, not unmixed with indignation, that the wits of Paris learned from the mouth of Voltaire, that England owned a literature at which it might be worth while for even Boileau to glance: and that Englishmen spoke in a dialect in many respects superior to the confused Babel of China or Nigritia. France, then, as regarded literature and diplomacy and refinement, stood towards modern Europe as Greece towards the eastern, and Rome towards the western hemisphere of the Empire. Every one who travelled, every one of mark and likelihood in his own land, was an "Ennius bi-linguis;" he spoke his mother-tongue among his children and servants, but he spoke French in the society of his peers. The authority of the Bourbon kings in arms suffered many mutations; but the language of those "Most Christian" majesties prevailed without a rival among the European "principalities, powers, and kingdoms." Again, though in inward form French literature might be less compact, it was in outward form elaborate: it aspired not to the grandeur of a Gothic cathedral, but it emulated the grace and order of a Grecian temple. It was well adapted therefore to cosmopolite taste and perception: nor did it impose on its students and imitators the task, which German and English writers alike enforce, of sounding the depths or the shallows of extraneous life and manner. Of such an empire France had reason to be proud at the time; but, although this despotism has passed away, and she has been compelled to

admit of brothers near her throne, has the sense of this her peaceful victory materially diminished. In no spirit of narrowness, however, are the articles on foreign writers composed in the "*Biographie Universelle*." We see no reason why Spain, or Italy, or Germany, should complain of hard or scanty measure. We have met with errors more grievous and with misconceptions less excusable, in such collections of the kind "printed at London."

With some of the English lives, we are not equally content. We do not expect in general from French biographers a hearty admission of our literary merits, or even a very exact appreciation of the English character. In these respects, indeed, our hands are not always clean. The French drama, for example, though so constantly pillaged by our dramatic poets, seldom receives fair treatment from English critics. Because Racine is not of Shakespeare's school, we too commonly decry his art: because Corneille occasionally writes in King Cambyzes' vein, we too often accuse him of bombast. We have not yet desisted from depreciating the style of Hume and the arrangement of Gibbon, because they studied in the school of Pascal and Voltaire: we contrast, with an eye of favour to ourselves, the eloquence of Hooker, Taylor, and Barrow, with the eloquence of Bourdaloue, Bossuet, and Massillon. A few critics, indeed, redeem us from the charge of indiscriminate partiality; and the French themselves have not characterized their great writers in a fairer spirit than Mr. Hallam has done in his "*History of Literature*." Again, we can find some excuse for the shortcomings of French biographers as regards ourselves. We have supplied them in no measure comparable to their own bounty in that respect, with such memoirs as are the Universal biographers' most useful and indeed essential ally. The genius of our politics is the opposite to the political genius of France: even Guizot, in his admirable history of the English Revolution, Commonwealth, and Restoration, has occasionally tripped in this field. It is truly a field of pitfalls, craving "wary walking," even in those born within the four seas and to the manner born and bred. It is venial, therefore, in a foreigner to stumble in it and lose his way. But, with every allowance for these accidents of the soil, we must enter our protest against the supercilious way in which Milton is treated, and against the shallow records of Abbot, Barrow, Cromwell, and Clarendon, and go no further in the alphabet, even in this "enlarged and revised edition" of the "*Biographie Universelle*."

We have glanced at the defects and expatiated on the merits of this comprehensive and generally admirable collection of the lives of ancient and modern worthies. And this unequal measure of praise and blame is equitable, since that which is good in

it preponderates over its errors and shortcomings, especially in this new revised edition. The remainder of our nearly exhausted space must be given to the general aspect of the work and of its theme, Biography.

The best portions of the ancient historians, says Walter Landor, are the speeches ascribed to the most conspicuous leaders in peace and war: the most interesting sections, we may add, are those which deal with the lives and personal characters of those who have been the blessings or the banes of mankind. The records of Carthage are dull and uninteresting: the life of Hannibal is second in interest only to the poems which celebrate Achilles and Æneas. What gives light and animation to the dreary progress and mutations of the Thirty Years' War? The causes at issue are often trivial, and considering the waste of blood and treasure in the conflict, always inexcusable: in threading that weary maze of insincere professions and futile performances, we side with Babouc, in Voltaire's incomparable tale of "*Le Monde comme il va*"—"Sont cela des hommes ou des bêtes féroces? Ah! je vois bien, que Persépolis sera détruite." And yet, again, when we study the biographies of Wallenstein and the great Gustavus, of the sagacious Richelieu, and the incorruptible Oxenstiern, and reflect upon the pertinacity with which principles were asserted, upon the sacrifices for principle so cheerfully undergone, we revert to the same Babouc's opinion—"Persépolis ne sera point détruite, comme le voulaient ces vilains génies." A universal biography is, in fact, a universal history under its most attractive form: and the lessons which it affords are the more instructive, inasmuch as the individual man is always more interesting than the general law.

A Biographical Dictionary is consulted either under pressure of need, or as a useful supplement to more general narratives. But these are neither the sole nor the only uses of such collections of Lives. Let us imagine, for the sake of illustrating these higher and better uses, the three following cases, in each of which we suppose that the student begins, like the judicious friend of "*Maitre Bellier*"—"Mon ami, commençons par le commencement":—

1. *History*.—The history which teaches by example is bounded by much narrower limits than the history of the human race. At once the student is compelled, or at least, supposing him of sane mind, obliged, to discard from his main path of inquiry, whole regions and races of men. Nor, until the vast Teutonic hive of nations comes into direct collision with the Roman empire, is it important for us to know what were the forest laws or the military laws, the political or the private life of barbarians. It is the very hem of Asia, the verge of that great continent confronting



or touching upon Greece, that alone affects the destinies of Europe. Africa, so interesting to the ethnologist, and, since Livingstone's discoveries, so likely to become important to commerce, is absolutely without points of osculation with Europe beyond its northern coast, or the narrow strip of the Nile Valley. Egypt and Carthage alone have a history: the continent itself is as remote from the historic circle as if it were a portion of the moon. Again, there are hundreds of names which come not within the historic pale, being connected neither with the capital nor with the subsidiary progress of mankind. What name in the universal history of Herodotus first arrests, as having a really cosmopolite import, the thoughtful reader's attention? The early squabbles of Argos and Sparta, of Ægina and Athens, of Phœnician and Greek pirates, are, and are felt to be, of no moment, and attract us merely by their picturesque aspect or their occasional features of policy and valour. It is on the name of CYRUS that the attention anchors itself. With him began the first act—for which the tale of Troy sounded the notes of preparation—of that ample and august drama, or series of dramas, in which Asia and Europe strove for the mastery, and of which the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the invasion of Persia by Alexander, the inroads of the Crescent, the retaliation of the Cross, are all and each connected scenes, tending to one main *peripateia*—the predominance of the Western over the Eastern hemisphere. At the one extremity of this capacious arch stands the name of *Cyrus*, at the other that of Richard Cœur de Lion, the last authentic hero of these border wars. And within that arch how manifold are the degrees of human action and passion! First, a tribe of mountaineers from the hills of Iran descends upon the cities and colonies of the Greeks, and sweeps those cradles of commerce, art, and civilization into the net of one or two vast satrapies. Then comes the reaction. Alarmed for themselves, and beholding the springtide of Eastern desolation approaching their walls, the European Greeks expel the invader, precipitate themselves on Asia, confine the great king to the eastern flank of Mount Taurus, and finally seat themselves on his throne in Persepolis, and give laws to his subjects from the council chamber of Babylon. Cyrus and Alexander are accordingly actors in the same drama, and their lives are connected by innumerable links in the records of biography.

But the end was not yet, neither was it at hand. Grecised Asia, now impregnated with the leaven of European life, contributed to Europe a host of names that, by reason of the virtues or vices connected with them, stand, "thick as autumnal leaves in Vallombrosa," in the pages of Biographical Dictionaries. There is the numerous family of the *Antiochi*, the yet longer-lived

family of the *Ptolemies*, with their several offsets in Cyprus and the islands; and there is that much more interesting class of lives—those, namely, of the scholars and philosophers of Pergamus, Berytus, and Alexandria, destined to affect the whole tenour of declining Paganism, as well as of rising Christianity. Again, too, the East at times rolled back the tide of war on the West. The fire kindled in the Arabian peninsula, like a flame kindled in the vast plains of Paraguay, spread over a third of Asia, defaced the civilization of Oriental Greece and of India, and propelled the Mongol shepherds from the banks of the Amour to the banks of the Danube. From the shores of the Baltic there was a similar loosening, concussion, and concatenation of races. Every landmark of Grecian or Roman empire was swept away. The biographical field was immeasurably extended: and whereas down to a certain epoch civilization, so far as regards Europe, rested on three bases, a Hebrew, an Hellenic, and a Roman, the education of the world was from that epoch committed to races whom the Jews stigmatized as the posterity of Gog and Magog, and whom Athens and Rome alike superciliously termed barbarians.

2. *Literature and Science*.—All the greater and some of the lesser prophets of the Hebrew nation had closed their scrolls of invectives against Nineveh and Babylon, Memphis and Damascus, before literature streaked with its first uncertain rays the horizon of Greeco. The morning, however, broke rapidly forth, and the vast and full-orbed disc of *Homer* early demands the attention of the biographer. We shall not pause on the vexed question of the individuality or the plurality of names implied in *Homer*, but direct the reader's notice to two points—the long series of Greek writers, and the generally able manner in which their lives are treated by the French biographers. We may justly wonder at the caprice of losses and preservation of Greek manuscripts; at the unnecessary care taken of so many worthless rhetoricians, of Aristides and Libanius at the head of them; at the deplorable and indeed irritating negligence which dropt into the river of Lethe historians who might have enabled us to check the statements of Thucydides, and poets who would have brought palpably to our senses the passions and the social life of the Hellenic race. But what is even more admirable is the intense intellectual activity of that race in every department of science and literature. When a reader consults the pages of the “*Biographie Universelle*” for the records of Aristotle or Aristophanes, of Plato or Euripides, of Democritus or Hippocrates, he peruses the lives of only a few survivors of a band whose name was “*legion*.” In literature, Greece attempted and succeeded in nearly every department which collective Europe has since cultivated: in science,

until the eighteenth century, she had surpassed, or nearly anticipated, all that Europe achieved during sixteen centuries. Hippocrates had proclaimed the effects of climate, of water, of ventilation, of diet, on life, health, and disease, two thousand five hundred years before European physicians turned their thoughts to these natural agents and prophylactics: and Aristotle, and perhaps Democritus also, had performed operations which a hundred years since no European surgeon would have imagined possible. Let the reader who is desirous of knowing the amount of Greek literature, from its Ionian cradle to its Byzantine tomb, select from the "Biographic" the lives of the Hellenic writers; and let him who is curious in the history of science consult its pages, from Aristotle to the period when Justinian closed the schools of Athens, and each will have acquired, when his list is completed, a pretty full and accurate acquaintance with the progress of the human mind down to the time of Bacon or Newton.

3. *Religion.*—We have reserved this head to the last, in our rapid survey of the contents of this Biographical Encyclopædia, partly because of the importance of the subject, but principally because in no other similar collection of lives have we found the theme handled with such uniform fairness or fulness. We have already alluded to the imperfect manner in which Religion and its sister, Philosophy, are discussed by our own countrymen. With the exception of the lives in Dr. Smith's Biographical Dictionary (and these subjects form but a slender portion of his work), the history of opinion is viewed under the most stupid or the most sectarian points of view. Churchmen write the lives of heretics and dissenters with pens dipped in gall: dissenters employ ink of the same manufacture in their accounts of Churchmen; and both write in a common spirit of aversion to such free and unshackled thinkers as Hobbes, Spinoza, or Descartes. It seems, indeed, the province of French writers to be the exponents to the rest of the world of philosophical and even theological tenets. The old fierce spirit of the Sorbonne has never been allowed to infect with undeserved censure or applause the pages of the "Biographie." Either M. Michaud, the editor, has been most fortunate in the temper or the selection of his contributors, or he has exerted a most wholesome despotism in revising and purging from combative elements their several contributions.

In surveying the departments of Religion and Philosophy respectively, as exhibited in the volumes before us, we have been repeatedly struck with the relations of faith and reason to the progress of mankind. Books have been written on Ages of Reason and on Ages of Faith, but in no one of them have we met with a sincere or successful attempt to state the question or to strike

the balance correctly between these antagonistic forces. Each is a condition of human progress, as essential to it as the polar forces of passion and action. Without a lively faith in goodness and wisdom, a faith which "looks with forward and reverted eyes," with reverence for the past, with hope for the future, individuals and nations would, by their own spontaneous act and volition, subside into the indolence and apathy that are the worst consequences of despotic government. Without such a fiery particle of life, the world would be, or rather long since have become, one wide Byzantine empire, crushed by empty forms, and careful only to eat and drink and sleep. Without an active Reason, on the other hand, there could be neither heroism nor hero-worship; and the civilization of the world would be that of the sporadic races, which at each extremity of the Old and New Continent prove what thin partitions divide animal from human being. To neither Faith nor Reason, therefore, can be justly ascribed the evils which men have incurred from the misuse of either—the misuse, we say, because each in its turn is held responsible for those evils.

The real culprit—the "*fons et origo malorum*"—is not the faith which quickens, but the credulity which deadens, the faculties of the human mind. It was a quickening faith that lighted Columbus to his discovery; it was a benumbing belief in baseless traditions that so long delayed his enterprise and nearly broke that mighty heart. Had the philosophy of Christendom proceeded from the same sources as its religion, we should now be pressed and bowed down by dogmas as enslaving in their effect, as irrational in their premises, as those which held in bondage the colleges of Salamanca or the Chinese empire. It was the active reason of the Greeks which engrafted a germ of vitality upon the speculations of the Christian schoolmen. It is the indolence and the jealousy of Belief, as distinguished from living Faith, that now, even in the eleventh hour of the world, renders theologians hostile to science, and ready to appeal to the mob of the unreflecting on each occasion of a new birth in science. Let, again, a reader of the "*Biographie Universelle*" construct parallel tables of the great names in Theology and Science, and we are much mistaken if the result do not prove to be, that in ages when the former has predominated, human progress was arrested; while in every period in which the latter has prevailed, mankind has advanced in wisdom, power, happiness, and self-respect.

The volumes of the "*Biographie Universelle*" might justly lead us further into such and similar speculations. But we must now conclude our remarks on this collection of the lives of men that, opening with the orthodox question, "Who was the first man?" leads us upward to the threshold of contemporary eminence, and conducts us through every known phase of human thought and

action, from the *first* syllable of recorded time. The eulogy which Gibbon penned of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, may justly be applied to a work which far transcends it in compass and value:—

“I cannot forget,” he says, “the joy with which I exchanged a bank-note of twenty pounds for the twenty volumes of the ‘*Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*: nor would it have been easy, by any other expenditure of the same sum, to have procured so large and lasting a fund of rational amusement. At a time when I most assiduously frequented this School of Ancient Literature, I thus expressed my opinion of a learned and various collection, which since the year 1759 has been doubled in magnitude, though not in merit. ‘Une de ces sociétés qui ont mieux immortalisé Louis XIV. qu’une ambition souvent pernicieuse aux hommes, commençoit déjà ces recherches qui réunissent la justesse de l’esprit, l’aménité et l’érudition : ou l’on voit tant de découvertes et quelquefois, ce qui ne cède qu’à peine aux découvertes, une ignorance modeste et savante.’”

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### ART. III.—A VISIT TO THE MORMONS.

*A Journey to the Great Salt Lake City.* By JULES REMY, and JULIUS BRENCHELY, M.A.; with a *Sketch of the History, Religion, and Customs of the Mormons, and an Introduction on the Religious Movement in the United States.* By JULES REMY. 2 vols. royal 8vo., with ten Steel Engravings and a Map. London, 1861.

THESE sumptuous volumes, though containing the narrative of the travels, adventures, and investigations of two gentlemen—the one English, the other French—are due entirely to the pen of the latter. Written in French, they have been admirably translated, in the presence of the two travellers, by whom the English version has been scrupulously revised. The work opens with a very able and beautifully written dissertation on the religious movement in the United States. The largeness of view, philosophical breadth and acumen, the accurate knowledge and thorough appreciation of the subject discussed, the profound religious feeling, and the genuine reverence of the religious instinct of man which distinguish this essay, emphatically bespeak for it the attention of every student of the highly interesting subject to which it refers. We are by no means sure that it occupies its

most appropriate place as an Introduction to a narrative of a journey to Utah, and should rejoice to see it rendered more generally accessible by publication in a separate form.

Succeeding this introduction is the account of the journey from California to Utah, of the origin, history, and nature of Mormonism, and of the journey back across Utah to the Pacific. Added to the first volume is a valuable chronological summary of the history of the Mormons; and, in the second are several interesting and instructive notes, a Mormon bibliography, and a copious index. M. Remy appears to have a good knowledge of botany, and to take a supreme interest in that science: the consequence is, he burdens his narrative with descriptions of every plant he encounters. We doubt not this habit will be held highly satisfactory by botanical readers, but in the uninitiated it is apt to induce a feeling of weariness, and for the sake of these—the large majority—we wish he had included his botanical details in the Appendix.

Our two travellers met each other, we believe, in the Sandwich Islands, and, proceeding thence to California, commenced their journey to Utah. We have no account of the previous travels of M. Remy, but in one of the notes in the Appendix we are presented with a sketch of Mr. Brenchley's proceedings from the time he left England till his arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Possessing a powerful physical frame, indomitable courage, a marvellous capacity of endurance, acute observation, and inexhaustible resources in the presence of difficulties, together with ample funds, he appears to be peculiarly fitted to undertake the perilous journey which he accomplished across the American continent. He left Europe in July, 1849; having reached America, he traversed the United States from north to south, then, returning to the north, entered Canada, and passed the autumn and winter in the forests of that country, where he lived sometimes in the open air, sometimes in a tent, depending for his subsistence entirely on the produce of his gun. Thus hardening himself by all sorts of voluntary privations, he prepared himself for the great journey he had resolved to undertake.

In the spring of 1850 he went to St. Louis, and thence, ascending the Missouri, to St. Joseph. Here he procured horses, mules, waggons, servants, and all the needful travelling gear and provisions, and in June set out for the great American plains, intending to reach the coast of Oregon by way of the Rocky Mountains. He advanced along the left bank of the Missouri, and passed several companies of Mormon emigrants on their way to the Salt Lake; on one occasion he found as many as 5000 of them encamped, some in waggons, some in tents. After reaching Council Bluffs and crossing the Missouri, he sent

back all his servants but one, left his waggons on the road, and reserving only two saddle-horses and some baggage-mules, afterwards proceeded at greater speed. Traversing the vast plain which is crossed by the Platte or Nebraska river, the islands in which, owing to the mirage, often had the appearance of being covered with wood (although wood, in reality, was not to be had), he at length reached Fort Laramie on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, where he was hospitably entertained by the officers of the fort. The pass by which he crossed the mountain chain is nearly 8000 feet high. The cold became severe: the pack-ropes being frozen quite stiff, occasioned much difficulty each morning in fastening the baggage on the mules. In this lofty region he lost two horses: one from cold and fatigue; the other was attacked and devoured by wolves, which he says are very large, in great numbers, and exceedingly bold. Descending the pass through the Rocky Mountains along an incline as gradual and insensible as that of the ascent, and fording Green River, in which he caught some excellent trout, he reached the banks of the Snake river on the 6th of September, and passed the day at Fort Hall, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, where he bought two horses to replace those he had lost. This fort is only about two degrees of latitude due north of Great Salt Lake city. How easily our traveller might then have reached it, and what subsequent perils and hardships he might consequently have escaped! But Fate determined otherwise.

He turned to the north-west, following the course of the Snake river, in which he caught delicious trout, and pursued his way, often over marshes in which his animals sank to their bellies. The banks of the river were for a considerable distance bordered by a desert, apparently quite devoid of vegetation, where the dust and sand raised by the wind were so thick that they filled the eyes, nose, and mouth of man and beast, and interfered seriously with breathing.

"The direction of the road now rendered it necessary to cross the river. Mr. Brenchley, though heavily dressed, with a pair of boots half-way up the thigh, and with his heavy rifle in hand, plunged into it; and, thanks to his great strength, he reached the opposite bank safe and sound. His servant, though he had taken the precaution to undress, and tie all his things on his mule, was not so fortunate; after desperately struggling against the current, his strength gave way and he was drowned."

Having spent a day searching in vain for the body of his servant, Mr. Brenchley, greatly cast down, continued his route, bearing a little away from the river. The only fuel now accessible consisted of stunted rose-bushes. On September 22nd he

reached the Boisee river and Fort Boisee, a miserable structure belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, and occupied by a solitary "pale-face"—a Scotchman. Leaving this fort after one night's rest in it, he encountered numerous bands of harmless Indians, and shortly afterwards reached the river Malheur, where he had to abandon a horse which could no longer drag itself along. To spare his remaining animals as much fatigue as possible, he began to travel during the night. This plan brought new troubles; the mules often wandered from the road, or got "mired," and sometimes lost, and were not to be found till the morning.

In about lat. 44° and long. 121° from the meridian of Paris, our traveller entered a pine forest, which of course supplied an abundance of fuel, but there was a total absence of fodder; provisions, too, were running short. He silenced the cravings of his own stomach by recourse to tobacco, smoked in his last pipe which, already "broken into five pieces and tied together with twine, was anxiously watched over with affectionate care." After two days' travelling, the forest became thinner, and herbage appeared. He shortly afterwards lost two mules, but was too anxious to hasten on, to stop and look for them. He had now only two left, and they as well as the horses were much exhausted. Having reached the Umatillah river, crossed it three times in the course of his route, passed through dense fogs on its banks, and traversed another desert void of wood and water, he at length reached the Columbia river. Of all his horses he had now only one left capable of carrying him. He advanced, amid clouds of blinding dust, in the direction of the river, near which in this region there is not a particle of vegetation; and his stock of provisions being reduced to a few pounds of dried salmon and pork, he became apprehensive of scurvy. Here he lost one of his only two remaining mules.

His troubles in respect to food were, however, nearly at an end: after crossing two more rivers, tributaries of the Columbia, one of them three hundred and fifty yards wide, and traversing a wilderness, where he was obliged to collect the stems of the wild rose for his night's fuel, he arrived at the Dalles. "There he took a week's rest, enjoying himself in the society of the officers of this American post, who treated him to roast beef, wine, and clean linen,—no trifling luxuries to a man who has been several months in the desert. He had not lost more than two pounds in weight since he left St. Joseph, and he was in excellent condition."

Thus refreshed, he descended the Columbia in a canoe with two Chinook Indians as far as the "Cascades" (a series of rapids); then, walking to their lower end, hired a boat with two men, and after running great risk of being swamped at a place called Little



Cape Horn, reached Fort Vancouver. Here he had "to undergo a singular trial: compelled to sleep in a bed, it appeared to him to be an absolute torment; after sleeping so many nights in the open air, a bedroom seemed to him a prison or a stuffy box; he could not endure the sheets after the blankets, and very soon took to his blankets on the floor." From Fort Vancouver he crossed the river (about a mile wide), and visited *Oregon City*, which, although containing at that time but about 500 inhabitants, possessed a Roman Catholic cathedral, an archbishop, and several convenient hotels. Having extended his visit a little further south as far as Salem, where he was invited to share a bed with three persons, he returned to Fort Vancouver, embarked in a schooner, the '*Mary Dare*,' of 140 tons, and after a voyage of fifty days, instead of fourteen, the usual time, he landed safe and sound in the Sandwich Islands. His entire journey from the time he left St. Joseph occupied five months. How our traveller spent his time, and whither he wandered during the next five years, and whether he made the acquaintance of M. Remy during the first or the last part of that time, we are not informed. We only know that they both learnt to speak the Hawaiian language fluently, and therefore infer that their residence in the Sandwich Islands must have been a long one.

M. Remy's account of the journey to Utah begins with his departure in company with Mr. Brenchley from San Francisco for Sacramento, July 18th, 1855. At Sacramento they made their preparations for their arduous enterprise, and on the 30th of July they set out. They assumed the costume of miners, in order to avoid attracting the attention of robbers. Resolved at first to take no servants, they were induced by a captain of a French merchant-vessel which had foundered in the Pacific, to allow him to accompany them as cook and servant-of-all-work. Their arms consisted of two double-barrelled guns, a double-barrelled rifle, and five six-shot revolvers.

After passing Placerville (or Hangtown), our travellers journeyed through vast forests, for the most part of pine, fir, and oak. Having crossed the Sierra Nevada at an absolute elevation of about 9500 feet, and descended into a level plain forming the bottom of the valley on the eastern side, the travellers encamped, when the practical Mr. Brenchley busied himself in mending the harness and rearranging the baggage, while M. Remy, botanizing by the side of a stream, was astonished to see an enormous bear drinking on the opposite bank.

When leaving the Mormon colony settled in Carson Valley, our travellers had the gratification of hearing some Americans betting that the Indians would not permit them to see civilized life again.

They now entered a plain covered with dry, arid mounds, a true vestibule of the desert. Along the track lay broken waggons, abandoned by the emigrants, and numerous skeletons and hides of oxen which, exhausted by the desert, had died almost in sight of plenty. Traces of bears were also often visible.

"When darkness had overspread the earth, we heard in every direction cries most wonderfully resembling the human voice. It was the cry of the cayote, a species of wolf abounding in these countries, and attracted by our presence as to a prey. These voracious brutes, together with bears, eagles, snakes, and the formidable flies which drank the blood of our horses and mules, gave to these localities and to our situation a charm from its very wildness, if I may so express myself, which the prospect of actual or possible danger only tended to enhance."

Proceeding in the direction of the Carson river the travellers encountered three armed Indians, who were most troublesomely importunate for percussion-caps and a blanket. Seeing no hope of success, they at length moved off. A greater vexation followed: the whole of the animals disappeared. Mr. Brenchley and George, the servant, searched for them at night in vain. They started early next morning in search again, and found them, ten miles off, in better pasturage. Meanwhile M. Remy, on rising, discovered that a snake had slept under his head. He killed it, and finding it toothless recovered somewhat from his fright. The route, still continued along the river, was covered with a whitish efflorescence, and was overrun with lizards, large and small, of an earthy colour, with flat bodies and thorny tails. After a time, having first recovered a horse which had "bolted," and which managed to get to the top of a tolerably steep mountain, the travellers left the river and struck towards the north. Snakes became such constant companions during the night, that their presence was at length regarded almost as a matter of course. Frequently in the morning they were shaken out of the blankets.

Ragtown, consisting of three huts on the borders of the desert, and containing one Pole and two Americans, was reached Aug. 14th. One of the inhabitants being a blacksmith, the animals which required it were re-shod. On the 16th, the travellers reached and forded the Humboldt river; and after crossing most desolate and arid tracts, covered by a whitish efflorescence as with a crust of hoarfrost, and bordered with mountains which, from their form and colour, were evidently volcanic, they met a party of Americans encamped with a drove of seven or eight hundred head of cattle. The captain and owner of this convoy, Mr. Gibson, had been killed on the road by some Indians, who came up, pretending to wish to shake hands with him. The water of the Humboldt at this part of its course, a little below the lake of the same name, is slimy, fœtid,

and as white as soapsuds, from the soda with which the floating *Potamogeton* are incrustated. Thousands of dead fish, destroyed by the prevalence of alkaline salts, float on the surface of the stream, and render it still more fœtid. The travellers were thus without drinkable water; but were at last compelled by thirst to take what they could get. They made the water somewhat less nauseous by the admixture of ground roasted beans which had been sold to them at Sacramento for ground coffee.

Now occurred the severest trial perhaps which, in the whole course of their journey, our travellers had to encounter. For a short time only Mr. Brenchley confided the animals to the care of George, the servant, who was deputed to guard them while they grazed. At dusk Mr. Brenchley went to him, and, as usual, found him fast asleep; but the animals had vanished—in what direction it was impossible to divine, and two hours' search in the dark proved fruitless. At three o'clock in the morning Mr. Brenchley, taking George with him, again started in search. Meanwhile M. Remy was left alone with the baggage, and had to endure three days' terrible suspense. At length Mr. Brenchley and George arrived, overcome with thirst and fatigue.

"It was now seventy hours since Mr. Brenchley had left me," says M. Remy, "to go in search of our beasts. The first day he had walked until ten in the morning, when George, who had been long supported by his arm during the journey, at length, exhausted with fatigue, heat, and thirst, sank upon the ground unable to proceed, a mere insensible log. The two travellers experienced excessive noise in their ears while exposed to the influence of the sun in a desert which is considered impassable on foot by day. They only reached Ragtown the morning of the following day, having neither eaten nor drunk since the evening of the two days previous, and having gone nearly fifty-four miles on foot. They had suffered so severely from the sun, that they could not walk steadily or rise easily after lying down. Mr. Brenchley, whose feet were swollen by the burning heat of the sand, was obliged to slit his boots open to get relief. Our animals had arrived at Ragtown on the 17th, before daybreak, having thus crossed the desert in less than a night, with such courage had the bait of good cheer inspired them. The honest inhabitants of Ragtown had already appropriated them, and now surrendered them with a very bad grace, at the same time exacting a sum of fifteen dollars, to indemnify them for their keep, for which amount Murdoch became surety." \* \* \* In returning, "about ten o'clock at night, when it was very dark, the animals became restive; Mr. Brenchley's mule fell with him, and in the scuffle he received a kick on the nose from a horse, which fractured the bone. George, who was fast asleep on his beast, could not keep the animals together, and away they went, leaving the wounded man on the ground. Although smothered with blood, Mr. Brenchley at once perceived that no time was to be lost. With immense deter-

mination, he went in pursuit of the fugitives, overtook them, with difficulty got them together again, and succeeded in bringing them back, not without breaking out at the provoking apathy of George."

Our travellers left their encampment of ill omen Aug. 20th, following the eastern bank of the Humboldt lake, and leaving it to their left. "High arid mountains flanked the valley on either side, and thousands of white birds larger than swans swam majestically on the calm and oily water of the lake." The attention of the travellers to the beautiful scene was diverted by one of their mules, Péké, which seemed less vigorous than usual, and which soon after died. The loss of Péké necessitated the abandonment of a portion of baggage equal in weight to that she carried; the least indispensable was left, including the whole of the travellers' collection of skins, with the case containing them, all their specimens of rocks, all their arsenical soap, and all their alcohol except one bottle. While thus engaged they were visited by Indians. These children of the desert "dwell on the grests of the hills, in order to obtain a better view of whatever is going on around them. They resemble eagles on the watch for their prey; and it is a very difficult matter to escape their piercing eyes."

Continuing their route—now veering away from the river Humboldt, and now towards it, accordingly as its course coincided or not with their track, following the guidance of the frightful series of skeletons which indicated their path, and suffering extremely from the want of pure water—our travellers reached, on Aug. 24th, a willow wood and verdant meadow, where they encamped. M. Remy caught with rod and line, about a hundred fish in a very short time; and, though they tasted of the mud, they were a delicious change from the salt meat which for a long time had been the staple food of himself and his friend.

On the 25th, a convoy of emigrants made their appearance, and reported that they had found and buried the body of a certain Captain Jones, who had been murdered by the Shoshonè Indians; they urged our travellers to return, if they valued their lives. This advice was speedily justified, for having advanced but a short distance on the way, conscious of being watched and dodged by the Indians, they suddenly received a discharge from the bushes, to which they replied by sending four shots in return. They heard a yell, and a score of horsemen galloped off. The iron head of an arrow, fortunately not poisoned, penetrated about an inch into the back of Mr. Brenchley's neck, but did not wound any important artery; and M. Remy received five buck-shots, one of which penetrated to some depth.

The imminent peril in which they found themselves induced them, after encamping for a short time, to start forward and to travel throughout the night. They left a large fire burning in

order to make the Indians believe them still at their place of encampment. They rode on, anxious about their security, and for some time missed their way, but soon again came upon an emigrant track, and at four the following morning encamped in a hollow on the top of a mountain, where unfortunately they were destitute of both fodder and water. M. Remy became extremely feverish, and, "dying from thirst, almost gave way to despair." Mr. Brenchley was obliged to do all the packing, and to lift his companion on to his mule. At eight o'clock at night they resumed their march by the light of the full moon. During eight days the fever tormented M. Remy, and throughout the whole of that time he had no sleep. At length an irresistible desire to sleep overcame him. He says,—“On my mule and on foot I slept, and actually slept as I walked; I slept while smoking, and without letting my pipe out; and however firmly I resisted, I always dropped off to sleep again.”

Having encamped after this journey of sleep, M. Remy killed a rattlesnake, which he carefully beheaded and cooked for dinner, and found it as sweet as an eel. Starting from this encampment, our travellers lost their way, and were obliged, on September 1st, to determine their position by astronomical observation. According to their calculations, they were in latitude  $40^{\circ} 25'$  north, and in longitude  $118^{\circ} 30'$  west of the meridian of Paris. Concluding they were in a direct line for the Salt Lake, and that the sources of the Humboldt were to the north of them, they resolved to lose no more time in seeking for the emigrant trail, but to make directly for the south point of the lake. After experiencing great and disheartening difficulties in finding a practicable way, and traversing a considerable tract of desert country, they were again alarmed by perceiving Indian footprints, and seeing seven horses grazing at liberty near a small wood. But shortly afterwards they were relieved by the sight of a wooden cabin with two large chimneys, which proved to be the residence of a Mormon, Peter Haws, and of his wife and one daughter. He had established himself in this secluded spot fifteen months before, and supported himself by farming. It was fortunate for our travellers that they missed the regular track, and wandered across the mountains in a more southerly direction; for near the sources of the Humboldt, a part through which emigrants usually pass, the Indians were assembled, and would, as M. Remy says, have stripped him and his companion of everything, even if they had spared their lives. Mrs. Haws soon prepared a repast to which our travellers did ample justice. It consisted of bread, salt beef, butter, cheese, tea and cream, potatoes, turnips, and a fruit tart. “Only conceive,” exclaims M. Remy, “the delight of a hungry soul at meeting with such luxuries in the desert!” Our travellers rested and re-

freshed themselves eleven days at Haws' house, where they had an opportunity of learning the history and observing the character of two devout Mormons, and also of seeing a good deal of the Indians, with whom Haws and his wife were in constant and familiar intercourse.

On the 7th of September, our travellers intended to leave Haws' hospitable roof, but were prevented by the sudden illness of their servant George. The evening of the same day an old savage informed them that the Indians, encouraged by the desire of plunder and by the small number of emigrants who were crossing the plain that year, were ruthlessly attacking all white travellers, and blockading the route to the Salt Lake; that they had attempted to pillage all emigrant convoys in the neighbourhood of "Goose Creek;" had just completely stripped a caravan of seventeen Mexicans, and had also murdered several Americans. Haws sent a messenger to Sokopitz, the chief of the valley, begging him to come and see him; the chief, who was about twenty-five years of age, soon arrived with his band of hunters. Haws proposed to him that he should raise a small force to punish the Indians who had been murdering and plundering. He replied, that he had nothing to do with the guilty Shoshonès, but could rely on the Indians in his district. Being asked whether he would escort our travellers to the Salt Lake, he requested two days to consider, and at the end of them he assented. Haws also resolved to accompany them, taking with him his waggon, drawn by two horses and a mule. On the 15th of September they set out, their escort consisting of Sokopitz and his brother, Haws, and Carlos Murray (Haws' son-in-law), the latter in the capacity of guide; they had six saddle-horses, and eight pack and saddle-mules. The waggon was the source of great difficulty in passing through the mountains, the travellers having frequently to place themselves at the wheels, either as drags, or to force it forwards; at one time they had almost made up their minds to abandon it. During one of their encampments three Indians paid them a visit, and supplied them with three antelope haunches in exchange for eight rifle bullets. Once more George let the animals stray; Mr. Branchley and Sokopitz had to track them ten miles before they were recovered.

- On the 21st of September, leaving an oasis where they had reposed, our travellers entered the largest desert which they had hitherto had to cross; all trace of vegetation vanished, and nothing was to be seen but an immense carpet of salt and mud, hurtful to the eyes from its whiteness, and the lofty mountains in the distance. While crossing this desert the two Indian chiefs suddenly drew the travellers' attention to a part of the horizon where appeared a stately river skirted with trees; soon it seemed

to expand and overflow on all sides, forming a sea bathing the foot of fantastic mountains; islands rose from the bosom of this unknown ocean, which was ploughed by vessels of every shape, and on the surface of which enormous whales appeared to gambol; in the foreground of this marine landscape rose elegant habitations, seemingly set in the midst of woods of bushy trees, and surrounded by cattle and sheep. These, with other features of

"This extraordinary mirage surpassed," says M. Remy, "all those we had hitherto seen and all we have met with since, either in Africa, America, or Oceania. We were transported with delight. Nothing was wanting to captivate the eye, and the details were metamorphosed so rapidly that the pencil could not reproduce them.

'Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum.'

The magnificence of such a spectacle drew from us shouts of admiration, and we agreed that it was sufficient of itself to repay us for the difficulties and miseries of our journey. Every one in our caravan perceived the images in the same way, the Indians as well as ourselves, and these images were so clearly defined that we were at first sight borne away by the charm of the illusion, and were a few minutes before we could recognise that it was a mirage. The phenomenon began at one in the afternoon; the wind was blowing from the south, we were journeying to the east. It was more particularly towards the north that the mirage was most distinct and the most animated. The sun was shining and the sky cloudless, but the atmosphere did not appear to possess that limpidity which had characterized it on some previous occasions. At three o'clock the curtain fell on this fairy scene, and we were brought back to the reality of a horrible salt desert."

At length our travellers reached Grantsville, a village surrounded by an *adobe* (sun-dried brick) wall, with two gates opposite each other: it contained about fifty houses, consisting of trunks of trees laid one upon another, and plastered together with mud, which were occupied by seventy-five families, constituting the most advanced Mormon settlement in this direction. There were "a great number of children, apparently in full health: the expression of the men is stupid and coarse; that of the women is less common and less unpleasant." The Bishop of Grantsville, whose episcopal residence consisted of two rooms only, had three wives, and several daughters, rather pretty, and with becoming manners; the wives consented for a trifle to prepare a meal for the travellers, who, after fifteen miles' further travelling, arrived at the border of the Great Salt Lake. The next day they started for the Holy City; stopping on the way at a very neat farmhouse, they obtained for fifty cents an "aristocratic breakfast," prepared by a very bustling woman with finely-moulded features. This

woman's husband worked in the city, and only came to see her on the Saturday.

As soon as they had passed the Jordan, Haws solemnly bared his head, and "with much devotion and simplicity saluted the Holy City, on the soil of which he had just set his foot." It is the custom of the saints who arrive from Europe or the Eastern States to prostrate themselves with their faces to the earth as soon as they perceive the goal of their long journeyings, like the Mahometan pilgrims when they descry the edifices of Mecca. The two Indians, who had never seen any other house than Haws', gazed upon a spectacle entirely new to them, and, struck with astonishment at the sight of an immense group of houses laid out in rows which was suddenly revealed to them, they passed by an instinctive movement from the front to the rear, as though they feared to be first to venture into this unknown labyrinth. George, on the contrary, who from the time he entered the desert seemed both night and day to drag on a lifeless existence, either overcome by sleep and fatigue, or paralysed by fear, was now revived; though he had not broken his fast for nearly twenty-four hours, he was no longer the same man he had been during the journey, but, overjoyed in finding himself again in a civilized country, presented a countenance beaming with delight. On the 25th of September, 1855, fifty-eight days after their departure from Sacramento, the travellers entered the Mormon capital.

During their journey they lost the portmanteau containing their letters of credit, and arrived at the Salt Lake with an empty purse, and their clothes in tatters, and without any means of establishing their identity. A famine prevailed at the time, caused by the ravages of the locusts; the consequent high prices of all kinds of provisions rendered the position of moneyless men more than ordinarily precarious. In the case of our travellers the difficulty was increased by the necessity of providing keep for their animals, which alone cost twenty dollars a day. They lost no time, therefore, in procuring an introduction to the governor and supreme president of the Church of Latter-day Saints throughout the world—Brigham Young. Unfortunately, their introducer, Peter Haws, was not regarded by him as in the perfect odour of orthodoxy. This fact, as well as their ragged costume of miners, was not calculated to create a favourable impression. His Excellency did not appear to pay any attention to them, and did not condescend to favour them with a word. On being asked to accord them a private interview, he appointed the street, alleging, "because at the present moment I have no private office." The result of the interview served rather to increase than to diminish the travellers' difficulties. They were, in fact, looked upon, as they learnt afterwards, as persons of bad character,



sent by the Gentiles to assassinate the Mormon leader. Having no immediate resources, and no prospect of any until they could receive funds from Europe or California, they made up their minds to work meanwhile for their subsistence; Mr. Branchley as a turner, and M. Remy as a compositor. At this juncture they were fortunately met in the middle of the street by a Mormon missionary, James Lawson, whom they had known in the Sandwich Islands, and to whom Mr. Branchley had rendered an important service. Lawson, learning their embarrassment and the manner in which they had been received by the Governor, hastened to establish their identity, and to clear up all misapprehensions about their character and intentions to his Excellency's satisfaction. Brigham Young expressed regret for his mistake, excused himself for it, and afforded to the travellers such courtesy and countenance as at once removed their difficulties. A commercial house, enlightened respecting them, consented to discount their bills on San Francisco to any amount they might require, and without charging them any commission.

Placed now entirely at their ease, both Mr. Branchley and M. Remy devoted themselves to prosecuting their inquiries into the history, condition, and prospects of the Mormons. They spent a month at Great Salt Lake City, labouring incessantly at this object: they allowed themselves but four hours out of every twenty-four for sleep; they explored the environs of the city during the day; occupied the evenings in conversing with Mormons and Gentiles whom they invited to their house, and devoted a part of each night to reading the grotesque publications of the Church and its apostles, and to recalling their impressions and embodying them in the shape of notes. Having arranged to be in the Galapagos Islands in the month of May following, they economized to the utmost the time at their disposal among the Mormons, by often separating from each other in order to pursue different tracks of inquiry simultaneously. The results of these investigations, together with much information afterwards acquired, have been embodied by M. Remy in the second and third books of his very admirable work, which for their fulness of information, conscientious industry, comprehensiveness of view, philosophical impartiality, noble and refined tone, and elegant style, are alike conspicuous and commendable. In presenting our readers with a brief summary of the history, the doctrines, and the practices of the Latter-day Saints, we shall avail ourselves almost exclusively of the knowledge now rendered so easily and agreeably accessible in M. Remy's trustworthy pages. After making the best use of the month they spent amongst the Mormons, they began, October 26th, 1855, their return journey to the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Passing through the heart of

Utah, New Mexico, and Lower California in a south-westerly direction, and visiting Cedar City, San Bernardino, and Las Vegas on their way they reached Los Angeles, November 29th. There they embarked in a steamer, December 8th, and in two days afterwards arrived at San Francisco. Although M. Remy has extended the narrative of this journey over 215 royal octavo pages, it was attended by few remarkable incidents; we therefore regret the less that we have no space in which to give a summary of this, the least interesting part of his work, and shall content ourselves with noting two or three facts which seem most worth mentioning. On the eve of their departure from the Holy City our travellers called to take leave of the civil and spiritual head of the Mormons—Brigham Young. He received them with kindness and dignity, and just as they were leaving “suddenly raised his arms as if he were going to pronounce a blessing, and gravely uttered these words: ‘May God bless and cause you to walk in the ways of light and truth!’” As soon as it was known that the President had blessed the two Gentile travellers, they became invested in the eyes of the Saints with greatly increased importance, and received tokens of the highest degree of consideration and respect. They were at once regarded as privileged people, in some sort inviolable. This fact is strongly significant both of the sincerity of Mormon convictions and of the profound veneration of the disciples for their leader. Such was the high price of provisions while our travellers were at Utah, that when they left Great Salt Lake City, their bills for a month’s residence there, and for the fodder and stabling for their animals, amounted to 2600 dollars! The chief difficulties they experienced on the way consisted in crossing the river Sevier, in which they ran great risk of losing their waggon; in ascending a steep hill up which they had to carry the same vehicle piecemeal; and in going through a pass of the Sierra Nevada, “down a steep narrow sandy path which passed over an almost perpendicular ridge, having on either side an immense precipice.” The passage of this pass seems to have been truly dangerous: the waggon slid down with frightful rapidity, the back of it frequently slewing round and bearing the hind wheel off the edge. All hope of saving the waggon, which seemed every instant as if about to roll over into the abyss, was given up. Mr. Brenchley, however, imperturbably kept his seat as driver, and, managing his cattle with coolness, was prepared to jump off the instant the wheels got fairly over the edge. At one moment the feet of one of the mules were actually off the road, and her body swayed over as if it had lost its balance; fortunately, she nimbly recovered herself, and our travellers passed unharmed over this dangerous descent. On reaching Los Angeles they experienced a difficulty of another

kind : they were moneyless, knew no one in the town, and received the unpleasant intelligence that their bills drawn at the Salt Lake had not been honoured at San Francisco—a fact which, being already known to the local bankers, seemed to render application to them useless. Here again they began to make up their minds to support themselves by work till a remittance should arrive ; but a Frenchman, the keeper of a restaurant, whom M. Remy informed of their dilemma, offered to entertain them on credit, thus giving them time to wait until the thievish horse-jockeys, who hoped to buy at forced-sale prices, should present themselves with reasonable offers for the animals they now wished to dispose of. The next day they learnt from the merchant who held their bills that they had not been protested, and that, as he believed, they had not been met simply because advice to pay them had not yet been received. Through his introduction, the travellers obtained from a bank-agent a loan of 500 dollars, and were thus enabled, without loss of time, to pay and dismiss their servants, and to proceed in the steamer to San Francisco.

During the eighteenth century, philosophers of the first rank entertained the idea that the numerous religions which dominate mankind are mere inventions—the dictates of policy, or the products of conscious imposture ; but the more we become acquainted with the nature and workings of the human heart, as reflected in the pages of history, the more this idea becomes discredited, and the more we are assured that the power which dissolves and recreates institutions, which moulds and directs the lives of men, generation after generation, originates in real convictions, and works through an enthusiasm which only the consciousness of possessing the truth can impart. The phenomenon of Mormonism is, however, a startling contradiction to the justly prevalent belief concerning the origin of religious movements. It presents to the spectator of humanity the rise, growth, and establishment, in the course of a few years, of a new religion, which, most indubitably, has been founded by a conscious impostor, who succeeded in inspiring thousands of devout disciples with the belief in his divine mission, in his direct communications with the Deity, and in the truth and binding authority of his supernatural revelations. Thirty years ago he had only six followers, but already Mormonism has assumed such importance as to be fairly classed as one of the numerous religions which are exercising a supreme influence upon a large number of the human race. It now numbers at least 200,000 believers : England and Scotland alone are supposed to contain between thirty and forty thousand ; the eastern States of America at least thirty thousand ; its adherents are spread through all parts of North America, in some parts of

the South, in Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, and Russia; other countries of Europe contribute converts in lesser numbers, while even Palestine, India, China, Australia, and numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean, are fields where the missionaries of the new faith systematically labour, and where their labours have already been rewarded by an aggregate of at least ten thousand converts. It is estimated that in the territory of Utah alone there were, in 1859, eighty thousand believers. The origin and progress of a delusion which, in the nineteenth century, has become so widely spread, and which is fast peopling the desert beyond the Rocky Mountains, deserve the attention of every student of his kind.

The parents of Joseph Smith, the prophet of Mormonism, lived in Windsor County, in the State of Vermont. His father, though subject to several vicissitudes of fortune, was generally in easy circumstances, and during the early part of his life was by no means of a religious turn of mind. About 1811, through the influence of his wife, he became converted, was favoured with visions, and thenceforth led what is usually termed "a religious life." He died, in 1840, a fervent adherent of the doctrines propagated by his son. The mother of the Prophet was from her childhood exceedingly pious, and addicted to religious reveries: she believed herself to have been miraculously cured, in 1803, of a mortal complaint; she saw apparitions, and believed herself to receive Divine revelations in her dreams; but, though given up to superstitious mysticism, she was suspended between the claims of different religious sects, and did not join any of them; holding only to a strong faith in the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment, she interpreted the Bible for herself.

Subject to the influences of a convert father and of a mother fanatical from her girlhood, both visionaries, and believers in God's direct intervention on their behalf, the young Prophet, Joseph Smith, passed his infancy and early youth. He was born on the 23rd of December, 1805, at Sharon, in Windsor County, Vermont. He was for some time sent to an elementary school, where he learnt to read with ease, to write a tolerable hand, and to understand, more or less, the four first rules of arithmetic. About 1820, a great "Revival" occurred in Manchester, New York, where he then resided. This exercised a great influence upon him: without causing him to join any one of the religious sects, it roused and gave a strong impetus to his religious feelings, and inclined him towards the Methodists; but he was not decided, being unable to make out where the truth was. He says,—"Amid this war of words, in the midst of this tumult of opinions, I often said to myself, What is to be done? Which of these parties is in the right? Are they not all equally in error?"

If one of them be right, which is it? How am I to ascertain?" This boy of fifteen, as he asserts of himself, reasoned thus:—"The different kinds of worship are like the different forms of government: each has its good and its evil. Not one is perfect; all are false. This is why my reason admits none. If either one or the other comprised absolute truth, it would be self-evident, and all others would fall of themselves. And as, at the end of eighteen centuries, far from agreeing, we are further apart than ever, it is clear that the perfect form does not exist." Such ideas concerning all existing religions appear to have taken, from this time forth, a strong hold on young Smith's mind. While imbued with them, he came across the following passage in the Epistle of St. James (ch. i. v. 5)—"If any one of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God." Struck by its appositeness, he withdrew to a little wood, and "made known to God the desires of his heart." Scarcely had he uttered his prayer, when his tongue, he says, became paralyzed, and he fell into a state of profound depression. But presently a column of light, more brilliant than the sun, descended upon his head, and he was comforted. Two celestial beings appeared in the air above him. One of them, calling him by name, said, pointing to his companion—"This is my well-beloved Son: hearken to him." This alleged vision is an excellent sample of the poverty of invention and impudent audacity by which all the visions or revelations of the prophet are characterized. Three years afterwards (1823), a "Personage" appeared to him, and announced the existence of a book written on gold plates, containing an account of the first inhabitants of America, and of their origin: also "the fulness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," as well as the "Urim and Thummim," the possession of which, he affirmed, constituted a seer in primitive times.

The idea of founding a new religion, which is distinctly intimated in these two visions with a fulness which we have not space to exhibit, determined the young impostor's career, and was pursued by him with unremitting devotion to the end of his life. He pretended to have found the plates buried in the earth at the spot indicated by the "Personage" who had appeared to him, in the State of New York. Having married, and settled in his new abode in the State of Pennsylvania, he began to copy the plates, and (1827-8) translated several by means of the Urim and Thummim. During the alleged process of translation, the Prophet employed a secretary, to whom he dictated, but was separated from him by a curtain, in order to prevent him from seeing the plates. He was not long before he obtained several converts, as well as witnesses to the existence of the plates, who, however, as Smith avows, only saw them in a vision.

In March, 1830, a revelation was made to the Prophet, com-

manding that his disciple and secretary, Martin Harris, should, under pain of damnation, sell his effects to cover the expenses of the publication of the "Book of Mormon," or, rather, the "unsealed part" which, by means of the Urim and Thummim, Joseph had already translated from the plates. Finally, a contract was entered into for 5000 copies, half the cost being paid by Harris, and the other half by the Smith family, the whole of whom became converts to the new faith. On the 6th of April, 1830, in obedience to a heavenly order, the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints was organized, and an apostleship, consisting of twelve apostles, was instituted at Fayette, Seneca County, in the State of New York. Six of the initiated, including Joseph, were present, and many persons who were at the meeting as spectators were converted and baptized that very day. About the same time the "Book of Mormon" was given to the world.

"Towards the year 1809, a Protestant clergyman, named Solomon Spaulding, a graduate of Dartmouth College, left Cherry Valley, New York, for New Salem, in the State of Ohio. This part of America is rich in all kinds of antiquities, which proves that a powerful race formerly occupied the country. Spaulding, an inquisitive and imaginative man, was struck by these vestiges of an obscure past. Readily subscribing to the opinion, very general at that epoch, that the Indians of North America were the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, he conceived the idea of composing a romantic history of the ancient races of the New World. To give greater originality to his composition, *he, as far as possible, imitated the style of the Bible*, and called his work 'The Manuscript Found.' His manuscript was never printed, but Spaulding frequently read it to his friends; so that every one in the neighbourhood had heard of this production, which, moreover, had no religious aim, and which the author acknowledged to be the work of his imagination. Spaulding died in 1816. The manuscript remained in the hands of his family, but it appears that a copy had been made by a person to whom it was lent, and that this copy fell into the hands of Joseph Smith. This fact is not proved, but neither is it impossible. But what is certain is, that Joseph must have known of Spaulding's romance, for it is proved that the young Prophet had worked in a part of the country in which this composition had been extensively read. It has even been stated that Sidney Rigdon [a distinguished convert to the new faith] copied the manuscript and communicated it to Joseph. Although this fact has been formally denied by Sidney Rigdon and by Joseph, who declared that he did not know Sidney till 1830, after the publication of the 'Book of Mormon,' such an interested denial does not destroy the inference which has been drawn, and which does not depend on it. It is certain, first, that Spaulding composed 'The Manuscript Found;' secondly, that he read it to many persons; thirdly, that those who were present at the reading of the work in question have perfectly identified it with the 'Book of Mormon,' most of the names being

the same, such as Mormon, Lehi, Nephi, Lamanites, &c. This suffices to show that Joseph must have been acquainted with the romance, even if, indeed, he had not the manuscript under his eyes."

Though the prophet was not learned, and was, indeed, as he says, deficient in education, he read much, especially the Bible, and dissertations concerning it. Spaulding's imaginary chronicles, written in Biblical style, of the migrations, settlements in America, wars, and vicissitudes of the Israelitish tribes, which he located in the Western hemisphere, supplied both the material and peculiar diction of the greater part of the "Book of Mormon," the Prophet-plagiarist having only to suffuse it with the religious element. The manner in which he has done this displays at once his gross ignorance, the meagreness of his intellectual resources, and his ever-recurring application of the thoughts and forms of the Hebrew Scriptures. The "Book of Mormon" is, in fact, "a jumble of bad imitations of Scripture, anachronisms, contradictions, and bad grammar."

Our readers would not thank us for troubling them with an analysis of the alleged history of the Jewish tribes in America which Joseph Smith has compounded from Spaulding's romance into the "Book of Mormon." We will only venture to indicate one or two of the features of Smith's religious supplement. The descendants of Joseph, after their arrival in America, became divided into two distinct peoples, called respectively the Lamanites and the Nephites. The latter, persecuted for their uprightness by the Lamanites, who, from the hardness of their hearts, were abandoned of God and became a barbarous people, migrated towards the north of South America, and took with them the five books of Moses and the Prophets down to Jeremiah, the time of whose life coincides with that at which they left Jerusalem. These Scriptures were engraved on plates of brass in the Egyptian language. The Nephites, whom God blessed for their uprightness and piety, prospered, and spread over the north, east, and west of the American continent. They became a civilized people, and the arts and sciences flourished among them. The law of Moses was observed by the Nephites, and many prophets appeared among them; and the records of their history, prophecies, and revelations were carefully preserved on tablets of gold and other metals. They recovered the annals of the other Jewish tribes, who in consequence of their wickedness and corruption became extinct, and translated them into their own language by means of the Urim and Thummim.

The Nephites became acquainted with the birth and death of Christ by certain celestial and terrestrial phenomena. At that time many had fallen away from the law of God, and were punished by frightful earthquakes, and other geological cata-

strophes, which destroyed a great number of the wicked among the Nephites as well as among the Lamanites. Those who survived received a visit from Christ after his ascension. "At the same time Christ abolished the law of Moses, and substituted His Gospel, chose twelve disciples to preach His doctrine, instituted the Eucharist, worked all kinds of miracles, expounded the Scriptures from the commencement to His coming, and predicted everything which was to happen before the day when He should come back in His glory to reign over the earth before the end of the world." In all parts the Lamanites, as well as the Nephites, were converted to the Lord ; but towards the end of the fourth century A.D. they fell away ; God punished them, and a terrible war broke out between the two nations. The Nephites were driven northwards, and encamped round the hill of Cumorah (in the State of New York), and here the Lamanites bore down upon them, and utterly destroyed the whole people—men, women, and children—with the exception of a very small number of persons who escaped—

—"amongst whom were Mormon and his son Moroni, who were both upright men before God. . . . The Indians who are now living in America are the descendants of the Lamanites, for of the Nephites not a soul remained after the death of Moroni. . . . Mormon had written upon some plates a short account of the annals of his ancestors. It is this account which is contained in the book of Mormon, under the special name of the Book of Mormon.\* Mormon subsequently concealed, in the hill of Cumorah, all the original annals he had in his possession, except the short account he had himself engraved, which he delivered to his son Moroni to continue. Moroni added the history of what passed up to the year 420 of the Christian era, at which epoch, by the order of God, he buried the annals in the hill of Cumorah, where they remained hidden (from 420 to the 22nd September, 1827) until an angel came down to reveal them to Joseph Smith, who, by the gift of God and the aid of the Urim and Thummim, translated them into English."

The Sunday which fell on the 11th of April, 1830, must ever be celebrated in the annals of Mormonism, for on this day occurred the first performance of divine service in honour of the new religion. The same day six converts were baptized, and on the next seven more. In the same month the Prophet is said to have cast out a devil, and several individuals who witnessed the miracle were converted and added to the Church. In the following June the first conference was held at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, when communion was administered, confirmation took

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\* The Mormon Bible consists of several books, alleged to be by the different writers whose names they bear.



place, and several of the Saints were ordained to different degrees of the sacerdotal order. All the phenomena of the most extreme excitement incident to an ordinary Christian revival occurred, and many persons were immediately afterwards baptized. Various miracles like to those manifested at revivals are said to have been witnessed; whether they took place or not, they were piously believed in, and regarded as a sufficient and certain sign of the truth of Mormonism. The rapid growth of the sect, and the alleged miracles which accompanied it, caused the people in the vicinity to become uneasy, and they brought the Prophet before a magistrate as a disturber of the public peace and as a swindler, charges which, preferred by bitter enemies, were victoriously refuted. Notwithstanding this and other persecutions, the Church continued to increase; all the brothers of the Prophet were ordained priests, and Samuel was sent to Livonia to preach, and it was he who had the glory of converting and baptizing Brigham Young. As early as the month of August in the same year heresy sprang up, some of the disciples arrogating to themselves the power of receiving communications direct from God. Joseph, however, quickly obtained a revelation by which Jehovah reproved these presumptuous men, and accorded to the Prophet alone the power of communicating with Heaven. About this time a brilliant conquest was achieved in the conversion of Parley P. Pratt, a Campbellist minister of rare eloquence and acquirements, who came to hear the Mormon orators, and to refute them. He was convinced by the Prophet's preaching, and applied for baptism and admission into the priesthood. In the following September he baptized his brother, Orson Pratt, who was then only nineteen, but who soon became one of the mainstays and chief ornaments of the Church. Conforming to a Divine command to go and preach the new religion to the Gentiles and the Lamanites (Indians), Parley Pratt and a colleague started for Missouri, and on their way converted—at Kirtland, Ohio—Sidney Rigdon, a very eloquent minister, well versed in the Holy Scriptures. His conversion led to that of the greater part of his followers, whom his eloquence had attached to him in his former Church. Thus Mormonism obtained a footing in Ohio. But when, in 1831, the Prophet visited the Church at Kirtland, he found "the spirit of the devil had got possession of some souls, and propagated many errors." He lost no time in encountering and casting out the evil spirit. Shortly afterwards he received a very sensible revelation—namely, one which commanded the faithful to build a house for him, and another which made known to the Saints that the land of Missouri was destined to be their inheritance. The style of these revelations, as of the great number he received during the few first years after the organization of the Church, is a

clumsy imitation of the Bible. Having despatched missionaries a second time to Missouri, the Prophet, accompanied by several of his disciples, set out for that State himself, "according to the orders of the Lord." The country pleased the Prophet, and he declared in the name of God that this was the Promised Land reserved for the Saints. In August, 1831, were laid the foundations of the New Zion, and the ground was consecrated by religious ceremonies as being henceforth the rallying-point of all the Saints. Conversions continued to be frequent, and the prospects of the Prophet proportionately brilliant; but in March, 1832, he was suddenly roused in the night by his wife crying, "Murder!" and the next moment he was forcibly dragged from his house by a number of infuriated people, who did not let him go till they had dipped him in a barrel of tar and covered him with feathers. The day following was Sunday, when he bravely preached to a numerous congregation, among which he recognised several of his persecutors. Some of them are said to have been baptized after the sermon. Sidney Rigdon, who was also tarred and feathered, was in consequence out of his mind for several days. In January, 1833, the gift of tongues was first manifested; a miracle so thoroughly to the taste of those on whom it was conferred, that they passed part of the night conversing in languages which were unknown to them in the morning.

In the same year the inhabitants of Missouri rose against the Mormons, and sought to drive them out of the country; they were instigated by the ministers of the American Missionary Society. The Mormon printing-house was plundered, and the printing presses were destroyed. Subsequently, at an influential meeting, it was decided unanimously that the Mormons must quit the territory of Missouri, and that no one of that creed should be allowed to reside there. \*A second meeting, partly of armed men, was convened with a like object, and a deputation from it was sent to the principal Mormon leaders, informing them of the resolutions taken. The Prophet caused the grievances of the Saints to be laid before the Governor of Missouri, who condemned the illegal acts committed, and directed the Mormons to bring the matter before the courts of law. But popular excitement, as is often the case in America, overwhelmed the voice of justice and the civil power; many of the houses of the Mormons were sacked and destroyed, and even women and children, brutally ill-treated, were compelled to fly in all directions to avoid the merciless mob. Some wandered in the prairies for several days, others escaped to the banks of the Missouri. During those days of terror, the Mormons were tracked and fired on as though they had been wild beasts; they were scourged with whips, and suffered indignities of every kind.

"The day following these barbarous scenes the unfortunate exiles were busy ferrying themselves across the Missouri. The most excessive confusion of course accompanied this precipitate flight, every one being desirous of saving a portion of what was dearest to him. In the midst of the disorder husbands sought their wives, children their parents. Night closed in; the weather was fearful; and this mass of fugitives, encamped in the open air under a drenching rain, presented a heartrending sight, as we have been informed by those who witnessed it. . . . Some poor old men and women only, whom age or infirmity had prevented flying with their brethren, were at first permitted to stay; but on the 24th of December a new outbreak of animosity occurred, their houses were sacked, and they were pitilessly driven out of the counties."

The asserted intention of the Government to afford protection to the Mormons, and by the use of physical force to enable them to return, evoked a storm of indignation from the ministers of the different denominations. The people again became excited, their rage grew still more furious, and the position of the unhappy objects of their persecution was rendered all the worse. In presence of the exasperation of the public, the good intentions of the Government were wholly powerless. After various efforts to obtain redress, Smith received a revelation that the persecution was a chastisement for the disobedience of the brethren, but that the wrath of the Lord would pass away. He did not, however, rely upon Divine intervention: in the same spirit which impelled Cromwell to exhort his soldiers to be fervent in prayer, but to keep their powder dry, he raised a body of men, 150 in number, and proceeding from Kirtland, Ohio, marched to Missouri, where, on his arrival, his little army had increased to 200 men. He was met by his opponents, who disputed his passage of the river Missouri. Some of them were killed, but the contest appears to have been indecisive. The cholera broke out in his little army, which, after losing thirteen of his men, he was obliged to disband. He therefore returned to Kirtland.

In March, 1836, the Mormon temple of Kirtland, which had cost 40,000 dollars, was consecrated. Upwards of 400 persons were present, the festival of consecration lasted several days, and again all the usual revival phenomena occurred. Shortly after these events, the persecutions already related as having taken place in Jackson County, Missouri, were repeated in Clay County of the same State. On this occasion the governor at once admitted that he must needs yield to the force of opinion, right or wrong, and conform to the proverb, *Vox populi, vox Dei*. In 1837 the Prophet was involved in financial difficulties, owing to the insolvency of a bank, which he had some years before established at Kirtland. His notes being everywhere protested, he

and Brigham Young found it prudent to fly. He was pursued by his enemies, who pressed close upon him for more than 200 miles, but he escaped and reached a Mormon settlement at Far-West, in Missouri. The presence of the Prophet at this place gave a great impulse to the disciples settled there, inspired them with renewed zeal, and added to their numbers. The inhabitants of this part of Missouri, like those of Jackson and Clay County, became indignant at the growing prosperity of the Saints, and re-enacted all the dreadful scenes previously described. The Governor, however, on this occasion thought it the simplest plan to treat them as enemies himself, and wrote to General Clark, who was subject to his orders, in these terms:—"The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and exterminated or driven from the State, if the public weal requires it." Smith and the most important of his disciples were arrested, and made prisoners in the camp of General Lucas. Condemned to death the following day, they would have been at once executed but for the opposition of General Doniphan, who would not assume the responsibility of such an act. They were detained in prison during six months, and were subjected to the most infamous treatment, their keepers boasting of having shed the blood of their brethren, plundered their goods, burned their houses, and violated their wives and daughters. Meanwhile, the city of Far-West was sacked. Owing to the drunkenness of their jailors, Joseph and his fellow-prisoners contrived to escape, and succeeded in reaching Illinois. During this episode in Mormon history, upwards of 400 of the faithful were destroyed by their savage assassins, who numbered at least 240, and who even went to the extent of stripping the dead. All the property of their victims was destroyed or confiscated, and the land which they left in Missouri, and which had cost them 200,000 dollars, was never restored to them. All religious considerations apart, it would not be possible "to over-estimate," says M. Remy, "the constancy and courage exhibited by the Mormons during this period of iniquitous persecution. . . . As to the Prophet, his firmness of mind did not desert him for a single instant: he rose to the height of the great part which as a religious regenerator he was enacting, and did so in a way as sometimes to tempt us to believe in his sincerity, and to do him honour as to a martyr of his faith."

The Mormons were exceedingly well received on their arrival in Illinois by the inhabitants of Quincy, a small town situated on the banks of the Mississippi. They were offered land a few miles to the north on that river, on a site which had been fixed upon for a town, to be called Commerce. Smith accepted the offer, and fixed the seat of the new Church at this place, to which he gave the name of Nauvoo. Notwithstanding all the persecu-

tions which the Saints had suffered, the efforts of the missionaries whom the Prophet had sent out were rewarded by success, and from all parts even of the Old World new-made converts flocked to the second Zion. Smith obtained a charter for his new city, which conferred upon it numerous privileges; he also obtained a charter for the establishment of a university, and the power to form a special militia, under the title of the Legion of Nauvoo. He received a revelation commanding the people to erect a magnificent temple, also to build an hotel for the accommodation of strangers, and to serve, moreover, as a dwelling-house for Joseph and his posterity in perpetuity. His administration of the affairs of this new city was especially admirable: project succeeded project, and every project was at once carried into execution. Amongst the numerous decrees or regulations which he issued was one proclaiming liberty of worship and the toleration of all religions, even Mahometanism, in the city of Nauvoo. In April, 1841, he reviewed his legion, consisting of 1400 men, in the presence of a large concourse of people, and laid the foundation-stone of the new temple of Zion with great ceremony. On this occasion numerous converts were baptized, and several Saints were sent forth to preach the new gospel.

In June the same year he was arrested at the instigation of the authorities of Missouri, and again in June, 1843; but in both cases regained his liberty. The Church continued rapidly to increase at this period (1843): although Mormonism had not been preached in Great Britain, the Prophet already counted upwards of 10,000 followers. The growth of the sect, the general prosperity of its worldly affairs, and the power now wielded by the Prophet, tempted him to assume an attitude of self-importance which no doubt ultimately contributed to his personal downfall. He cherished the idea that his growing influence would ere long enable him to exact from the inhabitants of Missouri a compensation for the losses which he and his disciples had sustained at their hands. It was at this time also, no doubt stimulated by his power and success, that he not only ventured in secret to take to himself several wives, but also to allege the reception of the revelation commanding the practice of polygamy, and containing these words: "If a man espouse ten virgins who are given him by the law (the Mormon revealed law), he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him; therefore is he justified. Let my daughter Emma (the Prophet's wife) receive all those *who have been bestowed* upon my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous in my sight." About this time there was an approaching election for the Presidency in the United States; Smith, intent on enforcing his claims on Missouri, wrote to each of the Presidential candidates, with the view of offering his support to the one who

should promise to aid him in the recovery either of his property or an indemnity for it in Missouri. This attempt to bargain with the prospective chief magistrate having proved futile, he appealed to his native state, Vermont, and induced his chief disciples to petition the several State governments to which they belonged to support his Missouri claims. All this agitation being of no avail, he actually offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency, and in February, 1844, issued a long address to the people of the United States, entitled "Views on the Powers and Policy of the United States Government." This remarkable document M. Remy has deemed worthy of printing *in extenso*. The whole of these proceedings, as well as the continually increasing number of his followers, again roused the hostility of his enemies, and even provoked the indignation of the inhabitants of Illinois, especially those of the town of Carthage. Urged on by apostates on the one hand, and by Missouri on the other, the people of Illinois began in 1844 to hold meetings, and to devise means for the purpose of expelling the Saints from their territory. The rising storm induced Smith to entertain the idea of migrating with his followers to California. Unfortunately for him, he did not act upon it. Ambition maddened him to persist in maintaining his position at Nauvoo; he was the more tempted to do this as the number of his disciples was at this time very rapidly increasing, a single vessel having just brought over 800 brethren from England, who announced that propagandism was making rapid progress in the mother country. Proud of the power he had created, of his character of Prophet, and of the celebrity he had acquired, he believed himself to be in a position to treat on a footing of equality his competitors for the Presidency; and on the 4th of November wrote to Henry Clay a letter full of insolence and irony, but at the same time very remarkable and frequently eloquent.

Such was the importance that his candidacy conferred upon him in the eyes of his enthusiastic followers, that in May of the following year they gave him an ovation, carrying him in triumph through the streets of Nauvoo. In the same month his enemies, still further provoked by this demonstration, caused him to be summoned to answer a charge of adultery and perjury at Carthage. The case, however, was allowed to stand over till the next term. He and his sect were next attacked with terrible virulence by a paper called the *Expositor*, established for the purpose. Its originator was an ex-Catholic priest, who was enraged by the refusal of the hand of the Prophet's niece. In his capacity of mayor, Smith gave his enemies a great advantage: he assembled the municipal council, which at once declared the paper a public nuisance, which ought to be suppressed; and

forthwith he signed an order, which was executed by the police, to destroy the printing presses of the obnoxious journal. The excitement caused by this proceeding induced the people of Carthage to prepare to march against him and his people with five pieces of artillery. In this dilemma he, on his own responsibility, proclaimed martial law, and, haranguing his troops, exhorted them to fight with him to the death in defence of their religion and their liberties. On the arrival of the Governor of Illinois, whom Smith had expected would countenance his proceedings and support him by his authority, but who decided that he had exceeded his powers, and advised him to give himself up to justice, Smith, fearing assassination, resolved to seek safety in flight, and crossed the Mississippi, intending to retire towards the Rocky Mountains. Unfortunately his wife Emma, and several intimate friends, dispatched a messenger after him, entreating him to return. Too easily led by them, he placed himself in the hands of justice at Carthage, along with seventeen of his followers, charged with violating the laws. On the 27th of June, 1844, the Governor dismissed the greater portion of the militia, and went to Nauvoo with a small escort, leaving the Prophet and his brother Hiram in prison at Carthage, under the guard of a few militiamen. The same day upwards of a hundred armed men attacked the jail, and fired into the compartment where the prisoners were confined, soon destroying Hiram Smith, and leaving the Prophet all but dead. "One of the mob dragged Joseph's body along, and propped it up against the wall of a well. Life was almost extinct, when Colonel Williams ordered four men to advance within eight paces and fire. Every heart in Nauvoo seemed resigned to the catastrophe, which appeared to be a Divine confirmation of the Prophet's mission. The leaders, themselves moderate in their views and rendered prudent by events, experienced no difficulty in keeping the people calm and composed, content to wait for justice from men, and, that failing, for vengeance from the great Elohim." We abridge M. Remy's summing up of the character of this very remarkable impostor. "There is not a vice with which his enemies do not load his name; there is not a virtue with which his friends do not adorn his memory. But whatever may have been his failings, he was gentle, humane, and conciliatory; he readily pardoned wrongs against himself, either in his public or private capacity. He had a peculiar fondness for children; he constantly associated with them, mingled in their sports, and consoled them in their little troubles. Amid his family he overflowed with kindness and love, both as a father and a husband. In his daily relations with his followers the man constantly effaced the prophet; without thereby compromising his ascendancy. He was tried thirty-nine times by all kinds of courts, on various charges—the

greater part hostile to him ; but he was never once convicted. This fact is 'an eloquent answer to the calumnies against him, and does as much honour to the administration of justice in the United States as to him. As to his capacities as administrator and organizer, there is no room for doubt ; it stands out prominently throughout his whole life : and this it is, perhaps, combined with his power of influencing mankind, which is the most distinguished feature in the career of the founder of Mormonism. True, Smith was an impostor ; but when the mask was raised he was still a man at heart, and it is not often we can say as much of all those who have misled mankind."

In August following the Prophet's death, Brigham Young and all the apostles returned to Nauvoo. An epistle was issued exhorting all the Saints of the earth to remain quiet, to abstain from intermeddling in political matters, and to concentrate their attention upon the social and religious affairs of their own body. External animosity had somewhat cooled down, but within occurred a considerable conflict between the candidates for the prophetic succession. Sidney Rigdon was the only important competitor who might endanger Brigham Young's election. But for certain misdeeds he was at this time, on the motion of his rival, excommunicated from the Church, and Brigham, who was a carpenter by trade and originally of the Methodist persuasion, became its president. His administration of the affairs of Nauvoo was singularly successful, and at the end of the year the city contained 14,000 inhabitants, nine-tenths of whom were Mormons. The public buildings were carried forward with vigour, and the temple gave promise of soon being completed. But in proportion to the internal prosperity and growth of the Mormon community, the indignant feelings of the Gentile inhabitants of Illinois, as well as those of Missouri, gradually acquired fresh force. In January, 1845, the Legislature of Illinois, considering itself justified by the events of the preceding year, deprived Nauvoo of its charter. Nevertheless the assassins of the Prophet were brought to trial ; but such was the terror which they had contrived to inspire, and such the feelings of the people, that no legal proof of their guilt was forthcoming, and they were acquitted. Active animosity against the Mormons grew more and more intense, and in September, 1845, twenty-nine houses in the settlement of Morley were burnt, their owners being compelled to sleep in the open air. The *Expositor* newspaper rose again from its ruins, and all kinds of violent attacks appeared in its columns. The enemies of the Mormons, among whom were senators, civil and military officers, and clergymen, increased their savage persecutions, and attempted to blacken the reputation of the inhabitants of Nauvoo, by paying wretches to steal things and to fix the



thefts on the Mormons. In September 1845, finding themselves masters of the position, they resolved on expelling, by force if necessary, every Mormon from the territory of Illinois. Brigham Young suspended their hostility for a time by announcing his intentions to abandon the State the following spring; and it was finally decided that the Saints should go and settle in some valley of the Rocky Mountains. The Mormons intended to send pioneers in March, 1846, but their enemies compelled them to anticipate that date, and on the third of February the first explorers started, and were followed a week afterwards by 1000 exiles—men, women, and children—who crossed the Mississippi on the ice.

“One can easily conceive that the march of their advanced guard was beset with great difficulties. The rigour of the elements, at the worst season of the year, the absence of roads, the want of shelter during the bitter, freezing nights, privations of all kinds, fatigue, the difficulty of carriage, the uncertainty about the morrow, all conspired to spread discouragement among these unfortunates. . . . The Saints who had as yet been unable to leave Nauvoo continued to labour assiduously at the completion of the temple, so as to accomplish one of the most solemn prophecies of their well-beloved martyr. The sacred edifice was ultimately entirely finished at the end of April, 1846, after having cost the Saints more than a million dollars.”

It was considered the most beautiful church in North America. It was consecrated with great pomp in the following month, one of the apostles, recently returned from a mission to Palestine, officiating at this important ceremony. The day after the consecration the Mormons withdrew from the building all the sacred articles which adorned it, and partly by fire and partly by a violent hurricane, it has since been utterly destroyed.

From want of means, and the inability to sell their effects, a few hundred families remained within the deserted walls of Nauvoo. Their continued presence there, added to the ceremony of consecrating the temple, raised fresh murmurs, and re-lighted the animosity of their enemies, who, among other shameful acts, dragged a poor, helpless, old man from his house at night-time, and after stripping him, whipped him till blood came, his only offence being that he was a believer in Joseph Smith. The remnant in the city were attacked by an army of 1000 men having six pieces of artillery. The victims of this extraordinary persecution had only 300 men, and five small cannon made from the iron of an old small steamboat, wherewith to defend themselves against their enemies. After four days' fighting, operations were suspended on the condition that the besieged should leave the State of Illinois at the end of five days. Their enemies entered and plundered the city, while they crossed the Mississippi to follow

"the track of Israel towards the West." In March and April many of the exiles died of fatigue, want, and fever. Nothing could be more heartrending than the burials performed by the survivors in the midst of the vast deserts which they traversed. At the end of June, 1846, the first column of emigrants arrived on the banks of the Missouri, a little above the point of its junction with the Platte: here they waited the detachments in their rear.

While at this place the Federal Government, which had never extended to the Mormons the least protection, actually asked them to furnish a contingent of 500 men for the Mexican war; and what was more extraordinary, Brigham Young replied: "You shall have your battalion, even though I should be obliged to seek recruits among my elders." In three days the contingent was equipped and ready to march, so thoroughly were all animated by their desire to show their devotion to the great and ungrateful Republic. They were discharged in July, 1847, on the coast of California. This affair over, the Mormons went busily to work to insure the success of the emigration: in all their halts, whether long or short, they were extraordinarily industrious,—working up old iron again, making waggons, repairing harness, tanning hides, &c., while the women spun, knitted, mended, and made preserves of wild fruits. The administrative arrangement of their camps was throughout admirable, being a sort of military organization, but in some of them, notwithstanding all their efforts, there were as many as thirty-seven per cent. of their people attacked by fever and a kind of scurvy. Many of these unfortunates died, dreaming of the promised land.

The great mass of the emigrants passed the winter in the prairies, among Indian tribes, formerly ill-treated by the United States Government, and on that account favourably disposed towards the Mormons, whom they looked upon as brethren in misfortune. Seven hundred huts or houses were built by one portion of the Saints; others dwelt in tents; but the severity of the winter compelled them to abandon them, and to shelter themselves against the frost in caves which they dug in the earth. Fearful were the trials of these wretched beings, fifteen thousand of whom—men, women, and children—were exposed to all the horrors of cold, suffering, and disease, in a vast territory traversed only by Indian tribes.

In the spring of 1847, Brigham Young, and a considerable escort, started in search of Eden in the Far West. On the 23rd of July, the same year, Orson Pratt, with a small advanced guard, was the first to reach the Great Salt Lake; he was joined the following day by Brigham Young and the main body of the pioneers. The President declared by divine inspiration that they were to establish themselves on the border of the lake, where his people could follow their religion without drawing upon them—

selves the hatred of any neighbours. After spending several weeks in exploring the nature of the country he fixed upon a site for the holy city, drew out its plan, determined the width and directions of the streets, and marked out the spot suitable for the temple and the public squares. He then returned to the banks of the Missouri, and superintended the transit of the great body of the emigrants, for whom ferry-boats were provided and bridges constructed, and, in short, every practical arrangement effected to facilitate their journey. Shortly afterwards a portion of the Mormon battalion returned and joined the first settlers in Utah, where their aid in clearing the ground, throwing up fortifications against the Indians, &c., was of great value. The principal body of the emigrants, led by Brigham Young, reached the Salt Lake in the course of the autumn of 1848, where they were received by their brethren, 1000 in number, who had arrived the preceding year, and who, harassed as they were by their long and painful journey across the plains, mountains, and deserts, had at once applied themselves to work, and had cleared and sown as much land as possible in the autumn of 1847. Unfortunately their labours were in part rendered fruitless by clouds of locusts, which threatened wholly to devour the crops: they were, however, kept in check by prodigious flights of pretty gulls, white as snow, which, rising from the islets of the Salt Lake, destroyed the insects, and so saved the coming harvest from total destruction. But when Brigham Young arrived with his thousands of disciples, he at once saw that the produce would be insufficient for their wants, and immediately provided against the worst effects of the prospective famine by putting everybody on short allowance. Even then many of the Saints spread themselves over the surrounding country to compete with the Utah Indians in searching for the roots and bulbs on which they partly depend for sustenance.

"Utah," the sterile region which the Mormon exiles thus fixed on as their future home, "takes its name from one of the Indian tribes which live around the Salt Lake. Before its occupation by the Mormons, it made part of what was called Upper California, and belonged to the Mexicans, who ceded it to the United States in 1848, by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Mormons first gave it the name of Deseret, (Land of the Bee, in the language of the prophet), and it was not until after its being formed into a territory that it received the name of Utah. It is bounded on the north by Oregon, on the east by the Rocky Mountains, which separate it from the territories of Nebraska, Kansas, and New Mexico; on the south by New Mexico, and on the west by California. It extends from the 37° to the 42° of north latitude, and from the 108° to the 122° of west longitude from the meridian of Paris; thus occupying an area rather less than that of

France. This vast region is formed by an immense plateau, to which geographers have given the name of the *Great Basin*, and which is here and there bristled with mountains, the general direction of which is from north to south. The average elevation of the plateau varies from about 3600 to 4200 feet above the level of the sea. The rivers, few in number, which take their rise in the Great Basin and water it, disappear after a longer or shorter course, without ever reaching the ocean. The almost invariable levelness of the great central plateau, and the saline nature of the surface throughout nearly its whole extent, seem to prove that the Salt Lake, now confined within limits comparatively narrow, formerly spread over the whole plain, and formed a vast inland sea. The Wahsatch Mountains, which are in the eastern part of Utah, and the Humboldt range, which occupies nearly the centre of the basin, rise occasionally high enough to have their summits covered with perpetual snow. To the west and east of the plateau are to be found lakes of various sizes. Immense barren plains, now stretching out of sight, now bordered in the distance by lines of rocky or sandy hills, constitute genuine deserts, where the eye is painfully dazzled by the glitter of layers of salt or alkali, and where it sees nothing else but here and there a few miserable dried-up or dying plants."

Near the Mormon capital are two lakes, one from its character giving its name to the city—the Salt Lake; the other, Lake Utah, connected with the Salt Lake, and indeed feeding it by means of the river Timpanagos, the name of which signifies, in the Indian language, river of rocks, because it flows over a bed of rocks along the greater part of its course. Lake Utah, which lies some distance to the south of the Salt Lake, is about 30 miles long by 15 wide. Its depth varies from 7 to 15 feet, and its bed is nearly level. It is fed by several rivers of short extent which flow down from the neighbouring mountains; its water is clear, sweet, and drinkable. Being on a higher level than the Salt Lake, Lake Utah empties itself into the former, as we have said, by the Timpanagos river, which passes under the walls of Great Salt Lake city. The Salt Lake has a circumference of not less than 250 miles, and from the geological aspect of the soil around there is reason to believe that in earlier ages it covered a much larger surface—extending its ramifications far into the valleys of Utah; its depth does not exceed 33 feet, and does not average more than 7 or 8. In the middle of the lake several islands rise to as much as 3250 feet above the level of the water; there are nine islands, one is 16 and another 12 miles in length. The density of the water is such that the human body will not sink in it; it varies probably with the quantity of snow and rain which falls in the country; but when least dense a given quantity of water, by measurement, will yield a third part of salt. Of course no living thing exists in this lake; the trout which are sometimes carried into it by the streams immediately die. When

our travellers visited the lake, they observed on its shore on the top of the salt, a deposit a foot deep, entirely composed of dead locusts; these insects, driven by a high wind in prodigiously thick clouds, had been drowned in the lake, after having, during the course of the summer, destroyed the rising crops and even the prairie grass.

The climate of Utah is healthy and temperate. The winter is generally of short duration, though occasionally somewhat severe. In February, 1850, Lake Utah was frozen, and more than one conflict between the Mormons and the Indians, both parties being mounted, took place on the ice. The spring, summer and autumn are almost invariably beautiful; indeed, with its pure and clear sky and its mild temperature, Utah has probably one of the finest climates to be found in the latitude in which it is situated. "It seems," says M. Remy, "as if one breathed more freely in these mountains and plains, and as if the purity of the atmosphere were enough for happiness."

The mineral resources of Utah, so far as already known, are of considerable importance. There is gold in the western part of the territory, principally in the valley of Carson, and even more towards the interior of the country.\* Iron abounds; and at Cedar City a joint-stock company—the Deseret Iron Company—produced, in 1855, about 2000 pounds of iron every twenty-four hours. The ore yields from 25 to 75 per cent. of pure iron. Coal is also plentiful; but the great cost of transport raises its price, when delivered at Great Salt Lake city, to 30 dollars a ton. The coal used by the Deseret Iron Company is dug out of a vein described as inexhaustible, in a mountain from 5 to 7 miles from the iron works. It is of excellent quality, but contains a large amount of sulphur. Silver and lead are found in the neighbourhood of Las Vegas. Alum, borax, carbonate of soda, and beds of saltpetre, as well as sulphur, have been discovered. Small rubies and garnets are found in abundance on the banks of the Humboldt river. A sort of plaster of Paris, and excellent stone of various descriptions, including the much-prized granite, are dug out of the mountains. Ferruginous springs have been discovered in several places. Very near Great Salt Lake city are hot springs, which have been brought to the city, and are made use of for sulphur baths.

The general aspect of the country is one of disheartening

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\* Some of the brethren of the sacred battalion, while in the service of Captain Sutter, had the honour of being the first discoverers of gold in California. They brought a considerable quantity of the precious metal to the Salt Lake and presented it to the Church. Brigham Young coined it, and, as the Saints would say, "in order that a prophecy of Joseph Smith might be fulfilled," the Prophet's depreciated notes of the Kirkland Bank rose to par.

barrenness; but in the midst of the mountains and in the narrow valleys there are signs of vegetation, and even of fertility. It is in the heart of the mountains, where there are openings accessible to cattle, that the richest pasturage is found. It occurs, too, here and there, on the banks of rivers, but usually of very poor quality indeed; certain valleys, formed by the Wahsatch mountains, and the valleys of Lake Utah, appear to be the most fertile parts of the Mormon territory. Timber for building and firing is notably deficient; but in some narrow valleys, a considerable distance from the city, and difficult of access, pine, fir of different kinds, maple, poplar, willow, and oak, as well as a few other trees, are obtained.

"The greater part of the indigenous animals are few, whether as individuals or species, which is to be attributed less to the barrenness of the soil than to the hunting parties of trappers and Indians. The bison is no longer found to the west of the Rocky Mountains, and the beaver has almost entirely disappeared. Small herds of antelopes (*A. furcifer*) are to be found in the mountain districts, as well as the American eland (*Cervus canadensis*), the Virginian deer, the black-tailed deer (*C. Lewisii*), the black and grisly bear, together with another much smaller species. The mountain sheep has become scarce, as well as a carnivorous animal known to the Americans under the much too indefinite name of Panther. Foxes, wolves, wolverines (*Gulo luscus*), are common in the deserts at the foot of hills. The racoon and the musk-rat are often seen on the banks of rivers. Hares are in plenty wherever there is pasturage. Of birds, there are several species of grouse, a sort of pigeon, partridges, eagles, large crows, owls, and curlews. On the banks of the lakes are seen geese, very many kinds of ducks, pelicans, herons, gulls, large cranes, water-hens, and plovers. Nor is there any lack of sparrows on the watercourses and in the thickets. Of reptiles there are to be found flat-shaped lizards in abundance, and also the rattlesnake. In Lake Utah there is salmon-trout with yellowish flesh, weighing as much as 30 pounds; there are also perch, suckers, pike, rock-fish or striped bass, and bull-heads."

The locusts, which, as we have said, are so terribly abundant and destructive in Utah, are, however, in great measure kept in abeyance, "thanks to the beneficial gluttony of the gulls, 'those beautiful birds of a bountiful God,' as the saints call them."

The scarcity of wood in Utah available for either building or burning, and its presence only in the mountain valleys at considerable distance from the Salt Lake, proved a difficulty of great magnitude to the first Mormon settlers in their newly adopted country. But by indomitable energy and perseverance roads were made, bridges were thrown over the rivers, the material indispensable for the erection of houses and for ministering in a thousand forms to man's physical comfort and well-being, thus

became accessible, and handsome and convenient houses forthwith sprang up in all directions in accordance with the plan of the future city which Brigham Young had drawn out, and which, as the capital has rapidly increased, has, thanks to the wise foresight and resolute will of the President, been carefully adhered to.

Great Salt Lake city, also called New Jerusalem, Modern Zion, and Deseret (Land of the Bee), is situated in a plain at the foot of the Wahsatch Mountains, and is bounded by them and by the River Timpanagos (Jordan). The upper part of the city rises slightly in the form of an amphitheatre on the slope of a hill. Part of the streets are perpendicular to the course of the Jordan, and are intersected by others at right angles. A mud wall constructed solely to repel the attacks of the Indians almost entirely encircles the Mormon capital. All the streets are a hundred and thirty feet wide; they are watered on either side by a stream of clear water ingeniously brought from the neighbouring mountains. A double line of arborescent willows (*cotton wood*) adorns each of these streams: as the streets cross each other at right angles they form squares of houses, or blocks, each side of which measures about 657 feet.

"Each house, at least twenty feet from the street, is surrounded by garden ground of greater or less extent. This arrangement, besides giving a countryfied aspect to the city, greatly augments its superficies; it is not less than three English miles in diameter. The majority of the houses are built of *adobes* (sun-dried bricks) generally in a simple style, frequently elegant, and always clean. Some of these dwellings are very large; among others, Brigham Young's, which is comparatively a palace. This edifice, about ninety-eight feet long by forty in width, is built of several kinds of stone, among which we remarked a magnificent granite, brought from the neighbouring mountains at a great expense. The long salient ogives of the windows of the upper story give to the roof which they intersect the appearance of a crenelated diadem, and render this monument a model of Mormon architecture. Thirty sultanas are intended to occupy this harem, which, although far from being finished, has already cost the Mormon pontiff 30,000 dollars."

There is a square piece of land, 656½ feet on every side, surrounded by a wall 11½ feet in height and having three large gates, each 58½ feet in width, reserved for the construction of the temple, the foundations of which are laid: it will be ornamented with six polyhedral steeples, and, according to the Mormons, is intended, by its splendour and the magnificence of its architecture, to surpass all the edifices in the world. It is being constructed of the beautiful granite already mentioned. In surveying the city, our travellers were struck with the cleanliness which everywhere prevailed, as well as with the comfort exhibited in the external

appearance and good preservation of the dwellings; and could not refrain from admiring more especially the order, tranquillity, and industry which they encountered on all sides. Numerous orchards promptly planted by the early settlers, and bearing most if not all the fruits produced in the orchards of the mother country, improve the aspect of the New Zion and its suburbs, while flowers were not forgotten, but, carefully cultivated, now adorn many of the desert homes of the exiles.

In 1849, new troubles overtook the young colony in the shape of an attack from the Indians. Force was resorted to, and a battle fought on the frozen lake, in February, 1850, ensured tranquillity once more. At the conclusion of the Mexican war, the Mormons found themselves, by the cession to the United States of the whole of New California, again on American territory. In March, 1849, the inhabitants of Upper California, east of the Sierra Nevada, were convoked to Great Salt Lake city, when they established a provisional government under the name of the State of Deseret, with legislative, executive, and judicial powers, Brigham Young being elected Governor. In September, 1850, President Fillmore gave his assent to an act of congress by which the self-styled State of Deseret was reduced to the rank of a territory, under the name of the Territory of Utah, Brigham Young being nominated governor, with a salary of 500*l.* a year, and 4000*l.* being allowed for the construction of a State house. An official journal was already established under the name of the *Deseret News*.

By the end of 1851, a railway was in course of construction, factories of various kinds had been erected, and a postal service communicating monthly with the Atlantic States and with California established. Settlements in various parts of the plains began to rise, numerous schools were opened, and a public library founded, Congress contributing towards it 1000*l.*

Missionaries were now sent in all directions, and even in Maui, one of the islands of the Hawaiian Archipelago, 214 natives were baptized. At the end of 1852, Utah already contained 30,000 inhabitants. Trade flourished: in the six months preceding October, 1852, the inhabitants purchased 60,000*l.* worth of goods from the United States, principally from St. Louis; and the revenues of the church increased from the 6th of November, 1848, to the 7th of March, 1852, to close upon 8000*l.* During this year nearly 10,000 saints arrived in Utah. Flushed with prosperity, the elders of the church were now emboldened to make public the celebrated revelation enjoining the practice of polygyny. In 1853, an agricultural society was instituted; the foundations of a university were laid; a commission began to draw up a code of laws; a militia was organized, consisting at first of 2000 men; an



arsenal was built, and an establishment for warm baths was completed and opened to the public. During this same year a machine for the manufacture of beet-root sugar, which cost nearly 20,000*l.*, arrived, and was at once set to work. In 1855, Brigham Young was already possessed of property to the value of 200,000 dollars, and was building himself a new palace. The Federal Government, principally for expenses incurred in the wars against the Indians, one of which had just been closed, allotted the territory of Utah 154,568 dollars, and 63,468 dollars for sundry expenses.

But one of the greatest calamities with which the Mormons were ever threatened, soon afterwards seemed imminent,—namely, a war with the United States. One of its judges appointed to Utah, whose conduct in his social relations was so disgraceful as to bring upon him the opprobrium of the Mormons themselves, sought to avenge himself upon them by the grossest and falsest misrepresentations of their character and deeds to the United States Government, and in consequence an army of 25,000 men was actually sent to Utah. Throughout the whole of the trying period nothing could be more admirable than the attitude of calm self-possession and bold maintenance of the right which distinguished Brigham Young. He and his people resolved that, as enemies, not a soldier should enter the holy city, and that they would raze it rather than yield. He proclaimed martial law, permitting no one to pass into or out of the territory without an authorized certificate. He pushed forward his troops to resist invasion, and ordered the Mormons of the outlying settlements to fall back upon the interior of Utah, and everywhere organized the means of resistance. In every settlement they prepared for war with incredible enthusiasm. At this juncture Colonel Kane, whose kindness to the Saints during the exodus from Nauvoo had been especially manifested, was directed by the Governor newly appointed to succeed Brigham Young, to open negotiations with him. Col. Kane arrived at the Great Salt Lake in February, 1858, and after a month's effort succeeded in replacing matters on their old footing. Brigham Young's political successor entered Great Salt Lake city with a Mormon escort, and by the recommendation of the Mormon president, who was the first to pay him a visit, the people received him favourably, and promised to keep the peace if the troops did not enter the city. But afterwards, impelled by alarming reports respecting the designs of the President of the United States, and that the Government had sent strong reinforcements to the army with the intention of exterminating the Saints, the great body of the inhabitants left the city, only a sufficient number remaining to fire it the moment the troops approached. The greater part of the northern settlements were abandoned, and Brigham Young, with his family, set out in May for the south.

There is reason to believe that he had made up his mind to lead his subjects out of Utah, and even out of the Union itself. In consequence, however, of the arrival of more correct information and the persuasive assurances of Governor Cumming, the storm began to lull, and a treaty was entered into by which the people consented to admit the civil officials into the city and agreed not to offer any resistance to the army. In June, 1858, Brigham, as an acknowledgment of the Government's authority, consented to let the troops pass through the city. Immediately afterwards, their general peremptorily ordered them on no account to enter it, and in the course of the next month they were encamped about forty miles away. In the spring of 1860, the army quitted the country, and as, since the conclusion of the peace, it has been fully acknowledged that all the libels which brought on the war were false and calumnious, the Mormons entertain a confident hope of at least several years tranquillity.

"There is reason to think," says M. Remy, "that the prosperity of the Mormon community will go on increasing as long as it continues under the intelligent leader now at its head; for there are few men who possess in so high a degree as he does, the qualities which constitute the eminent politician and the able administrator. . . . Convinced of the truth of the religion he has embraced, and by this very fact morally superior to Smith, he has set before him, as the object of his existence, the extension and the triumph of his doctrine; and this end he pursues with a tenacity that nothing can shake, and with that stubborn persistence and ardent ambition which make great priests and great statesmen."

A large majority of each religious sect conform to the observances, and practice more or less faithfully the precepts, of the religion they profess, without possessing any precise knowledge of its origin and history, or of the essential nature and logical consequences of its doctrines. The Latter-day Saints are no exception to this rule: in the eyes of the greater number of them, as well as of their leader, a pious Mormon fulfils all the requirements of his Church by believing in its founder, in Brigham Young, and in the Book of Mormon; by being baptized for the remission of sins, and by paying tithe with due regularity. He thus effects his salvation extremely well, carelessly unconscious of the metaphysics and theology which form the foundations of his faith. For the Mormon leaders, however, these metaphysics not only exist, but are invested with a supremely vital interest, and are intimately, as well as more or less logically, connected with a theology, a code of morality, and a policy which dominate and co-ordinate the whole Mormon organization, not only in Utah, but in all parts of the world where its missionaries and converts are to be found.

The metaphysical philosophy of Mormonism, especially as elaborated and expounded by its ablest advocate, Orson Pratt, consists of a most absolute and universal materialism ; this philosophy necessarily exercises a powerful determining influence on Mormon theology, which, though seemingly imbued with the Pantheism of the Germans, filtered through the minds of New England thinkers, teaches a plurality of gods related to each other in regularly ascending rank, and presided over by one supreme Godhead. Perhaps the two most striking features of the new religion are its wide-embracing eclecticism, and the ingenuity with which the deep religiosity of the Jew is blended with the materialism of Epicurus, Lucretius, Baron d'Holbach, and others of the like school, although the latter is exaggerated into proportions far grosser and more palpable than those philosophers ever dreamed of. According to Orson Pratt, if we admit that something now exists, we must necessarily admit that, as something cannot be produced out of nothing, something has existed from all eternity. This something is matter :—

“The act of creation as presented to us by some philosophers and by Christianity is a chimera of which reason and experience easily demonstrate the absurdity. . . . It is an error to attribute the operations of Nature to an inert and unintelligent matter. Matter is not inert, otherwise the state of repose, or of primary motion in a right line, would have been eternal ; moreover, all matter, as far as we know it, is eminently active. Were matter without intelligence, how could the particles of matter move themselves of themselves, and move themselves in conformity with certain laws ? . . . Matter is then intelligent. The sum of this intelligent matter is coextensive with matter itself, and it is it which governs all the parts of nature's vast domain. Intelligence is a moving cause anterior to all other causes ; consequently, is eternal just as much as the beings which it affects. This intelligence is God ; but God, as a matter of course, can only be conceived of as consisting of a certain number of the superior and most intelligent particles of the universe, existing in a state of union, which union, if it be not eternal, is the necessary result of the anterior and eternal powers of each individual particle.”

The laws governing each physical element, however embodied, vivified, or refined it may be, are absolute and unchangeable in their nature, and not only pervade and control the universe in the sense ordinarily understood, but also all intelligent beings which exist or can exist. They are as applicable to the great, supreme, and eternal Father of heaven and earth as to the lowest of His subjects ; and as each material atom or embodiment of atoms necessarily occupies a certain space, and cannot occupy the same space with other atoms or bodies at the same time, it is absolutely impossible for God the Father or for Jesus Christ to be everywhere personally present at the same time.

But the Supreme God, as well as all the inferior divinities, is not only material, and of limited extension, He is thoroughly anthropomorphic :—

“The gods have a body like our own ; they have passions, members, organs ; they speak, they walk, they have wives. Their body is immortal. There have been female gods from all eternity, that is to say, co-eternal with the most ancient gods. . . . Jesus Christ differs from his Father in this, that he is subordinate to him, and can do nothing of his own will independently of him ; but he does all things in the name and by the authority of the Father, being of the same mind in all things. The difference between Jesus Christ and another immortal man is this : man is subject to Jesus Christ, does nothing of himself, or by himself, but all things in the name of Christ, and by his authority, being of one mind with him, and rendering all the glory to him and his Father. The gods, angels, and men are all of one species and of one race, composing one great and unique family, distributed through the planetary system, in the form of colonies, kingdoms, and nations. The great difference between one portion of this race and another arises from the different degrees of intelligence and purity which distinguish them, and also from the variety of the spheres passed through by each in the series of progressive being. An immortal man, possessing a perfect organization of mind, flesh, and bone, and perfect in his attributes in all the fulness of celestial glory, is called a *God*. An immortal man, in progress towards perfection, and endowed with a less degree of glory, is called an *Angel*. An immortal human spirit, which is not united to a tabernacle of flesh, is called a *Spirit*. An immortal man, invested with a mortal tabernacle, is called a *Man*.”

From what has been said of the Mormon ideas of the Supreme God, it will be seen that His attribute of omnipresence, if believed in at all, must be understood in a sense different from that of his bodily and personal presence. According to the philosophers of Utah, matter and spirit are a twofold form of one and the same aboriginal element : matter is spirit, spirit is matter. Out of this conception is evolved the notion of Divine universality and omnipresence, the third element of the Trinity—the Holy Ghost. A relative of Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, also one of the twelve apostles, has expounded this mystery. We have no space for his explanation, but give his concluding words :—

“This” (the Holy Ghost) “is the true light which enlightens in a certain measure all mankind. It is, in its less delicate parts, the physical light which radiates from the sun, moon, the stars, and other substances, and which, through contact with the eye, makes visible the truth of the outer world. It is also, in the higher degrees of its refinement, the intellectual light of our interior spiritual organs by which we think, distinguish, judge, compare, comprehend and remember objects which exist in our sphere. Its inspiration constitutes instinct in animals, reason in man, vision in the prophet, and flows perpetually from the Deity through all his creatures.”

Of all believers in the continuous progress of the universe and of humanity the Latter-day Saints are the most thorough and the most devout. The ordinarily received doctrine of the progress of the species, &c., so remorselessly ridiculed by Mr. Carlyle, becomes wholly insignificant in view of the boundless extent throughout which the law of ascending metamorphosis operates according to the Mormon faith. Not only are all parts of matter intelligent, but they are everlastingly striving to conform themselves more and more completely to the laws which pervade and control them. "According to the degree of capacity which they exhibit in their attempts to conform themselves to these laws is their status in the scale of existences: stationary if they are refractory, rising to a mode of action ever and ever improving if they know how to obey and profit by the lessons of experience." The earth, the planetary system of which it forms a part, and, in fact, the whole stellar universe, are passing through a series of progressive transformations towards perfection; fire, water, and other elements are the agencies by which their successive changes are effected. A new heaven and a new earth is promised by the sacred writer. This promise is interpreted as signifying that they shall become changed, purified, refined, exalted, and glorified, after the manner of the resurrection, by which all physical evil and imperfection will be done away. The present condition of the planetary system is simply adapted to the rudimental state of man, who is himself the subject of several transmigrations. Human souls pre-exist with their Father in the eternal mansion, organized of spiritual elements, in the complete likeness of the terrestrial human form. Having received their preliminary education from their Father, they pass, through a mystical birth, to their second estate, where, in the midst of the celestial family circle, they are educated in the school of love; if they go through the trials to which they are now subjected without a fall, they receive permission to descend and assume a fleshly tabernacle upon earth. Being born again, they become unconscious of their past existence, and thus seemingly begin anew in the school of experience. During their earthly life the veil of unconsciousness is more or less raised: the Holy Spirit gradually awakes their faculties, and by dreams, visions, or the spirit of prophecy, partially unfolds, or rather revives, a dim, shadowy memory of the past. If they achieve the progress incumbent on them here, and duly fulfil the measure of their responsibilities in the flesh, they ascend, after the veil of death has been thrown over them, into another sphere of trial, called the World of Spirits. If at the end of this phase they are still found worthy, they are at length, by a new birth, introduced into the Sphere of Human Existence, where they are clothed in eternal bodies of flesh and bone, having every structure and sense adapted

to its proper use, and are thus endowed with faculties and organs for the possession and enjoyment of each element of both the physical and spiritual worlds.

The Mormon doctrine of the Fall of Man accords with that of the Bible; only that the Mormons hold it to have been necessary, and thank God for it as for the happiest event, seeing that otherwise Adam and Eve would have had no children; they could have known no joy, for they knew no grief; they could have done nothing good, for they were ignorant of sin; having no knowledge of good and evil, they could not have known the blessings of the Redemption and of eternal life, and all created things must have remained for ever in the same stationary condition. Hereditary depravity is wholly denied: no little children, say the Mormons, are sinners in the eyes of God. These religious reformers believe that "through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel," and "that these ordinances are:—1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 2nd, Repentance. 3rd, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins. 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost." They believe in the Bible "as far as it is correctly translated," in the Book of Mormon, in the continuance of the gift of tongues, of revelation, visions, &c.; in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes, and that Christ will reign personally on the earth. They also "believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men*. . . . While asserting that the Book of Mormon is better authenticated than the Bible, the divines of Utah much oftener have recourse to the latter for the defence and support of their doctrine. They twist its texts as often as it suits them; and when it is objected that they do not put the same sense upon it as the Christians, they get rid of the difficulty by saying that the translation is incorrect, and that it is necessary to have recourse to the version made by Joseph Smith, a version which, if it exists, has at all events not yet been published."

The organization of the Church of the Latter-day Saints is somewhat elaborate and complex, and includes two orders of priesthood—one that of Melchizedek, the other that of Aaron. "The priesthood, from the deaconship up to the pontificate, is entirely unpaid, and receives no compensation whatever."

The moral code of the Mormons is that of the Mosaic Decalogue. They not only allow polygamy, but strongly commend the practice of it to the members of the Church. The following words addressed to the Saints occur in one of their authoritative works, "The Word of Wisdom:"—Drink no wine, and especially no strong drink; the proper use of wine is for the celebration of the sacrament. Avoid warm drinks, and neither chew nor smoke

tabacco. Live exclusively on vegetable food, or make use of flesh only in mid-winter, and under the pressure of hunger. Wheat is pointed out as the appropriate food of man. To him who observes these precepts is promised bodily health, great wisdom and insight, and when the destroying angel shall come to destroy the Godless, he shall be spared.

Polygyny, now the most striking feature of Mormonism, formed originally no part either in theory or practice of the new religion, but, on the contrary, is in formal opposition with the teaching of the Book of Mormon, which, in one of its divisions, entitled "The Book of Jacob," contains the following passage:—"David and Solomon had, in truth, many wives and concubines, which was abominable in my sight, saith the Lord. . . . Harken, my brothers, to the word of the Lord; for no man amongst you shall have more than one wife; of concubines there shall be none, because that I, the Lord God, take delight in the chastity of women." Not until 1843, thirteen years after the organization of the Church, do we hear anything concerning a plurality of wives. It is quite possible that the idea may have been long cherished in secret, the Prophet not daring, in presence of the hostility which he had already provoked, first in Missouri and afterwards in Illinois, to announce a doctrine so intensely repugnant to Anglo-Saxon feelings and Christian ideas. We are ignorant of the precise dates at which the various features of the theogony and celestial economy of the Mormons were developed; but being what they are, it was logically inevitable that terrestrial polygyny should be established, as a necessary forerunner and preparation of the heavenly life of the Saints. As we have already intimated, they believe in a vast hierarchy of Gods, in the progressively ascending apotheosis of the Saints, and that the grandeur, power, dominion, and happiness of each will be in proportion to the extent of their families. Hence the strongest motives which can influence the faithful impels them to strive for the largest possible sphere of celestial existence by the acquisition of as many wives and children as they are able to obtain and support upon earth.

The revelation inculcating polygyny as a religious duty was not published until 1852, or twenty-two years after the foundation of the Church. Politic reasons, no doubt, induced the leaders to suppress it until this date, and Brigham Young tells us that he had kept the document containing it locked up in his desk meanwhile. It is probable that nothing would have been heard of the doctrine as early as 1852, when it is said to have been revealed to the Prophet, had he not, like Mahomet, found such a revelation extremely convenient for the justification of his own conduct and the regulation of his own household. It is known

that about that year he became unfaithful to his wife Emma, that he had relation with several women, and that his followers being still monogynists, both in theory and in practice, he gave occasion to painful scandals in the Church. The revelation was received in the presence of William Clayton, who wrote it down from the Prophet's mouth, and of his brother, Hiram Smith, who was commissioned to go and read it to Emma, the Prophet's wife. But she seemed not at all in the humour to submit to this command from on High, and the Prophet spent the whole of the next day endeavouring to induce her to look with composure on the rivals already selected to divide his attention with her. His persuasions proving ineffective, he ended by saying—"Emma, attend to your own affairs, and let the Anointed of the Lord fulfil the works for which God has raised him up." The revelation so far roused the anger of Emma that she burnt it; fortunately, however, as the Saints believe, it had been previously shown to Bishop Whitney, who obtained the Prophet's permission to copy it, and it was this copy which Brigham Young kept locked up in his desk until 1852.

Besides the ordinary polygynic marriages of the Mormons, they have four kinds of *marriage by proxy*. First, the *glorifying*; second, the *retroactive*; third, the *substitutive*; and fourth, the *redeeming proxy*. The principle of these marriages is the same as that implied in the injunction given by Moses, "to raise up children for the deceased brother." By the *glorifying proxy* is meant the act by which a believer marries *for time* the female survivor of a marriage made for eternity; the issue of such a marriage would, in heaven, belong not to their natural father, but to the first husband, who was *sealed* to their mother. The *retroactive proxy* applies to women who, desirous of becoming, in eternity, the brides of persons who have died in the odour of sanctity, marry living men, who contract these unions in the name of the deceased. It was thus that Brigham Young consented to marry *in time* a woman who desired to be, *in eternity*, one of the queens of Joseph Smith. The children who are born of marriages contracted under the system of retroactive proxy belong naturally, according to Mormon principles, to the eternal husband, and not to their natural father. Some forward spirits would go so far as to say that the retroactive proxy permits women of the nineteenth century to become the eternal wives of Abraham, and to rear up in Utah little ones who will be the legitimate children of the blessed patriarch. The *substitutive proxy* is for the especial benefit of the Mormon missionaries. These heroic labourers for the promulgation of the faith are often called upon by the heads of the Church to leave their wives (ranging from one to twelve in number), their children, and homes, and to start on distant mis-



sions to various parts of the globe at only a few days' notice. Seeing how much their families might have been increased during the period of their absence, had they stayed at home, and how much, therefore, their prospective glory in the celestial spheres will be diminished in consequence of their missions, it is considered but just that children should be raised for them in their absence. Hence an agent, or proxy, discharges the duties of the absent missionary to his wife and children, he reaping the benefit of all increase to his family by virtue of his representative. The *redeeming proxy* is a consequence of the idea that there can be no perfect salvation without wives; that is to say, without marriage in this world. Therefore men who are so unfortunate as to die before having entered into the blessed state of matrimony, remain in the next world in a sort of purgatory, unless some kind friend will deliver them by marrying at least one woman on his account, and by raising up children for him by which he may be redeemed from his hopeless position. Besides these various forms of marriage, the Saints have one of a more sentimental kind, analogous to the relationships known amongst the Gentiles as *platonic*. This is a spiritual marriage, and is called *sealing*. It also is based upon the general doctrine that the more wives a man has, the more acceptable he must be in the sight of God, and the greater, therefore, the fulness of his eternal glory. Being purely spiritual, this marriage, while gratifying the feelings of a couple attached to each other by a sentimental alliance, avoids the possible jealousy and unhappiness which the actual practice of polygyny may induce. Hence, without marrying men of their choice *in time*, women are not unfrequently *sealed* to them, thus becoming their wives for eternity, and proportionately augmenting their eternal glory. "Could we depend upon some apostates," says M. Remy, "we must believe that, according to the Mormons, a woman married only for time to one man, can be married for eternity to another man of her choice. Some people go so far as to say that these so-called spiritual marriages are sometimes contracted without the knowledge of the temporal husband.

The degrees of relationship within which marriage is prohibited in all Christian countries have been much restricted by the Mormons: according to them it is lawful to marry all the daughters by the same father and mother, to have at the same time as wives a mother and her daughter by her previous husband, and also to marry a half-sister. The form of marriage contract, if the marriage be monogynic, is similar to that in all Protestant countries, and is celebrated much in the same way; but when a man desires to enter on a polygynic marriage, he must first consult the supreme President of the Church, who is supposed to obtain a reve-

lation of God's pleasure on the subject; if the revelation be adverse, the affair ends there, but if favourable, the candidate for polygyny must obtain the consent of the parents of the woman he desires before he is at liberty to consult her own wishes. If they refuse, he can proceed no further; but if they assent, he can forthwith propose to the lady herself. In case she accepts, the day for the celebration of the marriage is fixed, but her power of refusal is free and final. Before taking a single step towards getting another wife, the man must consult the wishes of his first wife, and obtain her assent, in order to be in harmony with the revealed law. But notwithstanding that it is incumbent on the husband to seek the consent of his first wife to any subsequent marriage, that consent is not absolutely essential. After having taught her the law of God, as practised by the patriarchs of old, and as made known by a new revelation, should she persist in withholding her consent, he is empowered to summon her before the president, to whom she must declare the grounds of her refusal; should they appear to him valid, her husband is precluded from taking any further steps to procure another wife; but should the president judge her reasons to be insufficient, he may authorize her husband to go on without regard to her objections, and to marry himself to other women without her consent. "In the latter case," says the Mormon law, "he would be justified and she would be condemned, because she has not bestowed them on him as Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham, as Rachel and Leah gave Bilhah and Zilpah to Jacob their husband." . . . The man who has married several wives is bound to watch over the prosperity and welfare of them all, and to secure them the comforts of life. "He ought to do this," say the Mormons, "because Holy Scripture enjoins it in these terms:—*If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.*"

There are three forms of the polygynic household common in Utah; the first is similar to that of the Oriental harem, all the wives of one man living in common apart from him, but each having her separate bed-room. The husband resides in a separate house, for the transaction of business and for sleep. This is the kind of household adopted by Brigham Young. He is always present at meals, conducts the daily prayers, instructs his children, and visits each of his wives daily:—

"When he goes out upon a journey, he selects one or more of his sultanas to accompany him; in the same way, when he is indisposed, he gives that one of his wives whom he chooses to have for a nurse an express invitation, without which none are permitted to enter his private dwelling. It is said, and we have no difficulty in believing it, that whenever the Mormon President is ill, the most affecting scenes

take place in his harem; the greater part of his wives, who are rigorously prohibited from approaching his pillow, rush restless and anxious to his ante-chamber, in the hope of being able to cast, through the half-open door, a furtive look of affection on their beloved sultan."

The most common of polygynic households in Utah is that in which the husband lives under the same roof with all his wives, each woman having her own bed-room. According to the third method, the husband boards and lodges for four-and-twenty hours at a time with each of his wives, who live in separate houses, and sometimes at a considerable distance from each other. But whatever may be the form of the household, the theory at least, if not the practice of Mormon polygyny involves the obligation on the part of the husband of visiting each of his wives in turn for an equal length of time. They are expected to look upon each other as sisters, their religion commanding them to take a maternal interest in all their husband's children, who are taught to consider their father's wives as aunts. To distinguish the wives of a polygynist from each other, the christian name of each is prefixed to the husband's name, or else they are distinguished by numbers. This method is the one adopted by Brigham Young.

The women in Utah are not sufficiently numerous to supply each of the saints with several wives. There are many bachelors, who remain such because they cannot find wives. According to a census taken in 1858, the number of Mormon polygynists in Utah was 3617, distributed as follows:—

"Husbands with seven wives and upwards . . . . .	387
Husbands with five wives . . . . .	730
Husbands with four wives . . . . .	1100
Husbands with more than one wife, and less than four	1400

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3617"

What is the number of husbands with one wife only, and how many marriageable men are forced to remain unmarried, we are unable to state. The births of girls is said to exceed that of boys, a result of polygyny in harmony with that believed to be general in polygynic countries, and directly the reverse of what is observed among peoples where monogyny prevails. There is also reason to believe that the aggregate fecundity of the Mormons at Utah is, in proportion to the population, less than in any other part of North America inhabited by people of European descent. Brigham Young has scarcely more than thirty children living, and several of his wives are barren.

The commonly entertained and very natural idea that the Mormon women are ignorant and coarse beyond the average of their sex appears not to be justified by facts. M. Remy testifies to the contrary. He says it is true the majority of them are born

in the lower classes of our civilized societies, but that they are far from being destitute of intelligence and mental cultivation. Some of them are women of remarkable ability, acquirements, and refinement, and display considerable talent as musicians and as writers, both in prose and verse :—

“While passing through the streets of Great Salt Lake City, the traveller’s ear is often struck by the sounds of the piano, which transport him, as it were by enchantment, to his distant home. In the journals of the sect are to be found, on almost every page, verses and articles signed with female names. . . . Cleanliness, which is a kind of reflexion the soul casts upon everything around it, and which is deserving of praise wherever it is found, is an honour to the Salt Lake, and gives us a high idea of the moral standard of the women. We never amongst the Mormons met with women so coarse as those of our market-places, nor so rude as those we still see in many of our provinces.”

In fact, M. Remy elsewhere says that the intelligence beaming from the faces of the women impressed him as being superior to that of the men.

The moral character of the women of Utah seems to be extraordinarily excellent. According to the emphatic declaration of M. Remy, and, he says, of every traveller who has spent some time at the Salt Lake, they are pious, modest, chaste, faithful, devoted, sincere, laborious, honest, and honourable in all respects. A notable apostate, Orson Hyde, admits that “the women are all sincere,” and adds, “their sufferings and their sacrifices prove that.” Prostitution, rightly designated by M. Remy as “that frightful cancer which eats into the vitals of other societies,” is unknown in Utah. Adultery is so rare that it may be said not to exist; and, though this crime, as among the ancient Hebrews, is punished with death, there is reason to believe its absence is due, not to the severity of the penalty, but to the virtue of the women. It will be said that these terrible social evils do not prevail in Utah owing to the general indulgence in polygyny, which Mormonism not only sanctions, but enjoins. M. Remy, however, will not admit that their absence can be thus explained, for, as he observes, “many of the saints have but one wife, and many not even one.” The explanation is only to be found, he is convinced, in the character of the Utah women, whom he believes to be “vastly superior to that barbarous doctrine which has led them to repose an unfortunate trust in the imposture of Joseph Smith,” and to be “of a purity beyond all reproach.”

To the question,—“Are they happy in their delusion?” it would be difficult if not impossible to give a truthful answer. Who can look into all the secret recesses of the human heart? The deeply religious and enthusiastic nature of woman, when once

engaged and devoted to the faith which she has embraced, is not likely to allow that faith to become discredited by any open repinings, because the cravings of her affections remain unsatisfied. How readily in all ages, and notably in the Christian era, has she not sacrificed herself, without a murmur, for the kingdom of heaven's sake? Rochefoucauld defined religion as *la dernière passion des femmes*, but he might have added, with less sarcasm and equal truth, that it is not seldom the first one, too. Under the influence of her faith, and of its outgrowing sense of duty, she is capable of any amount of self-denial, and, indeed, self-forgetfulness—offering her very heart, with all its joys and hopes, at the shrine of her devotion, not only with genuine resignation, but with a cheerful spirit and a countenance telling of inward happiness. How, then, can we trust the appearances of contentment and enjoyment presented by the women of Utah, as proofs that their social relationships really yield them that happiness which we are accustomed to believe can only come of the union of one man to one woman—a union which, practised by the Romans from the foundation of the city, was probably one of the chief sources of their greatness, and which, invested by Christ with a Divine sanction, is at once the basis and moulding force of the social life, and, in a large measure, of the civilization of the Christian world? But however we may interpret the evidence of contentment and happiness observable in the women of Utah, it cannot be ignored, for it presents itself on every side, and compels recognition by every impartial visitor. The general aspect of Great Salt Lake City is one of cheerfulness and order, and the wives of the saints are frequently heard singing as they work.

"I am bound to acknowledge," says M. Remy, "that the immense majority of female saints say they are happy, and that many of them appear to be perfectly content. . . . Their lot does not appear to differ from that of their fellow women in Christian countries. . . . All the female saints of Utah, with whom we had the opportunity of conversing, assured us that their position is full of charms; that the polygynic form is for woman here below the essential condition of true felicity; that jealousy is never met with in their society, save in those women only who have not received the faith in all its fulness. The young women of marriageable age did not speak otherwise. 'We certainly prefer,' they said, 'to be married to a polygamist; we do not know what you mean by rivals. No matter how many wives: the more the merrier.' One only, an English girl, added this qualification, 'Most assuredly I wish to marry a polygamist; but I want to be his first wife; then I care not, let him marry as many as he will.' To explain the feeling of this young girl it will be enough to say that, according to their catechism, the first wife of a polygamist is a sort of president here upon earth, and that in heaven she will reign as a queen over the other wives of her husband.'"

Indeed, so infatuated and enthusiastic are the women in supporting the doctrines they have embraced, that they become quite eloquent in their advocacy of that part of the system, the practice of which, according to our conceptions, must ever be repugnant to the deepest and strongest feelings of human nature, and must continually wound afresh the heart of every woman subjected to it. But religion is a great wonder-worker. M. Remy occupies twelve pages in reporting the arguments of one of these fair enthusiasts, "a woman who is considered extremely lady-like among the Mormons, and would be so esteemed everywhere. It is impossible to conceive with what earnestness of mind, with what an air of sincerity and conviction she defended the new doctrine, and met the objections made to it, and what a modesty of manner and language she brought to the support of so bad a cause." Of course she was emphatic on the great favour shown by God, in various ways, to the Hebrew patriarchs who practised polygyny, especially in his assurance to Abraham that he should become the father of many nations, and in the fact that the twelve sons of Jacob, by his four wives, were blessed by becoming the heads of tribes. She cited Moses as sanctioning polygyny, and the Psalmist—the man after God's own heart—as practising it without rebuke, although adultery is formally prohibited in the decalogue, and is severely punished. Because of his adultery with the wife of Uriah, as well as of the guilt of murder, David is told by the Lord, through the Prophet Nathan, that all his wives shall be taken from him and shall be bestowed on another. What could be more conclusive than this of the Divine sanction of polygyny? Moreover, the New Testament gives an implied sanction to the patriarchal custom: to "sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven," is spoken of by Christ as though it would be a blessed privilege; and the Apostle Paul holds up Abraham and Sarah as models of faith and good works, as the father and mother of believing Christians. The works (recorded in Gen. ch. xvi., ver. 1, 23) for which Sarah obtained such honours were referred to by the lady as a triumphant argument in favour of her faith. She also entered at length into physiological and social considerations in support of her cause, and, alluding to the plague spot visible in every Christian community, and horribly extensive and deadly in each large city, concluded by saying: "In our society neither money nor pleasure can tempt a woman, because she can always find an access to the honourable relations of mother and wife in the midst of some virtuous family, where she will meet with love, peace, and well-being, where the practice of virtue gives her a claim to be transplanted to the soil of eternity, there to multiply her family to infinity, without sorrow or suffering, and without being ever again subject to death."

But notwithstanding the bright colours in which Mormon polygyny presents itself at Utah, and in which it is painted by female saints, it has a dark and tragic aspect also. Divorce, which is easily obtained, is not unfrequently applied for by unhappy Mormons, and one woman is mentioned who seems to have striven indefatigably, but in vain, to secure the conjugal bliss promised to the faithful: she has been married six times and has four husbands still living at Utah! Whether she has yet been divorced from the last of the four we are not informed. The fees to the Church for a divorce were, in 1854, as follows:—For divorcing a couple married *for time*, ten dollars; for divorcing a couple married *for eternity*, fifty dollars! Cases occur in which the first wife, supplanted by others, cannot endure her wretchedness, and hence applies for such poor palliation of her misery as the divorce-court may afford her. More than one instance is recorded of a devoted wife, strong in the assurance of her husband's affection, who, during his absence on a distant mission, has supported herself in Utah till his return, and who has at length been heartbroken by his introduction of a second wife, married by him while away. Questioned as to her jealousy of three other wives possessed by her husband, a lady at Salt Lake said,—“My husband married me when we were very young in England; I was very fond and very proud of him. We came out here, and he took another wife. It made me very wretched, but I am not jealous now, for I cease to care anything about him.” A widow of a near relative of the Prophet, an Englishwoman of superior character, and possessing an education little usual in the class to which she belonged, married a second time to a Mormon priest. After three years' absence, preaching to the savages, he returned and was received with open arms; but before having been long at home he demanded as a second wife the daughter of his first wife by her former husband, an intelligent, charming girl about eighteen years old. The girl, already passionately in love with a young man to whom she was engaged, resolutely refused to become the wife of her father-in-law and the rival of her mother. He tormented his wife to use her authority over her child to make her consent to the marriage; but as her mother-heart utterly rejected this office, she did nothing, and family dissensions ensued. Defeated in his object he, in revenge, selected as a second wife a waiting-woman attached to the harem of one of the chief elders, and brought her to his house. Under her influence he maltreated his first wife, as well as her daughter, so grossly as to compel them to abandon the dwelling they had assisted in building and ornamenting with the fruits of their industry. M. Remy learnt this story from these unhappy creatures as they were sitting, weeping and desolate, a short distance outside Great Salt Lake city on

the very day they had been forced to abandon their home. Sometimes women at Utah awake out of their religious delusion to a consciousness of the horrible position into which they have allowed themselves to be led. Then comes a fearful revolt in their minds against a mode of life now wholly hateful to them, but too often inevitable. They are usually poor; their children appeal to them for support; their far distant homes, most generally in England, separated from them not by the Atlantic Ocean only, but by vast deserts on every side, are unattainable; and even if they could be reached they would probably prove homes no longer: wives in Utah would, in a large number of cases, be counted but as concubines in Europe. Thus situated, what can these poor wretched and neglected exiles do but hug the chains of their slavery, and apathetically acquiesce in the doctrines and practices of the monstrous superstition of which they are the victims?

But though the misery such as just depicted undoubtedly exists at Utah as a consequence of the polygyny there practised, we must remember that it appears to be an exceptional and by no means characteristic accompaniment of the marriage relations of the saints. It is confessedly almost always difficult and frequently impossible to get any true insight into and conception of the discord and voiceless sorrow which too often pervade conjugal life; but bearing this in mind, and making, on account of it, a large abatement from the value of appearances, we are constrained by the testimony of reliable observers to admit that, on the whole, Mormon women enjoy a large measure of substantial happiness. M. Remy attempts to account for this unexpected result by supposing that by the intensity of their religious convictions they have stifled their instincts of love, and that the feelings by which they are wedded to their husbands are chiefly and often only those of friendship. There is doubtless much truth in this idea: as women in Europe too often sell themselves, for a worldly settlement, to men whom they do not love, and who are, not seldom, repugnant to them, it is easily conceivable that female believers in Mormonism should even more readily give themselves in exchange for the assurance of a heavenly mansion and eternal happiness, and that they should fulfil the conditions of their contract with more cheerfulness and joy than their gentile sisters, seeing that as they are members of polygynic households, those conditions involve a minimum quantity of conjugal duties to husbands who may be personally repulsive to them, but who, as the insurers of their social position, and maternal joys in this world, and of their salvation in the next, they may very naturally regard with feelings of friendship, which are at least productive of domestic tranquillity, and often of no inconsiderable measure of



quiet happiness. Moreover, as according to the Mormon creed the celestial bliss of a man is in proportion to the number of his terrestrial wives and children, Mormon women are the sources of their husbands' prospective power, dominion, influence, and eternal joy, and consequently command their respect, and are conscious of their own importance and dignity. The position thus conferred upon them by their religion must ever prevent them, so long as their faith continues vital, from lapsing into that state of slavish abasement which distinguishes the women of oriental harems. But however favourably the polygyny of the western desert may compare with that of Asia, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that after the new superstition shall have waned, any large number of women of Anglo-Saxon origin will long continue to uphold and advocate its practice, unless as an escape from the worse fate which, alas, overtakes thousands of them in our great cities, or from the desolate poverty, void of maternal joys, which a vast number of European, and notably English, women now endure. That to escape one or other of these evils many would accept the social life of Utah, even without the constraining force of the Mormon faith, we can readily believe; and it is not improbable that in proportion as the binding power of creeds dissolves, and human beings feel themselves free, within the limits of being just to each other, to consult their own inclinations and secular welfare, women, in increasing numbers, will resort to aberrant forms of life for the fulfilment of their desires and affections, rather than continue obedient to the behests of a civilization which offers to them the terrible alternative of a husbandless and childless life of incessant but wretchedly remunerated toil, or prostitution with the loathsome diseases which attend on it. So incredibly powerful and extensive is the influence of these diseases in destroying health, and in inducing physical degeneration, so deadly are they, indirectly, through the agency of a multitude of ordinary diseases for whose attacks they prepare the favourable constitutional conditions, that if throughout Christendom their baneful source could be suppressed by the offering up of even more than one social scapegoat, like to that which is being driven into the desert of Utah, we confess that, though reluctantly, we would make the sacrifice. Unfortunately, the polygyny of Mormonism promises no such boon: it only offers an immunity from the pest in question, on condition of itself being practised, not in Utah only, but in every part of the civilized world. But while not unmindful that polygyny prevails throughout the greater part of Asia and Africa, that it is customary among nearly all barbarous tribes, that the Hebrew patriarchs and holy men of Israel were its exemplars, and that it is emphatically sanctioned by the wide-spread religion of Mahomet, and while recognising and deploring that monogyny,

enforced by legislation, has always been supplemented by its hateful correlative—prostitution, we still remain profoundly convinced that the ideal of marriage can never be realized but by the union of one woman only with one man, as its primary and absolutely indispensable condition.\* This condition alone constitutes the ground out of which the full individuality of the female character and all the best elements of womanhood may be developed; and only in proportion to the completeness of their evolution can true marriage—marriage of the mind as well as of the body—which involves mutual respect, a mutual consciousness of personal dignity, and, at least, a mutual feeling of essential equality, become possible. The polygyny of Mormonism having a religious origin, so soon as the superstitious ideas on which it is based are dissipated by the spread of knowledge, it will vanish. It is not the unforced growth of spontaneous Anglo-Saxon natures, otherwise we should be compelled to regard it either as an indication of the still continuing semi-barbarism of those who practise it, or, worse, as one of the dismal signs of our race's incipient degeneracy and decay. But looking on it as we do it gives us no concern; and, as we have shown, its temporary existence is by no means an unmixed evil; it offers even to the most destitute sister of the Mormon community a shelter from the temptations or actual degradation to which thousands of women succumb in Christian cities; it gives at least a respectable position in Utah to many of the sex who might otherwise have dragged on a life of mere lingering, lonely poverty in their European homes; and it is accompanied by the demonstration of the possibility of a large town without promiscuous licentiousness, a fact which should fix men's attention more earnestly than heretofore on what is called the great social evil, and which may, perhaps, contribute some suggestions towards the solution of that seemingly insoluble problem.

M. Remy, in his observations on the prospects of Mormonism, admonishes its apostles that if they would ensure it a long life, they must procure a new revelation abrogating the one ordaining polygyny, and investing it with Divine sanction. We believe, however, the ideas on which it is based are much too intimately interwoven with the whole structure of Mormon theology to permit of its abrogation until Mormonism itself declines. And decline it certainly will. But that an ignorant impostor, such as was the founder of the new faith, should obtain the ascendancy he has; that the gross superstition, built on conscious lies, which he originated should, in the nineteenth century, become a living

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\* Believing, we presume, that the sexual relations of the Mormons do not deserve the name of marriage, M. Remy "for the sake of greater precision" calls them, not *polygamic*, but *polygynic*. We adopt his term.

faith and life-moulding power, in which hundreds of thousands of natives of Christian Europe devoutly believe, and to which they yield a willing obedience ; and, above all, that a large majority of these converts should be English men and women,\* are facts constituting a strange and startling comment on the religious teaching and educational efforts of the established clergy and dissenting ministers of the United Kingdom. They laboured as the slaves of creeds rather than as the intelligent servants of truth ; though a few may continue to countenance what they know to be error, the great body of the priesthood of all denominations are impelled by a false sense of duty to stifle every doubt which arises in their minds, to go on preaching to others what they find it hard to believe themselves, and, by feats of intellectual legerdemain, to gloss over difficulties which they dare not probe. Thus Sunday after Sunday, and year after year, they subject their hearers to a round of dull formalism, incapable of either instructing the understanding or of refreshing the heart,—cruelly debarring them from independent investigation by insisting on its dangers, and, if any doubts should be expressed, by social outlawry in this world, and threats of eternal damnation in the next.

The Nemesis of faith, however, never sleeps : within the pale of the numerous sects of slumbering orthodoxy, theological somnambulists continue muttering their mediæval formulæ, and ghostly phantoms terrify their victims with fear of fiery torments ; but from time to time in this dreamland is heard from without, the busy hum of a real world where positive knowledge is directing the workers, and where the ever-continuous and increasingly glorious revelations of science are in harmony with daily experience and the teaching of the five senses. Roused from their slumbers, human beings are led, occasionally, to compare their world of phantasy with that of reality ; doubts of the truthfulness of the former enter their minds ; disbelief follows ; the whole body of theological doctrine becomes more or less discredited, and many helpless inquirers, with such glimmerings of light as convince them of the delusive foundations of their faith, finding themselves lost in a maze of bewildering contradictions and inconsistencies, without guidance or direction, lapse into a state of spiritual anarchy from which the priests, aghast at the workings of that inevitable Avenger which is depriving them of their flocks, are wholly powerless to rescue them. But though hundreds of thousands of the lower classes, especially of the artizans of England, thus withdraw themselves from the churches or chapels where they once worshipped the God of their

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\* It is said there are as many as fifty Mormon places of worship in London alone.

fathers—where week after week they derived new incentives to duty and new strength to fulfil it, and where their sorrows here were assuaged by the consolatory assurances of a better world hereafter, they are far from happy or content in the sterile wilderness of scepticism in which they find themselves. In respect to religion their minds remain wholly chaotic : compelled to toil throughout each day to supply their physical wants, they have no time to seek religious truth for themselves ; they are ignorant of the origin and history of the creeds they can no longer believe ; they know nothing of the natural genesis and development of religious ideas ; all they know is that the faith which they fondly cherished is, dream-like, vanishing away, leaving in their hearts only a cold hopeless void, and a vague inarticulate longing for new and more trustful guidance along their mysterious life-journey to that country “ from whose bourn no traveller returns.” What is more natural than that such men, unaccustomed to, and indeed incapable of, critical investigation, should lend a willing ear to the earnest preaching of the Mormon missionaries, and should become easy converts to the new faith ? Shall we blame them ? Or shall we not rather blame the 20,000 of our established priesthood and their dissenting brethren ? They hold the high office of spiritual leaders of the people whose souls are presumed to be in their keeping, and for whose religious welfare they are answerable. But instead of qualifying themselves by constant and devout study to fulfil their noble mission as the intellectual chiefs and spiritual leaders of society, as faithfully diffusing media of the new truths which are being unceasingly discovered, and as the teachers of those unchangeable laws which most especially concern humanity, obedience to which is the condition of human happiness in the present and the best preparation for a future life, the majority of them prefer to obstruct the rare efforts at enlightenment of such men of their own order as the authors of “ *Essays and Reviews*,” and to strive with frantic energy to keep the members of their churches in darkness.

The prospects of Mormonism it would be hazardous to prophesy about, except in the most general terms. Ignorance, on which it depends for its growth and continuance, occupies so vast an area, and has such great and powerful interests engaged in its conservation, that we fear the time is far distant when it will cease to provide credulous dupes to swell the number of “ *Latter-day Saints*.” Collateral circumstances, such as the nature of their political relations with the American federations, the ability and character of their future presidents and leaders, the capacity of the soil of Utah to sustain the increasing crowds who flock there, as well as the extent of the manufacturing and commercial activity of the rising community, will all, of course, exercise a de-

termining influence on its destiny. But as ignorance is the source of its existence, it is assuredly doomed to die so soon as the light of knowledge shall be diffused among the lower classes to the moderate degree necessary for the dissipation of that dense mental darkness in which men are tempted to grasp at the grossest superstitions in the hope of spiritual guidance. Meanwhile it may be well to remember that as the polygyny of the Mormons appears to be a not unmitigated evil, so Mormonism itself has its redeeming features: it has a broad, catholic, and eclectic spirit; it repudiates persecution; it teaches that all religions possess some truth, and that it is the duty of the Saints to extract what is contained in each for the spiritual enriching of their church; its toleration extends to every creed—all forms of worship being recognised and welcomed in Utah: Whereas orthodox Christians believe that the fountains of inspiration are sealed up, that God ceased to speak to man eighteen centuries ago, and that the formula of the true faith is fixed for all time, the Mormons affirm that inspiration is still vouchsafed to the Saints, that God continues to reveal His Will to His chosen people, and that unlike the petrified dogma of the Gentiles, which cramp the spirit and prevent its growth, their canon is a living law, flexible and capable of extension, thus adapted to the progressive nature of man, and fostering his spiritual development; they deny the debasing doctrine of hereditary depravity; they teach the essential analogy between this world and the world to come—thus discountenancing that pernicious “other-worldliness” which leads many pious Christians, to renounce the healthy enjoyments of this life for the sake of securing eternal bliss in the next; they are remarkable for their industry, temperance and frugality; the amount of crime in their community is less than in any European society of equal size; they have uniformly treated the Indians, not as encumberers of the ground, but as brothers having souls to be saved, and for whose salvation their missionaries labour among all the surrounding tribes;\* and, finally, by planting a flourishing city in the midst of the great American desert, as well as minor settlements in many parts of it, they have, as it were, bridged over the two sides of the Continent, and have made a highway for the nations swarming beyond the Rocky Mountains.

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\* The Mormons say it was for the Indians that Christ uttered the prayer—“Forgive them, for they know not what they do;” and their treatment of these children of nature is such as to have caused them, while regarding “pale faces” generally as “bad people,” to look on the Latter-day Saints as their friends, and to treat them accordingly.

## ART. IV.—COUNT DE CAVOUR.

*Opere Politiche Economiche del Conte Camillo Benso di Cavour.*  
Cuneo. 1855.

*Camillo di Cavour. Commemorazione, per Ciro d'Arco.* Torino.  
1861.

*Camillo Benso di Cavour, dal Professore Roggero Bonghi.* Torino.  
1860.

“THOSE whom the gods love, die young,” said the ancients : how fortunate would they have esteemed one who had carried through, with uniform success, an enterprize of such unparalleled audacity that, to borrow the words of Clarendon, speaking of our own great patriot statesman Hampden, he alone had “a heart to conceive, a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute it ;” and who then died just as he had set his seal on the undertaking which, from being the dream of his youth, became the labour of his manhood, and finally, his claim to the grateful homage of all future generations, sinking down into his grave in the full glory of his intellect, at the very pinnacle of power and fame, amid the tears of friends and relations, mourned for by millions of his own nation who had never even seen his face, while neighbouring peoples echoed back the note of woe, and his very enemies bowed their heads in respectful awe. Such fortune would have seemed too much for any one child of earth, yet this was in very truth the lot of Camillo Benso, Count de Cavour, so lately removed from amongst us. Posterity will probably record as its verdict that, though too soon for Italy, for himself his death was the crowning fortune of his life ; so high had he climbed, that even fresh successes could scarcely have seemed other than a descent after those that had gone before. In some sense, indeed, his work may be called incomplete, since he sank, like Moses, on the threshold of the promised land, yet so clearly had he marked out the road to be pursued, that the Joshua who caught the emblems of command as they dropped from his dying hand, can scarcely win greater glory than by steadily executing his plans, the triumph of the living being itself a new tribute to the memory of the dead. Could we divest ourselves of personal feelings, we might recognise a poetical appositeness in the death of Cavour ensuing immediately after the first celebration of the *fête* for the national unity of Italy—that darling object for which he had lived and toiled,—just as the army, which his genius had roused after the crushing field of Novara, by pointing the way which conducted it to the regenerative baptism of blood on the Tchernaya, at Palestro, and

Castelfidardo, had consecrated those triumphs by receiving a new name ; so that the first occasion on which the banners inscribed "Armata Italiana" were borne in public, was at the funeral of the very man to whom that designation was mainly owing : never could he have been mourned over with such tenderness and unanimity as at that peculiar moment. It was, however, the singular characteristic of Count de Cavour to inspire attachment, no less than admiration, and as all earthly affection is proverbially selfish, those who at any time had the privilege of approaching him, cannot but share in the passionate, and, as it were, personal grief of the Italian people, at the loss of their "Papa Camillo," as the great statesman was affectionately termed, and feel that they would fain have seen his days prolonged, albeit at the expense of dramatic propriety. But he is gone to the bourn whence none ever return, and that lamentation may not be altogether vain, it is well, before the rapid current of passing events sweeps us too far away, to cast a tributary flower of respect on the lowly tomb of Santena, and seek to garner up the moral lesson which we cannot fail to derive from considering the life and character of one in whom a great State recognises a founder and a creator.

Camillo Benso, Count de Cavour, was born at Turin on the 10th of August, 1810, the second son of an ancient and illustrious race, tracing back its pedigree far into the dark ages, when we find it already in possession of the fiefs of Chieri, which, acquired about 1150, are still owned by the family, and accordingly its then head, the Marquis Micheal Joseph, was a thorough representative of the haughty and bigoted aristocracy of Piedmont (so much so that the memory of the father for a long while cast a doubtful shadow over the liberal opinions of the son), while his wife sprang from the no less noble Genevese house of Sellon. Though born at the very zenith of the first French Empire, the future statesman was scarcely more than an infant when the sudden extinction of that splendid meteor brought back from the island of Sardinia Victor Emmanuel I., with all the antiquated religious, political, and legislative institutions of old Piedmont\* in his train, and therefore, after having received the first rudiments of education at the hands of the Jesuits, he was consigned, in 1820, to the military college of Turin, whence he issued after some years as the page of King Carlo Felice, the last prince of the elder line of the House of Savoy. Such an education would

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\* Anything so divergent from the spirit of the nineteenth century it is hard to conceive, now that its vestiges have almost been swept away ; we may, however, cite as an example, that torture was a legal means of extracting evidence, and that a person convicted of a crime (say, fratricide) escaped punishment if he could discover one more guilty than himself, as having, for instance, committed parricide.

scarcely have seemed fitted to develop the powers of an incipient journalist and liberal minister; but it was the orthodox training for a young noble of old Piedmont, where every member of the aristocracy held himself bound to pass at least some years in the military service of the State, at a time when all advancement depended on the personal pleasure of the sovereign, and the old Marquis looked to nothing beyond. His son, however, seems to have given early indications of his tendency to depart from the common course; for it is recorded that his vivacity and independence of spirit caused no little scandal at the stiff Court of Turin, where he seems to have played the part of Cherubino in Beaumarchais' comedy, while the distinguished Professor Plana already cited him as the best of his mathematical pupils. He, however, found the position of a courtier so uncongenial, that at the age of eighteen he was glad to exchange it for that of a lieutenant in a regiment of Engineers quartered at Genoa.

Though so young, he had already attained such proficiency in his professional studies, that he was soon employed in making surveys of the passes of the Alps and Apennines, and it is a singular coincidence that one of the earliest public employments of the statesman, who, towards the close of his career, was destined to fix the political frontiers of his country at the natural mountain boundary, should have been the drawing-up of plans for the construction of a fort intended to guard the road from Genoa to Nice. But neither military pursuits, nor the pleasures of his age and society, which Count de Cavour never ceased to enjoy with the keenest relish, sufficed to absorb all the activity of his restless mind. French had been the language of his infancy, and to his death was more familiar to him than even Italian. While still a youth he made himself master of English, which he both spoke and wrote with remarkable facility, and became deeply engaged in the study of Adam Smith and other works bearing on political economy, finance, or the political institutions of our country; so that it is no exaggeration if we date from this early period his deep-rooted admiration and attachment for England. The politics of the day also excited his earnest attention, and while he watched the progress of the English Reform Bill with the liveliest interest, he was already beginning to meditate on the fortunes of Italy. • Genoa was then the scene of the first efforts and conspiracies of Mazzini, and though the practical genius of the young Cavour preserved him from the fond belief that the liberty and unity of Italy could be achieved by underground plots and secret machinations, that illusion which has led astray so many noble spirits, wasting, or even worse, talents that might otherwise have been of the greatest service, his liberal opinions were too manifest for him not to incur the displeasure of the authorities, and in 1832, some



unguarded expressions consigned him as a punishment to the gloomy garrison of Fort du Bard, in the valley of Aosta.

It was on this occasion that he wrote the following letter to a lady of Turin, who had condoled with him on his misfortune:—"Je vous remercie, madame la marquise, pour l'intérêt que vous prenez à ma disgrâce; mais croyez le bien, je ferai tout de même ma carrière. J'ai beaucoup d'ambition, une ambition énorme, et lorsque je serai ministre, j'espère que je la justifierai, puis que dans mes rêves je me vois déjà ministre du Royaume l'Italie.—C. CAVOUR." A singular prescience this, in a lieutenant of engineers of twenty-two, undergoing punishment for his liberal opinions, which, in an officer, were then considered an offence little short of high treason, especially if we consider the state of Italy, the movements of the Duchies, and Romagna trampled down by a foreign soldiery, Naples apathetic, Austria more powerful than ever, and Charles Albert of Sardinia, the only sovereign who could be suspected of even national tendencies, withheld from all manifestation of them by engagements to his predecessor which seemed to fetter his very soul. It is little less singular that, when shortly afterwards, having resigned his commission in the army, Count de Cavour wished to visit Lombardy, the Austrian police should have absolutely denied him leave to enter that province, and though this refusal was rescinded shortly afterwards, an order was given to watch him as a most dangerous enemy, and to note the houses in Milan which he visited, and the persons with whom he associated.

In 1835, Count de Cavour left Italy for the first time, and during the seven years he spent abroad, resided alternately in Switzerland, France, and England. The last was the country of his preference; and had the future been unveiled before him, he could scarcely have prepared himself for his great destiny as parliamentary leader and constitutional minister more judiciously, than by the assiduity and eagerness with which he followed the debates of the House of Commons, and studied every social, agricultural, and financial subject that his quick spirit of observation brought under his notice. His views on all these points formed the matter of various pamphlets, in which he first developed his talents as a writer; that on the state and prospects of Ireland, in which we may trace the germination of his ideas on legal resistance to oppression and parliamentary warfare, may be especially cited as one of the most appreciative and remarkable productions on English affairs which ever flowed from a foreign pen, and when Count de Cavour returned home in 1842, it was to apply practically the lessons he had learned abroad.

Times had changed for the better in the course of ten years, and though the field of political action was still closed, the

activity of a thoughtful lover of his country might find vent in other directions. Count de Cavour was one of the original founders of the *Società Agraria* (agricultural society), intended as a means of developing the material resources of Piedmont, and he soon became chief editor of the journal of the society, in which he energetically combated (31st August, 1843) a scheme for establishing model farms under the immediate direction of the Government, for even thus early he had embraced the belief that the best guarantee for the progress of a people, is the liberty of initiative. The death of his father having by this time put him in possession of a considerable fortune and large landed estates, he began practically to essay the theories he propounded at Turin, employing as much eloquence and earnestness to persuade his bailiff of the merits of an improved plough, or a new breed of pigs, as he afterwards devoted to inducing the chambers to adopt some political plan of unparalleled boldness; for it was characteristic of the man to throw himself heart and soul into the prosecution of any idea that seized hold of him, and while no scheme was too vast for his intelligence, no detail seemed too small to engross his whole attention. Every thought that passed through his mind was either flung aside or grew rapidly into a conviction, which, with a natural expansiveness that has often been charged against him as a tendency to despotism, he eagerly sought to impress on all around him. Nor did these occupations suffice. More from love of excitement than any other motive, he entered on a series of bold speculations (only to be relinquished, suddenly and finally, the day he was appointed a minister of the Crown), which proved generally successful, much to the surprise of his less venturesome and somewhat commonplace elder brother, who watched his proceedings with affectionate dread lest he should involve himself in difficulties; he made plans for railroads, and was an active promoter of infant schools, and other attempts to improve education.

Five years thus passed away; till, towards the end of 1847, deeming that the time for more direct efforts had at length come, he set up the *Risorgimento*, a paper of moderate and constitutional liberal views, destined to exert no inconsiderable influence, in conjunction with his friends, Counts Balbo and Santa Rosa, Buoncompagni, and Azeglio, himself assuming the office of chief writer and responsible editor. Events were now rapidly maturing to a crisis; the liberalism displayed by Pius IX. at the commencement of his reign, had acted like a spark igniting a train of gunpowder; the Italian party everywhere raised its head; and in the first days of 1848 the liberals of Piedmont met to consider the course they should pursue. The majority, including the most violent democrats, were in favour of asking for reforms, when Count de Cavour suddenly advocated the demand for a constitu-

tion. "Give us but the liberty of speech and writing," he exclaimed, "and all else will speedily follow." A petition was drawn up in accordance with this view, which, though never formally presented to the King, and now long since forgotten, then weighed heavily in the scale favourable to the grant of the Statuto, and when, a few weeks later, a commission was appointed to frame an electoral law, Count de Cavour became one of its principal members. Experience and the extraordinary extension of the State have since then caused many modifications to be introduced ; but the essential clauses of the law now in force are still those originally adopted at his suggestion.

We may pass rapidly over the events of the next two years, important though they were, as foreign to our subject, for Count de Cavour exercised no direct influence upon them. Nevertheless he speedily made himself remarked by the singularly independent and original attitude he assumed in the first Sardinian chamber, where he sat as deputy for the college of Turin, which, save for one short interval, he continued to represent till his death, and took his place in the centre. Holding aloof from all factions, his conduct was ever that of one who felt in himself the strength to form a party of his own, and to take upon his own shoulders all the responsibility of power. Thus, though denounced as a renegade by those with whom birth and education would naturally have connected him, and in spite of his having been one of the first (*Risorgimento*, 23rd March, 1848) to proclaim the necessity of war to the knife with Austria, the left soon perceived who was their most formidable antagonist, and the extreme democrats vowed against him that deadly hatred, which, kept down during the latter years of his life by dread of his sharp sarcasm and unfailing logic, alone dared to break forth in indecent exultation over his tomb. The force of those weapons was not then known, and Count de Cavour found himself the butt of unceasing attacks both in the press and the chamber, where, when the arguments of his opponents failed, the cries and hisses of the tribunes often drowned his voice. This enmity even went so far as to cause an unknown candidate to be preferred to him in the elections of January, 1849. But the future minister was not one to be turned from his course by idle clamour ; he went his way, opposing or supporting the ministries that rapidly succeeded one another during that stormy epoch, in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, acknowledging but one aim, one principle—the greatness and good of Italy, the inviolable sanctity of the law. From the 4th of July, when he made his maiden speech on the bill for the annexation of Lombardy, he was perpetually in the breach, pouring forth in the tribune,—as long as that remained open to him—and through the columns of the *Risorgimento*, his views on

every question of the day. In these emanations of his intellect, all, whether written or spoken, remarkable for vigour of expression, clearness of view, and logical sequence of argument, we cannot fail to recognise the leading ideas which inspired his ministerial career. His depth of acquired knowledge on financial subjects was not more singular than the native loftiness of spirit which, so early as 22nd July, 1848, led him to induce the chamber to reject all exceptional legislation for the maintenance of public order, while in the rare cases in which he entered on the field of speculation, as, for example, the speech on the opportunity or inopportunity of war (20th October, 1848); and the article entitled "Revolutionary Methods," of the 16th November, his words, now that we read by the light of subsequent events, seem those of one endowed with the gift of second sight. By all these efforts, Count de Cavour made himself noted among the statesmen of Piedmont; but public opinion, which once conquered was never to waver in its allegiance to him, was first conciliated in his favour by his recommendation of Count Siccardi as Keeper of the Seals, and his speech on the abolition of the ecclesiastical tribunals (7th March, 1850), in which we discern the early workings of his mind on the great problem which occupied his last days, *Chiesa libera in libero Stato*; and it was not till the following October, that, on the death of Count Santa Rosa, Minister of Commerce, Massimo d'Azeglio, the then premier, proposed to the King his nomination to the vacant post. "Take care," observed Victor Emmanuel, "if Cavour once enter the Cabinet, he will soon be master of you all." Never was prophecy more literally fulfilled.

Had Piedmont been a great State, the acts of Count de Cavour, during the time he remained a member of the Azeglio Cabinet, would have sufficed to secure to him a lasting European reputation. From the moment he entered the Government, entrusted with the departments of commerce and agriculture, and of marine, to which the portfolio of finance was added early in 1851, he practically commenced the peculiar work of his life, the organization of the conservative forces of his country, and their direction to the achievement of the ends of revolutions; for the characteristic which, more than any other, sets him apart from all contemporary statesmen, is, that with aspirations no less ardent and entire than those of Mazzini himself, his chosen instruments were the upper and middle classes—in Italy, even more than elsewhere, imbued with the constitutional timidity of men who have a large stake to risk. The position was a most difficult one: Piedmont was isolated both without and within the peninsula—her constitution was the object of constant attacks, in which extreme conservatives and democrats equally joined—her finances were shattered. It was no ordinary man who could then foresee the

day when she would become the keystone of the arch of Italian liberty; and had they been ends, as they were only means, the treaties of commerce with England and the minor states of Europe (1851), with France (1852), the systematic inauguration of the strategic railway net, and the entire reconstruction of the tariff on free-trade principles, would have seemed colossal enterprises under such circumstances. Yet, though Cavour dared all this, supporting his measures in a series of speeches on finance, commerce, and the press, among which we may specially cite those on free trade (14th April, 1851), on the press (5th January), the budget (28th January), and the French treaty (8th April, 1852), so masterly, as in each successive case to obtain the assent of the chambers, and, more than this, by applying his consummate knowledge of English parliamentary tactics, impressed upon the Sardinian chambers those usages of business and courteous discussion which have especially distinguished them from all other free continental assemblies; Piedmont was so microscopic a State, that her progress remained totally unperceived save by those whom fortuitous circumstances led to take a special interest in the affairs of Italy; and even in the peninsula itself, few, if any, appreciated the skill which, in the treaties of commerce, foreshadowed the system of alliances to culminate in the Crimea; or, when, in May 1852, Count de Cavour broke with Azeglio and the majority of his colleagues, on the express grounds that they were tampering with interests which admitted of no compromise, even divined that the foundations of a great Italian monarchy were already laid.

At the end of the session Count de Cavour paid a flying visit to England and France; and it was on this occasion, we believe, that he first met, face to face, the man with whom his destiny was to be so intimately connected, Napoleon III., who at once received him with the utmost cordiality. Soon, however, he was called home by the approaching opening of the Chambers, to see his calculations of the previous spring verified by the resignation of the Azeglio Cabinet, which, weakened by its failure to obtain a favourable concordat from Rome, did not feel equal to encountering a fresh parliamentary campaign deprived of its best champion. The King first summoned Cavour, but he having made it an absolute condition that every thought of further negotiations with the papal court should be abandoned, various other combinations were essayed by Marquis Alfieri and Count Balbo, and it was not until all had failed, that Cavour received *carte blanche*, and in the beginning of November, composed a government, in which he himself assumed the presidency of the council and the ministry of finance, to which, later, he added foreign affairs, one department never seeming enough for his insatiable activity.

Henceforth first, or rather sole minister, for his colleagues were but pawns to be moved or set aside according to the exigencies of his game, secretaries whom he changed without exciting even the passing curiosity of the public, so certain was it that he would stamp upon all the potent impress of his own genius, he advanced towards his aim with longer and bolder strides, and we too must now take a wider range, for from this time, Sardinia was wedded to the Cavourian policy, by it to stand or fall, and the biography of one man becomes the history of Italy.

At first, however, Count de Cavour seemed disposed to devote himself to the completion of the internal reforms. He was preparing the dwarf Piedmont for a life and death struggle with the giant Austria, and he felt the necessity of providing armour of proof, and of carefully testing every plate of the cuirass; so the internal administration, the code, the tariff, finances, public works, and education, the material resources of the country, were all reformed and developed in such a way as to bring them into harmony with one another and with the general design. But sword and banner were no less requisite than hawberk and shield, and as the one could only be the sub-Alpine army, no pains were spared to discipline that into a force, small indeed, yet perfect in its minute proportions, a task in which General della Marmora, Minister of War, showed himself a most worthy seconder, so the other was necessarily the tricolour of Italy, an opportunity of grasping which was not long to seek. The insurrection of Milan was taken by Austria as a pretext for sequestering the estates of Lombard proprietors naturalized in Piedmont (with the consent of the Imperial Government, be it remarked), and when, after a spirited but fruitless diplomatic skirmish on their behalf, Count de Cavour haughtily recalled the Sardinian envoy from Vienna, Italians of all parties joined in applauding him; and still further encouraged by the liberal measures which made all natives of the peninsula eligible to public employment in Piedmont, thus making them in every respect the equals of the born subjects of the King, as soon as they elected their domicile within his States, they began to open their eyes to his ulterior views, and to see in him the captain of their national enterprise (a revulsion of feeling to which the total defeat of the Republicans indirectly contributed in no small degree), and the spokesman who might plead their cause before the tribunal of Europe.

While thus drawing on himself the favourable attention of his countrymen, Count de Cavour proceeded to draw closer that alliance with the more advanced sections of the chamber, towards which he had been tending for some time, by taking into the ministry Signor Rattazzi, chief of the left centre. This course has often been attacked as inconsistent, but although Cavour

doubtless offers us the rare example of a statesman who grew less conservative as he advanced in his career, we are rather disposed to see in it a testimony to his real consistency. Let us explain. From 1848 till the end of 1851, the chief danger incurred by the Piedmontese constitution was that of submersion in the flood of democracy; then was the time to build dykes, for the priestly absolutist party was entirely impotent, but this relative position was reversed after the *coup d'état* in France, and still more so after the Austrian victory at Milan, and Cavour was clear-sighted enough to perceive that in order to guard the Statuto from the new peril, it was necessary to welcome every section of liberals willing to unite under its ægis, a perspicacity by which, to borrow the thought of Macchiavelli, he proved himself one of the few who know how and when to change their weapons and mode of warfare, according to the circumstances in which they are placed. This union was all the more necessary, as besides the diplomatic skirmish already mentioned, Count de Cavour was now taking measures calculated to excite to the utmost the hostility of Austria, by strengthening the defences of Casale and Alessandria, and in proposing to transfer the naval arsenal from Genoa to La Spezia, an act which, though defensible on commercial grounds, was certainly prompted by deep motives of policy. These three measures, especially the first and third, encountered unusual opposition in the chamber, and it was in the debate on the last, that allowing himself to be carried away by the heat of discussion, in answer to the reproach that he was risking the very existence of the navy by placing its arsenal within a few miles of a hostile frontier, Count de Cavour suddenly, and for one moment, raised the veil which still shrouded his dearest thoughts, by exclaiming, "Who assures the honourable deputy that La Spezia will not one day be rather in the centre than at the extreme point of our territory?" He said no more, but this cry of his heart, backed by the more cogent reasons adduced by his intellect, satisfied the chamber, and the project of law was voted.\*

The poet sings—

There is a tide in the affairs of man,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

And equally are there crises in the life of nations, which, as they are improved or neglected, make or mar the destiny of generations. Such a moment was now approaching for Italy. Early in 1854, France and England concluded their offensive

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\* It may interest some of our readers to learn the prevision of Cavour in urging this bill, as one that admitted of no delay, by the fact, that the works at La Spezia, though actively pushed forward, are yet incomplete, and that the first project presented to the chambers after his death was one relating to them, found in his portfolio.

alliance against Russia, and the courteous intimation of the event, usual in diplomatic intercourse, was followed up in December by a formal invitation to Sardinia to join in the league. It would be hard to prove, though we are inclined to believe, that Count de Cavour provoked the invitation; but however that may be, he eagerly grasped the opportunity thus held out to him of at once rousing the army from the depression caused by the crushing defeat of Novara, and of placing the third-rate State he governed on a line with the great powers, and a treaty was speedily concluded, followed by a military and financial convention, in which, by scornfully rejecting any advantage to be obtained at the sacrifice of independence, and above all, the tempting prospect of a subsidy, Piedmont assumed a footing of equality with her colossal allies.

Our readers may still remember the cry of astonishment, almost of derision, that rang through Europe at the news. Such audacity seemed incredible, it was David returned to life, again to defy Goliath, and nowhere was surprise and even dismay stronger than in Piedmont itself. The army, indeed, rejoiced at the prospect opened to it, but the politicians were loud and almost unanimous in their remonstrances. Members of the Cabinet, among whom General Dabormida, minister of foreign affairs, resigned office rather than affix his signature to a treaty he considered fatal, and the usually docile parliamentary majority suddenly turned restive, the men best known for their devotion to Italy were the most hostile, but Cavour stood firm. Within and without the chamber, such patriots as Tecchio, Pallavicino, Manin, and many others we could mention, vehemently denounced the treaty. The very idea of squandering the resources of the country for interests that only indirectly concerned her, in face of a yearly deficit, when every penny was required for objects of vital importance, and of shedding Italian blood in a foreign and distant quarrel, when the army might any day be called upon to defend its own homesteads, was represented as insanity, while running the risk that the banner of Piedmont might one day find itself floating beside that of Austria, was stigmatized as treason to the memory of Charles Albert, the abandonment of every dearest aim, and the ruin of Piedmont and of liberty was confidently prognosticated if the chamber consented to the treaty; but all this torrent of opposition was powerless to make Camillo di Cavour swerve from his conviction that, to cite his own words, "The independence of Italy must be conquered in the Crimea." Two noble soldiers alone fully shared his views and his hopes, their big hearts bounding at the conception of his vast intellect, and well was it for Italy that those hearts beat in the breasts of the King and of the dying Duke of Genoa. Both were so earnest in their



approval, that the latter claimed for himself the chief command of the expedition, hoping thus to forestal his fatal malady by dying, as he lived, for Italy, and when death cut short that design, Victor Emmanuel, broken in spirit by the successive loss of wife, mother, and brother, even proposed to abdicate in favour of the Prince of Piedmont, and go to the Crimea as his general. Strong in such support, Cavour declared he would change every one of his colleagues and dissolve parliament, rather than give up one iota of his plan. Then, and then only, after a long and spirited debate, in the course of which the great statesman defended himself in one of the finest speeches ever heard from his lips, the chamber yielded, though with fear and gloomy forebodings, and ratified the treaty by a small majority, in the spirit of self-sacrificing loyalty which is so peculiarly characteristic of the Piedmontese.

The issue is well known, and within a few short months, the foremost opponents of the treaty were fain to rejoice at their own defeat, while the members of the majority congratulated themselves on the unbending allegiance to their sovereign and his representative which had stood them in lieu of conviction. But before we proceed to narrate the results of this daring measure, we must mark the completion of the scheme of internal reforms. The part concerning religious corporations had been left to the last, with a hope that the court of Rome might in time show itself better disposed to conciliation, but this illusion having finally been dispelled, a bill was presented to parliament at the end of 1854, for the suppression of a large number of chapters and convents, the members of which were to be pensioned off, and the surplus of their property applied to the better payment of the parochial clergy, and various charitable and educational purposes; the cloisters being appropriated for barracks, hospitals, or other objects of public utility, while such orders as had entitled themselves to exemption by their care of the sick or the young, were to be consolidated and reformed, for idleness being one of the greatest of sins in the eyes of the ever-active Cavour, he, not misled by blind prejudice, or revolutionary passion, was as ready to preserve those orders that in any way rendered themselves useful to society, as he was anxious to abolish such as lived in luxurious sloth, or demoralized the people by investing mendicancy with the sanctity of a religious calling.

In his allocution of the 22nd January, 1855, the Pope hurled all the thunders of the Church at the heads of the impious authors and supporters of this law, while, as if secretly doubting the efficacy of these spiritual weapons, he ordered the whole correspondence between the courts of Rome and Turin to be published, thus appealing to public opinion, a tribunal whose verdict was so

little dreaded by Count de Cavour, that he caused the Papal edition of these documents to be reprinted and circulated as widely as possible. Not all the wrath of the Vatican, nor even the more formidable artillery booming in the Crimea, and the cures entailed upon him by the treaty, were able to arrest the progress of the convent bill. The public discussion began in the middle of February, and it passed both chambers before the end of spring. Details still required correction, but the main scheme of reform was henceforth complete, and Piedmont stood biding her time, girt with the panoply of her liberal institutions.

The battle of Traktir (16th August, 1855) restored the reputation of the Sardinian army and its generals, and though untoward circumstances prevented the brigade under Cialdini from taking its destined part in the storming of Malakoff, condemning it to remain all day in the trenches under the galling fire of the fortress, enough had been done to prove that the Italian tricolour might worthily wave by that of France, and Della Marmora was admitted to the councils of war on equal terms with the leaders of the mightier hosts. When the subalpine parliament met at the end of autumn, many doubts and prejudices had already been dispelled, and supplies were voted with unusual readiness. But now it was for the diplomatists of Piedmont to continue in the Cabinet the work that her generals had so well begun in the field. Negotiations opened during the winter; Count de Cavour, having already secured all the advantages he had promised himself from war, was now foremost in wishing for peace, and we believe the arguments he urged, while accompanying his sovereign on a visit to the Courts of Windsor and the Tuileries, to have been by no means influential in promoting the congress of the following year. At all events, it was at this time that Napoleon III. first inquired of him "What can be done for Italy?" a question which called forth in reply the celebrated memorandum known as that of the 27th March, 1856.

When the conferences were first appointed, it had been intended to send Massimo d'Azeglio to Paris as the Sardinian plenipotentiary; but the difficulty of giving him precise instructions was so great, that he speedily withdrew his acceptance of the office, and Count de Cavour, seeing no other worthy to be intrusted with a mission at once so delicate and important, resolved to take it upon himself. As the representative of a belligerent power, he was able to assume a tone most provoking to Austria, and in spite of her protests, took an active part in every discussion, signing the final treaty on equal terms with the other plenipotentiaries. Returned to Turin, Count de Cavour, on the 6th of May, rendered an account of his mission, and after reading his note of the 16th of April, was enabled, in proud consciousness

of his triumph, to announce to the deputies, and through them to the whole country, that the Italian question was now fairly launched on the sea of diplomacy, England and France, by recording the opinion that its present state must be remedied in the general interest of Europe, having virtually pledged themselves to seek its solution, and that, far from the relations of Austria and Piedmont having been drawn closer by the almost daily meetings of their envoys at the same council board, the gulf separating the political systems of the two States had never been more clearly defined than since the Imperial ambassadors were forced to sit in the position of culprits at the bar, and had not even dared to put forward a defence, when the wrongs and woes of Italy were denounced before the judgment-seat of Europe and of public opinion.

A great step had evidently been made. All Italy rang with acclamations: addresses of congratulation, medals of honour, poured from all sides on "him who defended her with raised vizor."\* The noblest of the Italian exiles, Manin, abdicated his republican doctrines, declaring that Italy must be one, with Victor Emmanuel as her King, and made himself the chief promoter of a scheme for arming the new fortifications of Alessandria by national subscription, thus recognising them as works of general utility, and Piedmont as the bulwark of the peninsula. The idea became so popular that the original number of 100 guns was considerably increased, and they may now be seen on the walls of the fortress of the old Lombard League, inscribed with the names of the cities or provinces that offered them; and when the Sardinian regiments returned from the Crimea, their entry into Turin was everywhere celebrated as a national festivity. A vulgar observer would have thought that Cavour might now have rubbed his hands (his constant gesture when pleased), congratulating himself in unalloyed delight on his progress towards realizing the dream of his youth; but he was one whom no triumph could dazzle, and while a nation applauded, never had the obstacles to final success seemed to him more numerous or more formidable. Yet he shrank not from his purpose, and though he was once observed walking up and down his cabinet, in an hour of vexation, gloomily communing with his own heart as to whether it would not be wise in him, decorated with the highest honours his sovereign could bestow, and possessed of all the gifts of fortune, to retire from the game rather than again set upon the die the European reputation for statesmanship he had just conquered, the fit of despondency soon passed away, and, striking his hand upon the table, he vehemently exclaimed, "But no; at all hazards, Italy

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\* This was the inscription on the bust offered by Tuscany.

must be made, shall be made, and made by me!" This was indeed his one and true ambition; for this he sought power, not as an object, but as a means; and standing alone as he did in the grandeur of his own soul, without wife or child to smile upon his solitary hearth, Italy to him was as mother, and mistress, and daughter are to other and lesser men.

As compared with the years that succeeded, 1857 and 1858 seem tame and barren of events; but if we examine them more closely, we shall see that, as a ship of war does not sail forth upon the open sea without long preparation and toil in the dock-yards, so those years were the necessary forerunners of the more exciting ones to follow, and that without the previous co-ordination of parts, the great Italian drama could never have been played. The war of notes and protocols must precede that of shells and bullets, while the Italian populations must be disciplined to act unanimously, and take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself. Cavour steadily pursued both objects. In January, 1857, the Emperor Francis Joseph visited Milan, but no envoy of Victor Emmanuel complimented him on his arrival, and when, furious at the coldness of the Lombards, he ordered his diplomatic agents and paid press violently to denounce Piedmont as if her free government and journals were the sole causes, insisting on the modification of the one, and the suppression of the other; the dignified language of the notes and articles that appeared at Turin, upholding the independence of the State, and defending the liberties granted by the Statute, made this vituperation recoil upon the heads of its authors, and all Europe applauded when diplomatic intercourse, tamely carried on by *chargés d'affaires* for the last four years, was entirely broken off. The enthusiasm and affection of Italy for the King and Minister of Sardinia daily increased, and, to train these feelings into engines of practical applicability, the "National Society" now formed itself at Turin, with the tacit consent of the Government. This association, organized, though for a political purpose, after the model of the Manchester Corn Law League, comprised all sections of Liberals, and, by its sub-committees, soon spread its ramifications through every city and village of Northern and Central Italy, and penetrated, though less completely, even into the southern provinces, everywhere pursuing its appointed task of instructing the people by the diffusion of news, and a knowledge of the ways in which liberal institutions work, training them to act together in such force as pacifically to compel their princes either to join Victor Emmanuel in the great purpose of expelling the foreigner, or to bind up their fate with that of Austria, by repairing to her camps, and thus leaving their subjects to act for themselves. When fully known, the history of this society will be one of the future

curiosities of literature ; here we need only allude to it sufficiently to make clear to our readers the uses to which it was put at a later period by Count de Cavour ; for though we cannot doubt his having been secretly cognizant of its acts, and many of its leaders were his personal friends, he never took even the smallest part in its proceedings.

The crisis was gradually drifting nearer. Count de Cavour was well aware that open war with Austria must break out sooner or later. He also knew that the material resources of Piedmont could not indefinitely resist the strain put upon them for so many years, and that her army of 60,000 men, however excellent, even though reinforced by the volunteers of all Italy, could not adequately encounter the Imperial forces, and he anxiously looked around him for allies. He was too well acquainted with England, the country of his predilections, to hope active aid from her ; France was his only resource. When and how negotiations were opened and carried on, whether the first overtures came from Paris or Turin, are questions which will probably not be fully answered until every individual interested in them shall sleep in the grave, and which we will not even attempt to solve. This much we know. In September, 1858, Count de Cavour visited Napoleon III. at the baths of Plombières, and, after long and frequent conferences, succeeded in convincing him that the state of Italy had in no respect improved during the two years that had elapsed since the Congress of Paris, and that there was no hope of amelioration arising from any diplomatic remonstrances that could be addressed to Austria, or to the smaller sovereigns, so long as they could count upon her co-operation in forcibly suppressing the discontent of their subjects. These points once proved to his satisfaction, the Emperor clearly saw that the supremacy of Austria over the whole peninsula, not contemplated even by the treaties of 1815, must one day become fatal to the European balance of power ; and we believe it to have been agreed, that France should aid Sardinia in expelling Austria from Lombardy and Venetia, and annexing those provinces, receiving Savoy and Nice in return. The marriage of Prince Napoleon was also discussed, and the fate of the secondary Italian princes was left to be decided by events.

Had Austria strictly confined herself to the limits assigned by the final settlement of Vienna, her position would have been diplomatically unassailable, since her Italian provinces were secured to her by the same title-deed which gave Genoa to Piedmont ; fortunately, however, for the designs of Count de Cavour, her tenure was incompatible with good government in any part of the peninsula, and between treaties, family alliances, and armed occupations, she had for forty-four years maintained a supremacy

contrary to the public law of Europe, and having obtained a guarantee against brute force, the Sardinian premier was not slow to take advantage of this flaw in her case. On either side the Alps the war of words began towards the close of 1858; and while the singular address of the Emperor Napoleon to the Austrian ambassador on the first of January intimated to the world in general the dissension which had arisen between the two empires, and the warlike speech of Victor Emmanuel, ten days later, roused the enthusiasm and hopes of the Italians, demonstrations the homogeneity of which was soon made manifest by the hastily concluded matrimonial alliance between the reigning houses of France and Piedmont, Austria found no better argument than the strengthening of her garrisons, the massing of her troops on the frontier, and the taking up of a large loan—evident preparations for war, which Count de Cavour lost no time in putting in the strongest light both in his circulars to the diplomatic agents abroad, and in his speeches to the Parliament at home.

Such steps on the part of an adversary so superior in power, amply justified the proposal of a loan, and the assembly of the army on the Ticino. But Count de Cavour was too certain of the justice of his cause not to found his chief hopes of success on the verdict of public opinion, and when the English Government, alarmed at the turn events were taking, called upon him to state the grievances of Italy, he drew up his memorandum of the 1st March, 1859, an act of accusation against Austria and her satellites no less striking and conclusive than the one aimed at the Papal Court three years previously. Compared with such a document, the complaints of the Austrian Cabinet seemed those of the wolf against the lamb in the old fable; yet we may fairly admit that the alarm of the huge empire was far from being groundless, for despotism is only secure so long as its power is unquestioned. The smallest concession is the necessary forerunner of a fall, and the practical working of a constitution in any part of Italy was the logical condemnation of the imperial system; so that the mere allowing it to exist was, in fact, a tacit acknowledgment of impotency, the consequences of which could only be avoided by successful war.

This was the universal conviction on either bank of the Ticino and the Po; and while Austria poured down her frontier battalions, never moved save in case of imminent hostilities, the committees of the National Society, secretly at work in every town, assisted the youth of all the Italian provinces in their escape to join the royal army. It was a strange sight to behold the noblest and wealthiest rushing to enlist in the ranks, and Count de Cavour, as he received the young volunteers, hailed their arrival as the best proof of the approaching triumph of his ideas, for he

well knew how indissoluble is the bond between those who have fought side by side. Piedmont was now virtually Italy, and this gave the Italians and their leader courage and patience to look calmly on all the diplomatic efforts of England and Russia to avert war. They knew their hour was at hand, and in his certainty that it must strike, Count de Cavour showed himself willing to enter into negotiations, to accept a congress, even to disarm, provided that condition were made common to both parties; in short, to make every concession compatible with the independence of his native country which the neutral Powers could reasonably demand.

Nor was he deceived in his belief that Austria would deem this moderation more fatal to her interests than all the risks of war. On the 23rd of April, Baron Kellersberg appeared at Turin with the Austrian ultimatum, which was of course peremptorily rejected. All doubt being now at an end, the Sardinian army was concentrated on the second line of defence of Casale, Valenza, and Alessandria, so providently prepared for it. Victor Emmanuel, in a spirited proclamation, called the Italians to arms: the Sardinian Chambers, with a trust never before accorded either to king or minister, suspended the constitution during the continuance of hostilities, that no formal obstacle might delay the taking of any measure dictated by the urgency of the case; and Count de Cavour—who, though the greatest of revolutionists, not only in spirit but in fact, never admitted violent change save as a last resource when every other had been exhausted—called upon the *soi-disant* independent princes of Central Italy to make their election between a national policy, which might have saved their thrones, and open adherence to Austria, a summons to which they successively answered, the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena by repairing to the Imperial camp, the Duchess of Parma by a more politic retreat into Switzerland.

Few passages in modern history are better known than the Italian campaign of 1859. The Austrian invasion, the stoical patriotism of the Piedmontese peasantry, the arrival of the French, the marches and battles which led to the rapid liberation of Lombardy,—have all been described over and over again: be it rather our task to tell what was the life of Count de Cavour during those busy ten weeks. Charged with the four ministries of war, marine, foreign affairs, and the interior, in addition to the presidency of the council, he seemed to multiply himself to accomplish all the duties thus heaped upon him. For years it had been his habit to rise at five, or even four, in the morning, and only allowing himself the occasional refreshment of a cigar, or a single cup of black coffee, to work uninterruptedly till six, the hour of his one daily meal, devoting the evening to rest, in society; but

dinner was now often delayed till nine and ten o'clock, or else he returned to labour till past midnight. By this incessant toil, only diversified by flying visits to the camp, to confer with his own sovereign or the French Emperor, he contrived to discharge every task so efficiently that those brought in contact with him in each capacity almost refused to believe he had any other department to preside over. All the wants of the army seemed known to him, and were instantly provided for ; he superintended the equipment of the ships destined to join the French fleet in the Adriatic ; as Minister of Foreign Affairs he kept the Sardinian envoys abroad in a position to explain every step in his game to the Courts to which they were accredited, and on the death of Ferdinand II. despatched an extraordinary ambassador to Naples, to endeavour to induce the young King, the son of a princess of Savoy, to embrace a constitutional system and the Piedmontese alliance, while in the Home Department he extended the benefits of the Statute to Lombardy and the Duchies, which, as having voted their union with Sardinia in 1848, were provisionally incorporated with the monarchy, while, through the Royal commissioners sent to facilitate their participation in the war, he less directly influenced the government of Tuscany and Romagna.

Such activity would seem incredible, were it not a matter of contemporary history ; and even thus, it may be a subject of medical doubt, how long the health and faculties of any human being could have withstood such a strain ? Yet harder still to bear than even this herculean labour was the shock that awaited Count de Cavour, when, in compliance with a telegraphic summons, he hastened to head-quarters at Desenzano, and learned the tidings of the Convention of Villafranca. What he then endured no tongue can tell, for he himself never fully described his feelings, though they might be guessed from the expression of agony which would cross his expressive countenance at any allusion to the hour in which his dearest schemes seemed broken in the midst. But whatever his grief, his resolution was promptly taken : he could not set his hand to any treaty consecrating the servitude of the Venetians, and the presence of Austria in Italy ; and as it would have been madness for Piedmont to attempt to carry on the war single-handed, he threw up all his offices, in spite of the passionate entreaties and reproaches of Victor Emmanuel—entreaties and reproaches hard to resist, for his sovereign was also his friend ; but his sense of right was stronger even than affection, and he only consented to hold the seals till his successors should be appointed.

The resignation of Cavour left the fate of the peninsula dependent on the firmness of the central Italians, but would populations so long oppressed prove equal to encountering such a crisis, deprived



of their trusted leader? The first consolation that reached the fallen statesman was a letter from Farini, then governor of Modena, proposing resistance, and the creation of a dictatorship for that province in his own person. Count de Cavour promptly replied by telegraph, "The minister is dead—the friend approves and encourages you." Next came the news that Baron Ricasoli, who, on the departure of the Sardinian commissioner had assumed the presidency of the Tuscan provisional government, was resolute to oppose the return of the Grand Duke, and had summoned an elective assembly to decide on the propriety of union with Piedmont; and henceforth sure that his principle was right, and reposing as it did on the basis of eternal truth, had imbued the minds, not only of the thinking men, but of the masses in Italy, and thus founded, might defy the caprices even of so powerful a potentate as Napoleon III., Count de Cavour retired to his country-seat of Leri, near Vercelli, there to await the day of his return to office.

At that villa he chiefly resided for the next six months, and to one of a less nervous and irritable temperament, that repose from official toil might have been of service, but the same man who, when minister, would escape to Leri for a few hours, there to enjoy himself with all the zest of a schoolboy, discussing with his steward the state of his herds and rice-grounds, or providing for the well-being of his peasantry, seemingly oblivious that politics even existed, now found no rest amid his once loved rural pursuits, fretted himself almost into fever at his inability to do more than advise where he longed to act, and while the populations were daily forwarding his views by their wonderful intelligence and abnegation, could ill brook to see that progress jeopardized by the moral cowardice and impolicy of the Piedmontese ministry, composed of men he himself had raised into reputation, who now implored his counsel in each difficulty, to despise it the moment the crisis was past, and by their abuse of the full powers, voted by the parliament in his own favour, tampered with that inviolable sanctity of law, respect for which was with him almost a superstition.

So false a situation could not endure longer than the circumstances which had created it. In stormy weather the most experienced mariner holds the helm, and scarcely had the Peace of Zurich rendered his resumption of power possible, than the Italians became eager to see it restored to Count de Cavour. In January, 1860, the Rattazzi government fell under the weight of its own errors, and the desire of the nation was instantly fulfilled. Few paused to inquire who formed the Cabinet, it was enough that the trusted minister presided over it, and all looked forward to great events. The first care of Count de Cavour was to return

to a legal position by dissolving the old and convoking a new parliament, to include the representatives of Lombardy; his next, to provide for the prompt annexation of Tuscany and the Emilia. Himself convinced that hesitations of the late ministry as to the votes of the Assemblies rendered necessary a fresh manifestation on the part of those provinces, and privately warned that France would recognise no decision but that of universal suffrage, he provoked a secret conference with Baron Ricasoli and Signor Farini, at which was decided that appeal to the people, the brilliant result of which is so well known.

It was a triumphant day for Count de Cavour when he could advise his sovereign to accept those votes and summon the deputies of half Italy to meet in a single parliament; but co-incident with the victory, storms and clouds arose on other points of the horizon. We have already stated that the transfer of Savoy and Nice to France was to have been the price of the total expulsion of Austria: at Villafranca the claim was naturally abandoned, but it was revived on the fusion of Northern and Central Italy. Did Count de Cavour unmixedly regret the pressure to which he could but yield? We are not prepared to assert it, for though no minister can ever willingly sign a treaty of cession, and in this case especially, he knew he must overcome the natural repugnance and grief of the King, and a strenuous parliamentary opposition, he was too profound and subtle a statesman not to be aware that he was fortunate in being able to discharge the debt of material obligation at so a cheap rate, and not to foresee that by claiming her own disjoined provinces at the hands of Italy, and annexing them in virtue of universal suffrage, France implicitly acknowledged the principle of Italian unity, and precluded herself from objecting to any fusion henceforward carried out by the same means. We believe him to have been far more disturbed by the rising at Palermo, brought on by accident, against his most earnest wishes, since he thereby lost the direct control of events in the southern provinces, and the chances of insurrection were substituted for that co-ordination of well-organized forces to which he loved to owe the victory of his ideas.

The formation of his army under General de Lamoricière had made the Pope think himself able to dispense with a French garrison at Rome, and Count de Cavour was aware not only that the latter was about to be withdrawn, and that their departure would be followed by a joint attack on Romagna by the Papal and Neapolitan forces, but he also knew the latter to be so deeply imbued with Italianism, that the very chiefs could not be counted upon to oppose the Piedmontese soldiers, whose victory and advance southward would raise the populations, sweeping away the Bourbon despotism as mists disperse before the morning sun.

That this plan was feasible we cannot doubt after the autumn campaign in the Marches; but the outbreak of the Sicilians, and the expedition of Garibaldi, in consequence of which the French remained at Rome, forced Count de Cavour to renounce all thoughts of its execution. He could only bide his time, certain that the advent of anarchy must sooner or later exhaust the forces of tumultuous revolution, and restore the control of events to his own hand. Seeing the frightful social and administrative disorganization, the culpable squandering of the public resources, the substitution of a huge deficit for a well-filled treasury,\* and of bands of brigands for a well-equipped and organized army, which have been the fruits of the brief passage of Garibaldi at Naples, who can blame Count de Cavour, if, foreseeing all this, and knowing that—to borrow the dictum of one of the most revolutionary spirits† of the present century—“peoples perish from the absence of authority,” he sought by a prompt annexation to snatch Sicily, as a brand from the burning, out of the hands of the insurrection, and even at the price of leaving Francis II. awhile longer on the throne, to revert to the system of pacific and well-prepared revolutions which had succeeded so admirably in Central Italy. The attempt was vain, for the democratic flood, so unfortunately let loose, had not yet expended its force, Garibaldi swept on like a fiery meteor, dissolving to its primitive elements every object he touched, sowing the storm, leaving the whirlwind to be reaped by his successors, whoever they might be, and dreaming, in the intoxication of success, of attacking both France and Austria with his volunteer bands.

Such madness was becoming too dangerous to the very existence of Italy, and Count de Cavour felt it must be arrested at every hazard. Happily he was equal to the emergency, for never did it fall to the lot of any statesman to take a bolder resolution than that which dictated the invasion of Umbria and the Marches. The risks were immense, but inaction was certain to be fatal, well-timed temerity might save all, and the die was cast almost at the moment that Garibaldi entered Naples. Fortune proved true to the brave in soul; and while the unexpected resistance of Capua and the doubtful skirmishes near the Volturno arrested the progress of the volunteers, the activity of the Italian generals in the Marches‡ enabled them to reach the line of that river, and throw

\* 100,000,000f. were found at Naples when Garibaldi entered. In his budget of this year, the Italian finance minister had to meet a deficit of 114,000,000f. on account of the Neapolitan provinces.

† Paul de Flotte: Speech in the French Legislative Assembly, 21st May, 1850.

‡ The campaign lasted eighteen days from the passage of the Rubicon to the surrender of Ancona.

themselves between the contending forces in time, not to obviate a collision with the French, as had been the original object, but rather to save the revolution from perishing through the excesses into which it had been betrayed. The audacity of Count de Cavour, well supported by the firmness of the parliament, which, summoned to ratify or condemn his policy, had by an almost unanimous vote affirmed his principle of unconditional fusions, and authorized him to accept any such as should be voted on these terms, had thus reconquered in October that control over events which had seemed to slip from his hands six months before; and despite his own unwillingness and the evil influences by which he was surrounded, the force of circumstances obliged Garibaldi to sign the death-warrant of his own power by ordering the universal vote which was to hand Naples and Sicily over to the royal government, and as soon as the result was known to retire to Caprera, though he did not depart without giving a last sign of ill-will in his refusal to concur in the proposed incorporation of his volunteer army with that of Northern Italy, unless on the impossible condition of his own appointment as absolute Dictator of the Two Sicilies, quite heedless of the reply of the King that the bestowal of such authority belonged to the parliament alone, and exceeded the power of any ministry.

The administration of Naples may be pointed at by his opponents as the least successful page in Count de Cavour's career, yet his excuses are so many, that even his warmest admirers need not scruple to acknowledge his failure. The country was handed over to him in a state of absolute anarchy, its fortresses still resisting on behalf of the fallen Bourbons; and he, accustomed to judge everything with his own eyes, had no personal knowledge of Naples, while the concentration of all power and responsibility in himself, which was the mainspring of his ministerial system, forbade him even a short absence from Turin to acquire any. Moreover, let us confess it, he would have been more than human—and to be human was an essential feature of his greatness—if the senseless and over-reviving enmity of Garibaldi, and the unceasing vituperation of his friends, had not made some impression upon him, and inspired a certain almost unconscious prejudice against all supposed to yield fealty to that party, a prejudice which passed with far greater intensity into the minds of his own followers. Hence the infelicitous appointment as Viceroy of Signor Farini, who, with all his excellent qualities, was the last man for such a post, since his very character and position rendered his many errors in it unavoidable, and when the Prince of Carignan was at length sent to replace him, that nomination came too late to remove difficulties it might have obviated at an earlier period. But we need not dwell longer on this gloomy episode, the develop-

ment of which would require long statements of facts and explanations of causes, leading us into digressions wholly foreign to our subject, since not to Cavour was reserved the solution of the knotty Neapolitan problem. His course was nearly run, and we rather turn to his last appearances on the parliamentary stage of his earliest public triumphs.

The elections had taken place on the 27th January, 1861, everywhere proving singularly favourable to government, and the parliament was formally opened on the 18th of February, but owing to the delay necessary for the verification of powers, business did not begin till the middle of March. The first bill presented was one constituting the new monarchy, which passed the representative chamber unanimously, the senate with but a single dissentient vote, given at the dictate of religious bigotry, and thus was the youthful dream of Cavour fulfilled after the lapse of twenty-nine years. He was first minister of the kingdom of Italy, and to himself was the great result mainly due. The sovereign had assumed his new title, the state was proclaimed, but it was yet incomplete, for Rome the capital, and Venice the bulwark, were unrepresented in the Italian parliament, and on the former and most vital of these questions Count de Cavour hastened to explain his views. In answer to interrogations he had himself instigated, he expounded at length his favourite theory of a free Church in a free State. Considering Rome to be the necessary metropolis of Italy, he desired to offer the Pontiff, in exchange for his precarious temporal power, sovereign honours, and the renunciation by the State of all right of interference in spiritual affairs, with the hope that such ample terms, backed by the guarantee of the Italian government for the safety and respect due to the supreme head of the Church, would induce the concurrence of the Catholic Powers, and persuade France especially to withdraw her garrison, concluding in favour of an order of the day to the same effect, which was voted by an immense majority. These explanations were renewed in the upper chamber a fortnight later, for Count de Cavour held the thorough ventilation of a question to be the essential preliminary to its solution; publicity was his weapon, as freedom his device, and it was on this occasion that in answer to the Neapolitan Senator, Vacca, who, after urging the state of Naples to be an additional reason for seeking to hasten the deliverance of Rome, suggested the proclaiming a state of siege in the disturbed frontier provinces, that he vehemently exclaimed, almost in the very words he repeated during the delirium of his last hours, "No state of siege, no exceptional laws—liberty must not sully her cause by assuming the arms of tyrants!"

The Roman debates were but the holiday tournament; the real battle for power between the ministry and more advanced oppo-

sition must be fought on other grounds; and the question of the volunteer, or southern army, supplied the latter with an endless theme of invective and covert accusation; for the public mind was agitated and divided on this subject, and unaware that the sullenness of Garibaldi had prevented a general arrangement, (for the ministry had been chary of unveiling the errors of one to whom Italy owed so much) felt dissatisfied with the partial measures adopted, so that, to secure them a parliamentary sanction, Baron Ricasoli (whose lofty character and independent position gave him a peculiar right to be heard) proposed, and Count de Cavour accepted, a debate which might settle the matter for ever.

The discussion of the 18th April must long remain memorable in the parliamentary annals of Italy. In reply to the questions of Baron Ricasoli, the minister of war made a long statement of the forces of the country, and explained the position assigned to the volunteers by the royal decrees on their organization; after which Garibaldi, who had taken his seat that same day, started up, and reading from a paper (previously prepared, alas! for had the cruel words been *spoken* in the heat of debate, not *written*, the sting had been less deep), accused Cavour of being the enemy of Italy, the would-be fosterer of civil war. The chamber was indignant, his own lieutenants shocked, and the most fiery of them, General Bixio, earnest for conciliation, implored the accuser to retract, the accused to pardon, the unjust taunt; nor was Count de Cavour, though wounded to the quick, slow to accept the proffered mediation, and for the weal of Italy he offered not merely forgiveness but oblivion, and joint labour in the cause both equally loved, and holding out his hand, he called upon Garibaldi to come and grasp it as that of a patriot, who, if trained in a different school, was no less ardent than himself. Had Garibaldi only done so, what evil might have been averted! But irresolute, and dependent on the opinion of those immediately about him, he half rose to comply, then yielding to the whispered remonstrance of Zuppetta, who was next him, again sat down. Cavour sank back, struggling with fearful and visible agony: insulted as knight, as gentleman, as patriot, his nature was one to feel to the very core such a blow, coming from such a quarter; yet Italy was so dear to him, that for her sake he mastered his passion, retained his wonted urbanity throughout the debate, and when the large majority in favour of government, and the adherence of his military lieutenants to its proposals, had persuaded Garibaldi of the necessity of reconciliation, and he sought it through the intervention of his sovereign, Cavour, too high-souled for rancour, cheerfully assented. But from that hour he was not the same. The poisoned shaft had reached his heart, the wound closed outwardly, but did not heal, and affection noted with sinister prevision, that his once bright eye was now dim, and that while he

acknowledged fatigue, he complained of his inability to rest. As if actuated by a foreboding wish to give utterance to his thoughts on every subject nearest to his heart, he repeatedly addressed the chamber, with even more than his wonted power and earnestness, on the fundamental principles of free trade (his last great speech), Venice, Rome, and the interests of the exiles from those cities, bequeathing his words, as it were, a legacy to his successors and his country.

The hour was at hand, the knell was about to ring. The morning of Wednesday, the 29th of May, was spent as usual, amid the cares of office. In the afternoon Count de Cavour appeared in the chamber, sustaining his part in the debate with all his wonted animation, replying to every objector in his usual lively, half-jesting, conversational tone, but in the evening he was suddenly seized with a fit of apoplexy. It was not the first, and this seemed to yield, like its predecessors, after two bleedings, so much so that on the 31st, in spite of all entreaty, he insisted on transacting business with his colleagues, and giving his usual audiences; the result was an excitement which brought on a fresh attack, with new and more dangerous symptoms, conflicting with each other, and indicative of various maladies, for all of which the pharmacy of Turin knew but one remedy—the lancet. Whether greater prudence on the part of the sufferer, or more skilled physicians, would have preserved so precious a life, can be only matter of conjecture, but we may state our own belief that though the method of treatment was probably the very worst that could have been selected, no other would have been more successful. Years of toil and intense anxiety had strained to the utmost nerves of the most exquisite sensibility, while a most unhealthy mode of life, long fasts, alternated with abundant meals, and scarcely any physical exercise, had gradually undermined health, and left both body and mind without power of reaction from any sudden or violent blow. That blow was given by the hand of Garibaldi, and the effort to conceal its immediate effect was probably more fatal than even the shock itself, so that those who knew him best considered him doomed from the hour of the second attack, and in the alternate phases of his malady only saw the last struggles of an exhausted nature. The multitude was naturally less clear-sighted, and the 2nd of June, the day set apart in honour of Italian unity, was celebrated with all the ordained pomp as Cavour had bidden. Yet amidst their rejoicings the people did not forget their Papa Camillo, and as days went by, and the well-known face and figure did not reappear under the porticoes, anxiety grew deep, and vast crowds day and night blocked up all the streets leading to his palace, standing for hours in their silent, serried ranks, to learn the contents of the bulletins constantly issued. Within lay the sick man, on his bed of death,

grandly, calmly, awaiting the fate he knew to be impending. In his occasional hours of delirium he spoke of his country, of her generals and statesmen, of her hopes and her difficulties, for, dying as a shepherd in defence of his flock, his thoughts were ever with his people, but not one word of rancour or enmity fell from his lips, for there was no hatred in his heart. When he was lucid, he conversed gaily, and even jested with the relatives and friends around him, discoursing of agriculture, the crops, silkworms, but above all of Italy, and as the end drew nigh, that theme more exclusively occupied his mind. On the morning of the 5th, he sent for his parish priest, Father Giacomo,\* of the Franciscan order of monks, for years his friend, and one of the dispensers of his numerous charities to the poor of Turin, confessed, and towards night received the sacraments. His will was already signed, and having thus fulfilled his duties towards God and man, he dedicated his last hours on earth to the thought of his country. Late in the evening he was visited by his sovereign, who affectionately embraced and took leave of him, a visit which deeply touched the dying minister. To the last his commanding intellect remained bright and clear; he looked steadily forward through the mists which to inferior minds yet seemed to hang over the future of Italy, and though not blind to her dangers, expressed his unshakeable faith in her future and success; "*Non temete, l'Italia è fatta*" (fear not, Italy is made), he said to his colleague, Minghetti, but an hour before the end, and his last faint words were "*Tutto è salvo*" (all is safe), and with these yet upon his lips, the glorious spirit passed away in the early dawn of Thursday, the 6th of June, 1861, leaving those who had the privilege of watching that last vigil, bewildered in the excess of their mingled admiration and grief.

Who shall describe the wail of all Italy at this great loss? The shops and theatres were everywhere closed, in every church arose the solemn chant for the dead, and the population, all classes, high and low, mingled together, and alike clad in the deepest mourning, crowded to the celebration of the sacred rite. Never did Turin, nor perhaps any other city, present a spectacle like that on the day of the funeral. After lying in state in the great hall of the Cavour palace, where it received the last homage of the constituted bodies, and indeed of the whole people, who crowded to gaze for the last time on those beloved features, the corpse was borne on a royal car which had served at the obsequies

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\* The adventures of this worthy friar at Rome are too recent to need more than a passing allusion, but they serve thoroughly to refute the fable of the clerical journals, insinuating that Count de Cavour at the last hour repented the policy he had pursued. We now know beyond dispute (even if the statement of Marquis de Cavour, that no recantation was made or demanded, had not sufficed) that he died as he had lived, with all his convictions unshaken.



of Charles Albert, through the principal streets, to the church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, where mass was to be celebrated, attended by both chambers, the Knights of the Annunciata, the judges, the ecclesiastical, municipal, and commercial corporations; the whole garrison was under arms, the cannon thundered from the heights, no pomp that majesty itself might claim was wanting, nor could the pouring and incessant rain deter noble, citizen, or humble artisan, from walking bareheaded in the train, while the women, with no better protection than their mourning veils, stood for hours on the balconies to catch one glimpse of the procession as it passed. Turin, his native city, and Florence, the Pantheon of Italy, vied for the honour of enshrining the dead, to whom the King offered a resting place in the royal sepulchre of Superga, that his own bones might one day be laid beside those of his great minister; but all rivalry gave way before the simple reply of the Marquis de Cavour, to whom these proffers were made, that years before his lost brother had expressed a wish to be buried in the family vault at Santena, near a beloved nephew who had fallen at the battle of Custoza. To that wish all yielded, Cavour was laid in the spot he himself had selected, and in the little chapel of Santena, a simple stone, inscribed but with a name and a date, points out to the pilgrim of genius the last home of him who "made Italy."

Thus lived, thus died, Camillo Benso de Cavour. For the sake of preserving the continuity and clearness of our narrative, we have reserved to the last our consideration of his character, both as man and minister. At the present day, who is unacquainted with his outward appearance? Engravings, busts, and photographs have made us all familiar with the short, square, fat figure, the deep chest, the shoulders broad as those of an Atlas, supporting the round compact head (in which the unusual proportions of the fore part seem to trespass on the share oftener allotted to face and skull, and overpower the really massive though short chin), the eyes sparkling behind the eternal gold rimmed spectacles, and the close-shaven firm lips, on which played a continual smile, sometimes in irony, far oftener as the involuntary outbreak of that inward glee and good humour which so rarely failed him, even in the most trying circumstances. Many of us may have seen him thus, under the porticoes of Turin, attired in his simple brown coat, as he rapidly (Count de Cavour could do nothing slowly) traversed on foot the short space between his home and his office, hastily returning the salutations he received, or exchanging a passing word with a friend; or in the chamber, where the restlessness to which the activity of his mind impelled him, was still more visible. There he was never quiet for an instant, but was constantly sorting, examining, and tearing up the heaps of papers before him; conferring with his fellow

ministers, or different deputies, whom he summoned to lean over his chair for a brief eager chat, for few indeed were the orators to whom he deigned to give apparent attention, and he might have been deemed unconscious of what was going on, but for the eager way in which he would rub his hands when he detected an opponent in a blunder, or the almost uncontrollable impatience with which he tossed himself upon his seat if one of his own followers fell into a strain of reasoning he thought likely to be injurious; but that illusion would soon have been dispelled when he rose to reply. His style of oratory was not precisely eloquence, but something far more businesslike and practical, for he was essentially a debater. Continually on his feet, he took up the cudgels for every one of his colleagues in turn; he was always ready to correct any error, and showed himself better acquainted with the details of each department than the minister who presided over it; each reply was short, pithy, often but a few sentences; but this only served to heighten the effect he produced, when, on grand occasions, he took a longer and higher flight. Yet, even then, his manner cannot be illustrated by short quotations. To be judged, his speeches must be read at length (and, if well reported, they may thus attain their full effect, with which voice and delivery had little to do), for, as in his state papers, each sentence was as closely connected with the one following it, as if the statement of facts or ideas had been a demonstration in mathematics, and he only who has followed the whole chain of reasoning can legitimately acquiesce in the conclusion.

As a colleague, Count de Cavour was often imperious, though in his usual goodhumoured way. Not unconscious (as what truly great man can be, after measuring himself with others in action?) of his own unrivalled genius and capacity for business, he was impatient either of slowness or error, and firmly believed nothing could go right without his own supervision. This led to his weakest point as a minister; for, so great himself, he founded no school of greatness. He taught men to *obey*, rather than to *think*, and, alone in his glory, he remains a model, not a teacher, for so potent was the impress of his master spirit, that, while it developed the talents of all who were brought into close contact with him, it robbed them of a portion of the independence of their own minds. This concentration of all thought in a single brain was, perhaps; essential to success, during the earlier stages of development of Italian regeneration; but when it was no longer a question to create, but to organize, it became rather an impediment, and, though Count de Cavour seemed to feel this himself, the habit of exclusive self-reliance had become too strong to be cast off.

But to compensate this one weakness, how much was there

that was unequalled. Deeply skilled in the politics of parliament and parties, consummate in diplomacy, a minister of the creative class, Count de Cavour was yet more than politician or diplomatist; a statesman of a type of which he is yet the sole representative, though we trust the future will see many struggling to follow in his footsteps. The breaker-down of feudalism and privilege, the extender of religious liberty to Protestant and Jew, the creator of a State, he yet looked upon all these measures as means to an ulterior end,—the well-being of the nation. The removal of custom barriers, the extension of railroads, the erection of manufactories, the development of commerce, education, and agriculture; these were the objects that rejoiced his very soul. With all the daring and self-dependence of an aristocrat, he united the acquirements of a mathematician, an engineer, and a scientific agriculturist, without the exclusiveness engendered by pursuing any of these callings as a profession. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number" was what he sought to promote, whether as writer, speculator, landowner, or minister; and great as his fame must ever be as the founder of Italy, we doubt whether posterity will not still more admire the foresight which, overlooking dynastic alliances and political conventions, could, so early as 1851 and 1852, discover commercial treaties and the intimate relations that spring from them to be the only true bonds between peoples, and, by uniting little Piedmont on that basis with the most advanced nations of the West, devise the means for endowing all Italy with law and liberty, with the right of unrestrained political, commercial, and agricultural development.

The portrait of the minister is engraved for all time on the tablets of history; but the memory of the man, though it holds a dearer place in the minds of those who knew him, would pass away with them; and, as if to retain its evanescent image, many a page has already been penned to record personal peculiarities, or characteristic anecdotes. Yet who shall paint worthily the easy and brilliant conversation, the gay, genial laugh, the charm of manner, which seemed so thoroughly to belong to the world of idleness, that only some chance remark, no one inferior could have uttered, reminded the auditor that he who spoke was Count de Cavour; and, indeed, the great statesman never seemed more thoroughly himself than when, the cares of office thrown aside, he indulged in a tour of visits in the theatre, played the courteous host at his own ministerial parties, or at a masked ball, throwing open the door of his opera box, surrendered himself to the embraces of the dominos, though he only returned the salutes of such as a peep under their masks persuaded him were worthy of the honour.

Yet, in private life, he had better and higher qualities than

these. The poor of Turin will long retain a grateful remembrance of his large and judiciously dispensed charities, while the peasantry of his estate mourn him as a father, who never grudged either thought or money to ameliorate their condition, and whose kindly smile and cheerful words of encouragement were perhaps as much valued by them as material aid. His memory was prodigious; he never forgot a fact or a date, a name or a face, though seen but once, and after the lapse of years; and to his friends his heart was ever true, though the necessities of his political position at times seemed to sever him from them. Those most in his intimacy, when they differed with him, had occasionally to stand fiery attacks, for his temper was passionate, and his convictions were so absolute as ill to brook opposition; but his good humour soon returned, and he then became as eager to offer every amends for the offence he might have given. Of personal enmity he was totally incapable, and he could less be said to forgive an injury than to forget it, while to praise and blame he was almost equally indifferent, save that he turned from the first with suspicion as to its motives, while, in the second, if set forth with ability, he would at times seek a hint for the future.

We could fill our pages with countless anecdotes illustrative of all these qualities; but our limited space warns us to conclude, yet before we do so, we would fain express the hope that some one among Count de Cavour's numerous friends may be found, both able and willing, to furnish posterity with a more detailed and less perishable biography than can be given in any periodical journal, for his name is the heirloom of Italy and the world, and should not be left to the guardianship of chance.

Kindly and tolerant, good no less than great, Count de Cavour passed away in charity with all men, after a life spent in striving to promote their weal. Dying in the prime of life, but worn out in their service, the mourning of his countrymen over him was passionate, and all but unanimous. Alas, that when the *Armonia*\* and its colleagues were grave and decorous, the one discordant note which dared to vituperate the dead, and insult the grief of the nation, should have been struck by men styling themselves the friends and trusted followers of Garibaldi, and that that chief himself, pent in his lonely hermitage of Caprera, far from disavowing such unworthy clamour, barks of the curs over the dead lion, as might have been expected from his better nature, found no word of sympathy for weeping Italy. With that single exception, all was harmony, from the sovereign to the lowest of the people. Either chamber decreed an image of the departed to be placed in the hall of its assembly, to keep alive his memory among them, and his speeches were ordered to be collected and

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\* The clerical organ of Turin, usually known for its violence.

printed at the expense of the State. Every great town determined to raise a monument to him : Santa Croce, at Florence, the squares of Turin, Milan, Genoa, Naples, and many others of inferior note, will be adorned with his statue, while his picture will be seen in many a public hall. But whatever the skill of the limner, or the art of the sculptor, not even in the Campidoglio itself, can a monument to Camillo Benso, Count de Cavour, be erected so grand and noble as that afforded him by his own great work—the unity of Italy herself.

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#### ART. V.—THE APOCALYPSE.

1. *Sibylline Oracles*. By WILLIAM WHISTON, M.A. 1715.
2. *Ascensio Isaiaë Vatis*. A RICARDO LAURENCE, LL.D. 1819.
3. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannis*. Auctore G. H. A. EWALD. 1828.
4. *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*. Von Dr. FRIEDRICH LUCKE. 1832.
5. *The Book of Enoch*. Translated by RICH. LAURENCE, LL.D. 1833.
6. *Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis*. Von Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. 1848.
7. *Die Judische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Von Dr. A. HILGENFELD. 1857.
8. *End of the World*. By SARA S. HENNELL. 1860.
9. *The Greek Testament*. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. 1861.
10. *Lectures on the Apocalypse*. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A., &c. Macmillan. 1861.

IN the real or pretended oration of the great Frederick of Prussia, on the death of Mathieu Reinhart—the same in which he says, or is made to say, that most kings would have turned out but bad shoemakers even, and that God only made them kings because they could not have got their living in any other way—we are informed that no man had ever a more fervent faith than the pious Crispin (for such we believe was Reinhart) who was the subject of this funeral éloge. Of all the books of the Bible, continues the witty king or the wicked Voltaire, those which he read with the greatest attention and pleasure were the Prophets in the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse in the New, because he did not understand one word of them. We doubt not

that there are many Mathieu Reinharts in England, and we are anxious to disclaim for ourselves the honour of being enrolled among the number of those privileged believers who, like their Prussian prototype, find nothing incredible enough for them. The Book of Revelation is sufficiently mysterious for us, even when the marvellous element is attenuated by the application of a sound historic criticism. Contenting ourselves with this avowal, we shall at once prepare the way for our somewhat secular exposition of the Apocalypse of St. John.

A true Antilegomenon, or debateable book, the Apocalypse—as Lücke observes, in his admirable “Introduction”—has, from the earliest days of the Christian Church, been the object of incessant attack and of as incessant defence. The ostensible peace which it enjoyed in the Middle Ages was but the consequence of the intellectual asphyxia which prevailed during the period when the scholastic theology taught men to forget or suppress the doubts on the subject of the canon which had been entertained by antiquity. Scarcely, however, had the Protestant Reformation once more aroused the slumbering spirit of criticism, when the old difficulties recurred and the old struggle was renewed. To detail the incidents of this greatest of all the “Battles of the Books” forms no part of our present purpose; a brief outline of the evidence for and against the genuineness of the Apocalypse is all that we can offer here.

Omitting the testimony of Papias as doubtful and precarious, we find Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, attributing the Apocalypse to St. John the Apostle. Somewhat later we have the attestation of Irenæus to its genuineness. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Athanasius also regarded it as the work of the Apostle. Lastly, in the fourth century it was formally and irrevocably adopted into the canon of the Western Church, at the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393. On the other hand it was omitted from the list of New Testament books by the Syrian Church in the second century? and by the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 363?; neither was it included in the so-called Apostolical Canon, of uncertain date. Whether the revelations so disparagingly mentioned by Caius of Rome (197—217) are really those of our Apocalypse, is a disputed point; but there can be no doubt that Dionysius of Alexandria (255?) maintained, on critical grounds, that the book was not written by the Evangelist St. John. In the fourth century it was excluded from the canon by Cyril of Jerusalem, and Gregory of Nazianzus. Jerome, who died A.D. 420, acknowledges that it was not received by the Greek Church, and Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the sixth century, refuses to allow its genuineness. At the period of the Reformation the doubts regarding its apostolic origin revived.

It was opposed, says De Wette, either indirectly or implicitly, by Erasmus, Carlstadt, Luther, and Zwingli. The Swiss reformer coolly observes—"We take no notice of the Apocalypse, for it is not a biblical book;" and the great religious revolutionist of Germany, who boldly called the Epistle of St. James "a letter of straw," says, with equal audacity, "*To me this book lacks not a single proof of its being neither apostolic nor prophetic. Moreover, it seems to me too much for him to commend his own book—a thing done by no other sacred writer, even when it would seem more fitting; and to threaten that, if any man shall take away from the words of it, God shall take away his part out of the book of life; and, moreover, to declare that they shall be blessed who hold to what it contains, although no one is able to understand what that is, much less to keep it, which is equivalent to our not having it.*" The great reformer, however, with a jaunty good nature, exclaims, "Let every one think of it what his mind suggests." Individual churches acted, as it were, on this elastic principle. The Catholic Church confirmed the authority of the Apocalypse in the Synod of Trent. The Reformed Church disregarded the doubts of Zwingli, while the Lutheran, on the contrary, "excluded the Apocalypse and the Antilegomena from the number of accepted canonical books until the seventeenth century, when church opinion became more favourable to them."\* With the commencement of the eighteenth century the controversy revived. It was opened in England by the anonymous author of the "New Testament in Greek and English," 1729; it was continued abroad by Firmin Abauzit, Semler, Stroth, Merkel, Bleek, and others. Opinion still varies, but many of the best German critics—as Michaelis, Bretschneider, Ewald, De Wette, Lücke, Neander, Credner, and Reuss—unite in denying its apostolical origin, though they do not all impugn its canonical authority. On the other hand, Zeller and Baur vindicate its genuineness.

In our own country the national church exhibits a commendable discretion, as well as evinces a sense of exegetical difficulty, by treating the Apocalypse as an exceptional book, selecting only an occasional lesson from its enigmatical pages. It would have been well if this wise example had been followed by numerous ingenious expositors, each of whom might exclaim with the distracted Puritan in the ballad—

"In the house of pure Emmanuel  
I had my education,  
Where my friends surmise  
I dazzled my eyes  
With the sight of revelation."

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\* See De Wette's "Introduction to the New Testament," translated by Frederick Frothingham. Boston: 1858.

By the learned Dr. Cumming, and other distinguished scholars of the same calibre, the inspection of its Sibylline leaves appears to be regarded as a substitute for the noble but exploded sciences of judicial astrology, palmistry, and other soothsaying arts, practised by ordinary gipsies and fortune-tellers. These theological curtain-lifters, indeed, do not hesitate to advertise the last conflagration as a scene of unprecedented splendour, or draw "charming pictures of heavenly bliss, founded upon undeniable authority, and described with the pen of a dramatist." With a pleasant inconsistency, however, we find one of these mystagogues asserting that a belief in prophecy should not override common sense, and practically illustrating this somewhat worldly principle by renewing the lease of a cottage for ten years, notwithstanding his conviction that the world is to come to an end in 1867.

Escaping from the enervating atmosphere of self-delusion—where the pleasure is as great of being cheated as to cheat—into the purer air of historic inquiry, the first question of importance for us to decide is that of authorship. Who was the writer of the Apocalypse? Was it St. John the Evangelist, or St. John the Apostle (for it is by no means certain that the Apostle St. John was the author of the fourth Gospel) or was it John the Presbyter, or some other John? The earliest historical testimony, that of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, assigns the authorship of the Apocalypse to the Apostle John. But the evidence, though it may go for what it is worth, is far from being satisfactory. In the case of Justin Martyr, we cannot be sure that it implies more than acquiescence in unsupported tradition; in the case of Irenæus, it is damaged by evident chronological error, since it seems scarcely possible to allow that the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Domitian. Conceived, however, in the Boanerges spirit of the son of Zebedee, the prophecy might be ascribed to the Apostle John, provided, first, we do not identify the Apostle with the Evangelist; provided we could feel sure that his power of self-assertion and self-laudation was such as to lead to his own inclusion among the "holy apostles" of ch. xviii. and xxi.; and provided, lastly, we could withstand the predisposition to accept this representation as the panegyric of a retiring and enthusiastic admirer of the Apostolic College. It is, however, next to impossible to admit that the Apostle John—if, at least, he wrote the fourth Gospel, and the three Epistles attributed to him—was also the author of the Apocalypse. No conclusion of modern criticism is, in De Wette's judgment, more firmly established than that which maintains the separate authorship of the two principal works usually ascribed to St. John. Among the points of difference which appear to legitimate this conclusion, we select the following:—The author of the Apocalypse gives his own name, and gives it repeatedly;



the author of the Gospel never. The author of the Apocalypse exhibits none of the tenderness, not even in his letter to the churches, which characterizes the author of the Johannic epistles; the endearing terms "beloved" and "little children," so frequent in the latter, never occur in the former. The whole representation, too, as De Wette observes, is different. To the Apocalypse belongs a lively creative power of imagination; to the Gospel and Epistles deep and quiet feeling.\* Again, the views of the Evangelist vary from those of the Apocalyptic seer. In the Gospel and Epistles the spiritual aspect of Christianity is principally brought out; in the Apocalypse a modified, but strong patriotic Judaism prevails. In the former we have an interior development of the cause of Christ, and an inward glorification of that cause in his disciples; in the latter we have recorded "the victory of Christ through external events—through exertions of God's power." In the Gospel the material Jerusalem occupies quite an insignificant position; in the Apocalypse it is exalted, with almost Rabbinical exaggeration, into the metropolis of a post-mortem theocracy. The machinery of the Apocalypse is minutely and prevailingly angelological; in the Gospel, angels occupy only a very subordinate position. The primary or millennial resurrection of the prophet; his messianic vindictiveness; his chiliastic expectation, are either opposed or ignored by the Evangelist. The dogmatic terminology is various: in the Epistles the expected incarnation of evil is distinctly designated Antichrist; in the Apocalypse that denotation does not once occur. The Christological representations are different. Christ is indeed once called the Word of God in the "*Revelation*," but only in the spirit of the Old Testament and Apocrypha (Wisdom xviii. 15); whereas in the Gospel the Logos doctrine assumes a very prominent position. In the Gospel the relation of Christ to the "*fons et origo*" of Divinity is that of a son; in the Apocalypse the distinction between the Lamb before the throne and its Omnipotent Assessor is carefully preserved. Similar dogmatic divergencies may be found in the critical examination of Dionysius of Corinth, who not only denied, but justified his denial of the genuineness of the Apocalypse. The difference of language has also been remarked by Ewald, Lücke, and De Wette. This appears in the Hebraizing roughness and carelessness of the Book of Revelation, its want of pure Greek and genuine Johannic words and idioms, and in peculiar favourite expressions. The *true* God of the Evangelist is the real or *genuine* God; the *true* God of the Apocalypse is the *veracious* God; the word which in the Gospel means *confirm*, in the Apocalypse means to *close up* or *seal*; the

*Hierosolyma* of the Gospel is superseded by the *Jerusalem* of the Apocalypse; and though Christ is called the *Lamb* by both writers, the word which they employ is not the same. With the Evangelist, Christ is the *ἀμνός*, with the author of the Apocalypse he is the *ἀρνίον* of God.\* Finally, we may add that the style of composition in the Apocalypse is marked by Jewish erudition and art; whereas the "Evangelist," an unlearned man in the Jewish sense, makes little or no use of Old Testament and Jewish learning.

In the absence of any express counter-testimony we are warranted in concluding, from this formidable array of divergencies, "that if the Apostle John wrote the fourth Gospel and the Johannic Epistles, he did not write the Apocalypse; or if the Apocalypse be his work, he is not the author of the other writings." If, however, we admit that John the son of Zebedee, not being the author of the Gospel, was the author of the Apocalypse, we must remember that, in favour of this view, we have only the testimony of an unauthenticated tradition. That we owe the *Revelation* to John the Presbyter is not an inadmissible hypothesis; that John Mark, the second Evangelist, was its author is a conjecture which has little to recommend it. In our judgment, it can only be affirmed with certainty that the Apocalypse was written by a Jew-Christian, whose name was John, but who is apparently not one of the "holy Apostles" (xviii. 20), and not the writer of the fourth Gospel, a work which it is difficult to regard as emanating from the eagle pen of the young and ambitious disciple of the Son of Mary.

From the question of authorship we proceed to determine the date of the composition of this singular book. Here we find ourselves standing on altogether firmer ground. Mr. Maurice, who, in his recent work on the Apocalypse, is honourably distinguished from the "ignavum pecus" of expositors, has wisely and courageously brought back his English readers to the true historical point of view, originally indicated by Victorinus, rediscovered not long since by Bleek, and accepted by Ewald, Lücke, Reuss, Zeller, Rösch, De Wette, and others. The direct language of the book, as Mr. Maurice very properly observes, would have led us to suppose that "the city, or polity which was doomed, and around which the angels' trumpets were blowing, was that of Jerusalem." Rightly apprehending the historical element in the Apocalypse, though often erring in his interpretation of particular passages, Mr. Maurice rejects the common chronology in favour of that assigned it by some of the most eminent modern scholars, and which has cogent internal evidence to support it.

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\* Lamb and lambkin.

There is, perhaps, no book in the New Testament, the date of which can be more satisfactorily or more precisely determined. For the present, postponing all explanation, we shall content ourselves with referring to ch. xi. for proof that it was composed before the destruction of Jerusalem, and to ch. xvii. to show that it was written after the death of Nero, the *malæ bestię* of Lactantius, and during the seven months' reign of Galba, the sixth Emperor of Rome, *i.e.*, A.D. 69.

To ascertain the literary position of the Johannic Apocalypse is not a difficult task. The question has been treated almost exhaustively by Lücke. Though it has its own peculiar characteristics, the "Revelation" is but one of the many works which constitute what may be called an Apocalyptic literature, common alike to Jew and Christian. Its correspondent in the old Testament is the Messianic fiction attributed to Daniel, but allowed even by Dr. Arnold to be written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Nero of the pre-Christian period. This prototype of the Jewish and Christian "*Apocalypsik*" has been frequently, though never so closely imitated as in the Johannic Revelation. The Book of Enoch, which John perhaps may have known; the Sybilline oracles, with the more ancient of which he may also have been acquainted; the Fourth Book of Esdras, probably composed about B.C. 40; the Ascension of Isaiah, referred to the first century by Gesenius, but to the second by De Wette;\* and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, of about the same date, are still extant, and serve to explain or illustrate the Revelation of St. John. We read also of the Apocalypse of Elias, of Sophonius, of Zacharias, of Adam, Moses, Peter, Paul, and others. Thus, the Book of the Visions in Patmos is by no means a solitary phenomenon.

The Jewish Apocalyptic literature was an offshoot of the old Hebrew prophecy. The religion of a comparatively insignificant Oriental people—to borrow a passage from Mr. Mills's "Representative Government"—enabled persons of genius and a high religious tone to be regarded and to regard themselves as inspired, and thus gave existence to an inestimably precious, unorganized institution, the Order, if it may so be termed, of the Prophets. By means of this great element of Jewish life "the canon of Scripture never being complete, the persons most eminent, in genius and moral feeling could not only denounce and reprobate, with the direct authority of the Almighty, whatever appeared to them deserving of such treatment, but could give forth better and higher interpretations of the national religion, which thenceforth became part of the religion." The elder pro-

phets, as the accredited ambassadors of Jehovah, announced his will, re-proclaimed the moral laws, and reminded men of the duties, which those laws imposed, as an expression of the will of the divine Governor of the world. To satisfy an idle curiosity was no part of their function. Appearing at critical seasons in the history of their country, they satisfied themselves, for the most part, with appealing to the spiritual consciousness of their compatriots, with ameliorating or modifying the popular belief, with instructing, consoling, and encouraging. The impulse which led them to extend their vision beyond the horizon of the present was justified by the moral purpose to which the knowledge of the future was applied. The theocratic idea, which represented the kingdom of Israel as the kingdom of God, necessitated that survey of foreign-politics which often characterizes Old Testament prediction, and justified the attempt to penetrate the clouds which concealed the destinies of every people from which the *Divine Monarchy* had anything to fear or anything to hope. With the earlier prophets the Messianic expectation was but a presentiment of better times, when a king of the line of David should restore and extend the power and the splendour of the Jewish dominion. After the exile, the ideal indefiniteness with which the arrival of the national champion was anticipated seems gradually to have receded before a hard, exact, and artificial determination. Prophecy degenerated into prediction; symbol became common, vision frequent; and an angelic machinery succeeded to the spontaneous suggestions of the imagination and the religious sense. A supernatural element, not without foreign accretions, was introduced; Hebrew patriotism, reverting to a brilliant historical past, dreamed of a still more glorious future, and recognising the humble position of the Jewish nation, and the paramount importance of other peoples, it announced the ultimate triumph of the former, and ventured on a definite and even numerical prognostication. Thus the seventy weeks of Jeremiah formed the basis of the eschatological calculation of the pseudo-Daniel; the Babylonian angelology, in his apocalyptic romance, supplanted the freer and rarer vision of earlier prophecy; the symbolical resurrection of Isaiah and Ezekiel was metamorphosed into a literal one; the royal hero of the line of Jesse was degraded or exalted into a supernatural being, a glorified or deified man, coming with the clouds of heaven; and the Hebrew theocracy was exaggerated into a celestial Fifth Monarchy.

This singular production, which bears the name of Daniel, but which all competent and unprejudiced inquirers refer to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, was the parent source of the Jewish and Christian *Apocalyptic*. Next in prophetic succession (B.C. 144)

to the author of this book comes the impersonator of the Jewish Sibyl, whom Hilgenfeld seems inclined to identify with the Cumæan prophetess of Virgil. Hellenic in form, but Hebrew in spirit, the composite vaticination of which we are now speaking, like the Book of Daniel, was inspired by the hope of Jewish freedom and aggrandizement in a near future. Like 'Daniel,' from which it borrows the vision of the ten horns, it proposes to solve the question of the duration of the Ethnic or Pagan Monarchy, and to ascertain the period when the universal empire would devolve on the people of Divine election. It reviews the whole field of secular history; it sees in Greece the chief encourager and patron of idolatry; it recognises in Rome the barbarian power which is destined to be the instrument of Divine retribution to the Hellenic empire; it predicts in turn the destruction of the Roman supremacy; it announces as the agent of this destruction a king whom God will send from heaven or from the sun; it foretells the interruption of the peace thus established by the march of the heathen kings to the Holy Land; and as the result of their overthrow, the introduction of a golden age of unity, justice, and happiness on earth. For the punishment inflicted on the heathen is not their extermination, but their conversion, as the universal empire of the Jews does not consist in material conquest and superiority, but in a moral and religious elevation, as the instructors and leaders of mankind. In this triumph of Hebrew monotheism over the secular or pagan religions all men are alike regarded as the favourites of God. The eternal Kingdom is the exclusive predominance of his worship; his temple will be the only temple; his prophets the only kings; God will dwell in the Holy City as an imperishable light; the world's great age will begin anew, and nature will enjoy a perfect peace, the reflection of that internal blessedness in which all men shall share.

The Book of Enoch, which has a peculiar interest attaching to it, since in it we find the passage quoted by St. Jude, approaches, at least in its present form, still more closely to the typical book of Daniel. Setting aside the interpolated passages, this imaginative composition is referred by Lücke partly to the time of the Maccabees, and partly to that of Herod the Great. Its existence is attested not only in the canonical epistle already mentioned, but in a book entitled "The Little Genesis," and supposed by Hilgenfeld to have been written about the middle of the first century of our era. According to this critic, the original book of Enoch assumes nearly the same chronological stand-point as that of Daniel. Ignoring the Roman empire, it recognises Greece only as the irreligious secular power. For the seventy years of Daniel Enoch substitutes seventy shepherds, as perhaps also a mystical period of ten weeks, *i.e.*, seventy days. He announces a revela-

tion of righteousness to the whole world, and an everlasting judgment to be executed upon the watchers (apostate angels). Moreover, the former heaven is to depart, and a new heaven to appear; and the house of the great King to be built up for ever. The saints are to live long enough to have a thousand children, and to complete the whole period of their youth and their sabbaths in peace. "In those days all the earth shall be cultivated in righteousness; it shall be wholly planted with trees and filled with benediction; every tree of delight shall be planted in it" (ch. x.).

The only Messianic conception in the original book, if Hilgenfeld be right, is that of the white cow, whose horns were great, and whom all the beasts of the field and birds of heaven were alarmed at and entreated at all times. We cannot, however, omit to call attention to the famous section, ch. 54, 55, 56, with its striking historical indications, which, at any rate, appear more applicable to the period of Herod, B.C. 40, than to any subsequent period. In the first of those chapters the deposition of kings by the chiefs of the East, among the Parthians and Medes, is predicted; an allusion, as Dr. Laurence naturally thinks, to the Parthian invasion of Judea, B.C. 40 (the only one on record), when the conquerors deposed Hyrcanus, and settled Antigonus on the throne.\* Nor is this all; but the "city of my righteous people" seems obviously to denote Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem of Herod rather than the Jerusalem of Hadrian. If we could be certain that the 54th chapter of the book Enoch was written about the time of this Parthian invasion, the distinctness of the Messianic doctrine which it proclaims would be very instructive. "O ye kings, O ye mighty who inhabit the world, you shall behold my elect one sitting upon the throne of my glory."

The Jewish Apocalyptic literature received its final development in the fourth, or, as it is called in the Apocrypha, the second book of Esdras. The historical drama, which Daniel had first exhibited, and which the Sibyl and Enoch had revived and expanded, was now to be brought to a close. From the threatened destruction of the Greek empire, from the ruins of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, from the revival of the Jewish hope of empire, under John Hyrcanus, we are carried forward to the period of the last Ptolemies. The Græco-Macedonian empire, of which the Egyptian kingdom is now regarded as the representative, appears, in Esdras, under a modified form. The historical evolution, since the time of the earlier Daniel, has compelled his last literary successor to recognise the influence of Rome. The fourth kingdom

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\* "Preliminary Dissertation," xxxii. See Josephus' "Wars of the Jews," book i. chap. xiii.

of Jewish prophecy is still the Greek empire, but in its final phase that of the Ptolemaic dynasty. The earlier Ptolemies, with their magnificent army and effective navy, had, it will be remembered, attained an extraordinary degree of success. Masters of Cœle-Syria, and Cyprus, their influence extended over the neighbouring countries as far as Thrace and Macedonia; and if the inscription found at Adule by Cosmas may be trusted, the third of this illustrious line, in his wars with Seleucus, must have subdued a great part of Asia. But the many-feathered eagle,\* emblem of Greek Ptolemaic dominion, which had reigned over all things under heaven, was already anticipating the end of her rule. In that strange wild vision which Esdras relates (ch. xi. xii.), the imperial bird is seen coming from the sea with her twelve principal wings (the twelve more important Ptolemies), her eight subordinate feathers (eight minor Ptolemies), and her three heads (the Roman triumvirs—Cæsar, Antonius, and Octavianus). The head which put the “whole earth in fear,” and “had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been,” represents Julius Cæsar, the virtual founder of the Roman empire, whose interference in Egyptian politics, after the sham reigns of Berénice and Ptolemy, is shadowed out by the absorption of “the two feathers under the wing that would have reigned.”† This middle and greatest head suddenly disappears, or, as we read in the explanatory chapter (xiii.), dies on his bed, yet with pain, a peculiar expression that may fairly be understood to denote the death of Cæsar, who was slain, not in battle, but by the hands of his friends, in the senate-house, and with his toga wrapped around him. The head on the right side (Octavianus) now devours the head on the left (Antonius); the two reserved wings go to the successful head, set themselves up to reign, but soon vanish. The whole body of the eagle is then burned. The secular universal

\* Coins of the Ptolemies bear on their obverse side the device of an eagle.

† Hilgenfeld, whose ingenious solution of this ornithological enigma we have adopted, by the two absorbed feathers understands Cleopatra and her brother. To us they would seem to point either to their insignificant immediate predecessors, or to the kings of Cyrene and Cyprus, whose dominions were incorporated into the Roman Empire in Cæsar's lifetime. In the last case, we must suppose that after isolating, as he does, the sixth and fifth feathers (Ptolemy and Cleopatra, whose little kingdom is “reserved for the end”), the prophet continues his description, in the ascending line, from the fourth to the fifth, &c., who thus become the first and second of the vision. Hilgenfeld's exposition of this historical dream, if not quite satisfactory, is the most so of any hitherto proposed. For the events and colouring of the fourth book of Esdras, see Josephus' “Antiq.,” book xiv. Strauss, and we believe De Wette, consider it to have been drawn up shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, and perhaps alluded to by the author of the “Catholic Epistle of Barnabas.”

empire recedes before the Judæo-theocratic government, and the advent of the Messiah is announced. The prophet who personated Esdras—if, as we believe, this interpretation of his vision be correct—evidently lived about the time of the battle of Actium. He had seen the overthrow of the fourth, or Grecian monarchy; he had seen Octavianus ascend the throne of the world; and he predicted the speedy disappearance of the new potentate before the conquering progress of the Messianic king. The date of the book of Esdras, thus ascertained, is additionally indicated in the sixth chapter, where Esau is characterized as the end of the world, expressly to furnish a determination of time. As far back as the days of Judas Maccabæus the children of Esau, in Idumea, had commenced hostilities with the Jews (1 Mac. v. 3), had besieged them, and compelled them to garrison and fortify Bethsura. Long after this we find the Idumæan Antipater rising into great importance, till at length his son Herod was established on the throne of Judæa; the heathen empire of the world being thus disgracefully asserted and completed in the subjection of the Holy Nation to a Gentile ruler. And here it may be mentioned as a significant fact that at the very time when the Ptolemaic kingdom, the last relic of Alexander's empire, was thus visibly approaching its decline, and the Jewish presentiment of the speedy accession of the Messiah to the throne of the universe was thus carried to its highest degree of intensity, an enthusiastic Jew in Egypt, where the book of Esdras is thought to have been written, interpolated in the prophecy of the Sibyl, as a memorial of these anticipations, a passage which announces that the kingdom of God shall come when Egypt is under Roman rule, when the world is governed by a woman (Cleopatra), and three men (Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavianus) ruin Rome.

Thus the prophetic and historical presentments of the book of Esdras accord with the circumstances under which were formed the Jewish expectations of the period of Herod and Cleopatra, when "the world had lost his youth, and the times began to wax old." The interval yet remaining before the birth of Christ seems to have been with the *élite* of the Jewish people one of moral preparation and tender longing for the Divine kingdom of the expected Messiah. This anticipation of Christianity as a moral and religious reform was, perhaps, principally developed among the Essenes, whom Hilgenfeld also regards as the continuators of the Apocalyptic tradition, and precursors of the primitive Christians. Their purity of heart, their benevolence, temperance, and humility, their known occasional prophetic afflatus, their asceticism, their angelology, their aspiration for a blessed immortal existence, and, among the Therapeutæ at least, the perpetual contemplation of the Divine idea—so that their imagina-



tion dwelt, even in sleep, on the beauty of God's attributes, and many of them delivered magnificent visions—are certainly favourable to the German critic's hypothesis, upon which, however, we pass no decisive opinion.\*

Admitting that the books thus forming the cycle of the old Apocalyptic literature were composed before the birth of Christ, or at least embody purely Jewish conceptions, we can trace in their successive representations not only a gradual and complete development of the Jewish Messianic idea, but a preliminary and rudimentary Christianity, easily susceptible of expansion and modification, as the progress of events presided over its spontaneous growth or suggested systematic adaptations. Thus the ever-maturing form of the Apostolic Evangel would reflect the really dominant thought and sentiment of the time, or those which tended to become such, either with the growth of the popular consciousness, or under the action of the leading and more original minds that directed it.

Precisely in this way, to select a special instance of the general movement, does the Johannic Apocalypse accept, arrange, and revise the existing Hebrew Apocalyptic elements. Borrowing freely from the elder prophets their imagery, their supernatural machinery, and their historical conceptions, the seer of the Revelation converts them, with the privilege allowed to great creative genius, to his own special purposes. From Ezekiel he derives the idea of the four living creatures, the celestial throne, the over-arching rainbow, perhaps the crystal sea, the barbarian invasion of Gog and Magog, and the building and the measurement of the Divine City. From Zechariah he borrows many an illustration or metaphor: his vision of horses, of the two olive trees, the seven lamps, emblems of energetic Omniscience, and the battle of Jehovah with the nations that, in the evening of the world, capture and desolate the city of his love. From Daniel he takes his historical conception of Pagan empire, arising brutelike out of the sea, his vision of the Son of Man, now seen in the clouds, now seen in priestly and prince-like attire, by the side of the great river Hiddekel, his king of the fierce countenance, his Michael the great prince—the guardian angel of the sacred Hebrew nation—his resurrection, judgment and kingdom of God. Esdras, too, possibly supplied some of the conceptions of the Johannic Apocalypse. We see the same principle of historical accommodation, with the same or similar notions of a millennial reign ;† a drying

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\* See the passages on the Essenes in Josephus and Philo. See also Hennell's "Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity," pp. 6—37.

† This remarkable passage has been damaged by some Christian interpolator. The Messiah here shares in the simultaneous natural death of all men, after the close of the four hundred years of promised happiness, rising with the rest of the dead, we presume.

up of the Euphrates; a symbolical woman in the wilderness, and it may be even a trumpet-succession of events (2 Esdras vii. 28). Where, however, his obligations are most certain, and his borrowing most systematic, the prophet of Patmos still evinces his originality by the use to which he turns these *disiecta membra poetæ*. Recomposing them into one majestic whole, vitalized by the strong and fiery breath of his own impetuous genius, he adds, he omits, he re-adjusts and recreates with the passionate inspiration or quiet self-assertion of one who believes that in his attestation to Messianic truth he has established his claim to be enrolled in that prophetic order which announces the Divine decrees of the world.

The originality of the new prophet,—his revision or expansion of the great Hebrew theocratic conception,—was the inevitable consequence of the actual progress of events. The theocracy was not so near in his time as Esdras or as Daniel had dreamed. John's chronological point of view was thus altogether different from theirs. The ethnic empire of the world, the idolatrous anti-theistic pantocracy, was represented in their respective epochs by Hellenism, as it flourished under the Seleucidæ, or declined under the Ptolemies. Since then a new empire had been consolidated. The Latin men had succeeded to the degenerate Greeks. The dominion of Rome was interposed between the fall of Antiochus or Cleopatra and the establishment of the celestial empire of the Jews; the Messiah of Daniel, the conquering king descending in the clouds, had not appeared. Hence further modification and a fresh postponement. Jesus, the lowly prophet of Nazareth,—whose strange career seems only explicable on the supposition that he accepted the evident suggestion of the times, and assumed, with thorough conviction and perfect moral integrity, the character of the expected Messiah,—had passed away from earth with his mission incomplete. The Hebrew dominion had not been restored, nor the idolatrous empire of the world destroyed. The anticipation of all prophecy was not, however, to be left unrealized. Gradually there grew up in the early Christian community, grounded, it may be, on half-remembered sayings of the crucified Jesus, an expectation of a second advent, in which, as the mysterious being announced by Daniel, the rejected hero of the human race, should reappear, throned on a white cloud, to overthrow the last representative of the impious world-empire, and to institute the eternal kingdom, so long desired, so often announced, so repeatedly postponed.

The doctrine of the "Last Times," first distinctly proclaimed by Daniel, echoed by Esdras and perhaps adopted by Jesus, acquired appropriate development and precision during the siege and before the destruction of Jerusalem, 66-70 A.D. The wars and rumours of wars, the tempests, the hurricanes, the pestilences,

the earthquakes, which the Jewish and Roman historians commemorate, to the excited imagination of the rapturous Christian were all so many premonitions of the approaching end of the world. The generation that was not to pass till the entire realization of eschatological prediction had almost attained its allotted term: the desolation of the Holy City which was immediately to be followed by the second advent, was nearly completed, the evangelization of the world, which was to precede "the end," had already been accomplished (Col. i. 6—23.) The Antichristian king, shadowed out in the prophecy of Daniel, was now sitting in the temple of God; and that second Antiochus Epiphanes, Nero, the murderer of his mother and the persecutor of the saints, was ere long to be revealed in the præternatural character of the Man of Sin. To the rapt vision of the prophetic Christian the air already seemed to brighten with the coming glory of the avenging Messiah, to gleam with the white cloud on which the Son of Man should descend, and to ring with the victorious trumpet that announced the successful issue of Christ's battle with Antichrist, the triumph of the celestial kingdom, the reign of God and the saints, the dawn of that great good day, "when misery should pass away and the long suffering should have an end."

Such, to borrow the picturesque expression of an eloquent writer, was the landscape traced upon the clouds by the creative eye of faith and disappointment. The landscape has faded, but an immortal picture of that visionary country, drawn two thousand years ago, by "a genuine poet, fresh from the glowing colours that were burnt into his own imagination,"\* proclaims to all ages the intense reality, the frenzied fanaticism, the splendid superstition and Berserker transport, of one great dreamer of this glorious vision, the St. John of Patmos, the author of the Christian Apocalypse.

Of this latest of the Hebrew prophets, this strange new seer, who christianized the Messianic expectation which had so long inspired and consoled his countrymen, when fallen on evil days, we know nothing but what he records of himself, or what we may infer from his own characteristic delineations. A Christian of Judæa, St. John united, through the power of a strong vivid sympathy, a belief in the new Messiah with the old Hebrew hope. Catholic enough to admit into the Divine kingdom all who would recognise the sovereignty of the Messiah of Christian conception, he still retained his old and fervent patriotism. The land of his fathers was still to him, not only a holy but a promised land;

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\* See "End of the World," by Sara S. Hennell, p. 33. See also in the preface to this able essay, the remarks of the authoress on a review of her "Thoughts in Aid of Faith," in a preceding number of the *Westminster*, July, 1860, Art. viii.

Jerusalem was still the beloved city, and the Christian converts of Judæa were probably in his estimation entitled to a priority in the new city of God. Thus the temple is described as indeed profaned by Gentile feet, but only for a time; the great battle which is to determine whether the monarchy of the world shall be Christ's or Antichrist's, is fought within the circle of his native hills, and the conquering king, during his millennial reign, has the metropolis of the old Hebrew princes, endeared by a thousand glorious memories, for his imperial residence. This patriotic predilection, while it never unchristianizes St. John, colours his thought, localizes his dream, and lends a shadowy reality to his gorgeous and extravagant delineations. Educated in the schools of Judæa, deeply tinctured with Hebrew learning, and not unacquainted with the mysteries of the Kabbala, St. John was admirably fitted to be the Christian continuator of the Apocalyptic literature. When the Neronian persecution commenced, his courage in asserting the reality of the Christian religion seems to have involved him in the common tribulation which was a precursor of the predicted advent. Banished to a small rocky island in the *Ægean* Sea, belonging to the Sporades, and now called Patino or Palmosa, he appears to have meditated deeply on the present sorrows and coming fortunes of the Church; and in that ocean solitude, to have limned out, under the influence of a strong religious and poetic transport, a dim outline of an imagined history of the immediate future of the world. Brooding intensely on this imperfect picture, he gave it, apparently after his exile had terminated, the literary completeness which characterizes the *Johannic Revelation*. According to his own representation, the prophet, while in the isle that was called Patmos, fell into one of those trances or ecstasies not uncommon in that day, in which "the soul was raised above its ordinary conceptions."\* In this solitary island, on the day of the resurrection of Jesus, a disclosure of the hidden purposes of God, of the near and unknown future, was made to the favoured writer of the *Apocalypse*. Turning to see whence came the trumpet-like voice that addressed him, he beheld the mystical being of Daniel's vision, clothed, perhaps, in the gorgeous raiment which betokens at once the priest and prince—a golden girdle and a long-flowing robe. With flaming eyes and burnished feet, with a countenance like the sun, and a voice as the voice of many waters, there stood before him, a sword glittering in his mouth, and holding a garland woven of stars instead of flowers in his hand,—the Firstborn of creation,—he that liveth, and was dead, and is alive for evermore—the Lord of the resurrection, and, in Christian expectation, the Prince

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\* "Ascension of Isaiah." C. vi.

of the kings of the earth. From this majestic and awful Presence the seer receives a commission to write what he sees, has seen, and is to see, to the seven churches of Proconsular Asia. The isle of Patmos lay to the south-west of Ephesus. Geographical proximity and a probable peculiar personal interest seem to account for the selection of these Christian communities, as the representatives of the entire ecclesiastical aggregate; for while especially addressed to them, the Apocalypse is intended for all the subject-population of the new celestial kingdom. Thus the form of the "vision," considered in its literary embodiment, is determined by a particular local exigency, and a certain originality is secured for the composition, by the adoption of the Pauline epistolary mode of communication.

The number of churches included within the circle of the *Johannic Pastoral* awakens but a slight suspicion of their historical unreality. We cannot, however, forbear to point out that the almost universal application of the septenary principle to all the Apocalyptic phenomena most strikingly evinces the artificial and imaginary character of the whole work. Not only have we in the introductory portion seven spirits, seven churches, seven candlesticks, and seven stars; but in the sequel the favourite number systematically recurs. The seals, the trumpets, the vials, the thunders, the plagues, the hills, the kings, the angels, the horns, the eyes, which figure among the theatrical paraphernalia of the eschatological drama, are all arranged in sevens. Even the millennium is a seventh part of the mythical duration of the world.

The principal subject of debate in the introductory part of the Revelation concerns the import of the seven angels of the churches. In our judgment they unquestionably belong to the same preternatural order of beings as the mysterious entities that preside over the winds, over the waters, over the trumpets, and over the seals, that fight in heaven, fly in the mid-sky, or stand in the sun. They are not bishops, nor ideal representatives, but the guardian angels of the churches. To pronounce that the angels in the prologue are symbolical, and the angels in the rest of the Apocalypse real angels, is not only arbitrary and uncritical, but argues defective apprehension. The entire machinery of the Apocalyptic drama is angelic. The actors throughout are angels, just as in the "*Midsummer Night's Dream*" the actors throughout are fairies. This singular misconception is no doubt to be chiefly attributed to the difficulty that the moderns find in certain angelological representations. The angels, for instance, are supposed to be involved in the consequences of human error and delinquency; a supposition which an ordinary Protestant intellect finds it difficult to accept. The Jews, however, recognised no such difficulty. The prophet Isaiah had distinctly foretold

(xxiv. 22) that the judgment of Babylon, being a judgment of the whole world, the celestial powers would participate in the pains and penalties awarded to the mundane potentates. In the book of Job, as in that of the Revelation, the angels are in some way identified with the stars, "the host of the high ones that are on high." We learn from Wetstein, too, that it was a received principle in supernatural jurisprudence, that when a nation was to be punished, its angel was always to be punished with, or more accurately, before it. A beautiful illustration of the identity of the stars with the angels, and their amenability to the penal consequences of transgression, in c. xviii. Enoch, may be cited here: "And there I beheld seven stars, like great blazing mountains, and like spirits entreating me. Then the angel said: 'This place, until the consummation of heaven and earth, will be the prison of the stars and the host of heaven.'" More generally, the great poets Shakspeare, Milton, and Ariosto, describe the unfallen children of the sky, as subject to the emotions of fallen humanity. They shed tears, they blush celestial rosy-red, or turn crimson with shame and indignation. Dr. Alford therefore correctly observes, in reference to these celestial princes of the churches, that "there evidently is revealed to us a mysterious connexion between ministering angels and those to whom they minister, by which the former in some way are tinged by the fates and fortunes of the latter."

The epistolary portion of the Apocalypse ends with the third chapter. The Messianic apparition recedes, to re-appear only in the epilogue, and the revelation now, properly speaking, commences. This withdrawal of the veil of the future is accomplished by a singular supernatural agency. The mysteries of the coming years are communicated in a double series of visions, which are dramatically rehearsed rather than read off, in the "Two Books of Fate," into which the Apocalypse is divided. These visions, in their reported form, afterwards constitute the literary production known as the Apocalypse. Accordingly, in virtue of his anticipated authorship, St. John is represented as at once the subject of ecstatic inspiration and the hierophant of Divine mysteries. While he dreams he prophesies; at first without consecration, while the former series of visions, nearly all of which are included in the Great Book (v.—xi.), are evolved, and afterwards with a solemn dedication, like that of Ezekiel, to the prophetic office, when he continues, in a second series of visions, those contained in the Little Book, to foretell the destinies of peoples, and nations, and kings.\*

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\* C. x. 11. "Thou must prophesy again" (i.e. as in the earlier part of the "Apocalypse") "concerning (not before) many people," &c.

The first series of visions opens with the ascension of the prophet into heaven. A door is opened, through which he passes, in a trance, into the presence of God. An analogous representation is found in the book of Enoch, where the gates of heaven stand open, and the seer beholds the celestial stars come forth (c. 38). And again where the winds of his vision bear him aloft to the palace of God, where he sees a floor of fire, a frost-like throne whose circumference resembles the orb of the sun; hears the voice of cherubim, and beholds the bright and glorious being, whom none of the myriads surrounding him can approach. St. John, however, seems to have derived the imagery of his beatific vision directly from Ezekiel, modifying it, in his own bold and original manner. Thus, like the elder prophet, he encompasses the heavenly throne with a rainbow; but, unlike his predecessor, he selects, not the natural but an ideal rainbow. It has but one colour: it is like an emerald. It was possibly from a purely æsthetic feeling that this daring act of reconstruction was hazarded. He had already assimilated the Divine occupant of the throne, in dim shadowy outline, to a human being. He had compared him to a jasper and a sardine stone, the former being red or gold-coloured, the latter, our cornelian, a flesh-tinted, half-transparent stone; thus making God in the image of man, the red Adam, the highest type of our race. Over "the king in his beauty," symbolized by that colour which has been thought to be pre-eminently the colour of beauty, he throws an emerald iris, thus bringing in close juxtaposition two complementary colours, and contrasting, with great felicity of art, the dazzling and princely red with the soft refreshing green. The four-and-twenty elders, with their golden diadems and their garments of glittering white, who have their subordinate thrones around this central throne, form the celestial council and typify redeemed humanity; the double twelve indicating the association of the ethnic with the Jewish church, with an allusion to the number of the tribes of Israel. The fundamental idea of the representation in this vision is, as De Wette remarks, that of the Divine government, with a special reference to its redemptory policy. Consequently Christ is not described as the occupant of a throne, but as the lamb before the throne. God, whose name *Jehovah* is now paraphrased into "the Lord, which is, which was, and which is to come, the Almighty," appears as the maker of the world and supreme ruler of nature, symbolized in the four living creatures that surround the throne, with their mysterious wings and eyes, and their unceasing recognition of the eternal Life of the universe. The lightnings and thunderings and voices that issue from the throne are indications of the power of *Jehovah*, as the God of nature, and the seven lamps

that burn before the throne denote the Divine principle of physical and spiritual existence. Similarly the sea of glass like crystal, interposed between the throne and the cherubim or representatives of sentient nature, indicates, not the crystal pavement of oriental kings, but the firmament or blue sky, the atmospheric ocean, which, in common belief, separates the world of man, the prominent object and product of creative energy, from that higher heaven, where God sits enthroned.\*

Admitted thus into the palace halls of the Everlasting King, the prophet beholds in his right hand, the book of his secret counsels, the book of the future. This volume, so large and so various, consists apparently of seven rolls of parchment, wrapped round a cylinder, each roll having its own separate seal. These seals no human power can remove, and the prophet laments over the obstacle placed between his desire and its realization. Soon consoled by the assurance that the seals will be broken by the conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Messianic Lion whom we meet with in the fourth book of Esdras, and who is here somewhat paradoxically represented by a slain lamb, the prophet awaits the opening of the mystic volume while he listens to the prelusive song of the elders and the cherubim, or thrills at the harmonious ring of their many harps, or catches the gleam of the uplifted golden vases full of odours, knowing that they bear the prayers of the saints whom, ere long, he will hear entreating that the Divine retribution may commence and that the kingdom of the world may become the kingdom of God.

And now the wondrous book of fate is opened seal by seal. It is not read, but the Divine purposes in it are disclosed in a succession of pictures or images, these painted shadows as it were stepping out of the book and performing in anticipation their several parts in the terrible tragedy to be hereafter really enacted. During the opening of the first four seals the representative cherubim preside over this symbolical action, and summon each of the corresponding figures, like powerful enchanters who have command over nature, with an emphatic and talismanic "Come."† Four riders, in imposing succession, now appear, one on a white horse, armed, like a Parthian, with a bow, the symbol of conquest: another on a red horse, with a sword, the symbol of exterminating war: a third on a black horse, holding a pair of balances in his hand, the symbol of famine: and a fourth, Death, on a pale or sickly-green horse, followed by his grim companion Hades, the lord of

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\* See De Wette's "Offenbarung."

† So rejecting the gloss *and see*, we venture to interpret the *come*.



the under-world. In the desolation which these spectral horsemen, or at least three of them, produce, Ewald sees the famous eschatological "Beginning of Sorrows." In accordance with the mystical principle of numbers which our prophet adopts, the first four seals are distinctly separated from the last three. The cherubic types of sentient nature now withdraw. Time is gained, conformably to æsthetic requirement and Messianic expectation, by the insertion of the vision of the souls of Christian martyrs, whose entreaty for vengeance on their heathen persecutors, though favourably received, is not immediately answered. But if the great day is put off, they have not, it would seem, very long to wait, for, with the opening of the sixth seal, the stars fall from heaven, like figs in a high wind, and the Pagan kings and lords hasten to hide themselves from the coming retribution. Surely the dominion, they think, will now be given to the saints. Yet once more their expectation remains unrealized. The scene changes and a new vision is interposed. Four angels are seen standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds. Their special commission to raise violent storms, to the injury of earth and sea, is momentarily suspended by the command of a celestial compatriot, who comes from the sunrise, bearing the signet of Jehovah, in which is engraved, after the fashion of Eastern kings, the name of Him who is soon to be the only potentate. With this seal the servants of the supreme Lord, in imitation of the branding of Oriental slaves by their masters, or soldiers by their monarch, are all to be marked on their foreheads. The sealing appears to us to be not only an act of exemption (c. ix. 4), but an act of appropriation. And it may be of special consecration, if we identify the 144,000 of c. vii., as it is natural if not inevitable that we should do, with the 144,000 having Jehovah's name on their foreheads, who are the first-fruits to God and the Lamb of c. xiv., considering them as the objects of peculiar favour, but as forming only a part of the Christian church. In the account of this obsequatory ceremony, given in c. vii., a distinction seems to be made between the 144,000 of the tribes of Israel, which are plainly numerable, and the great multitude of all nations which is avowedly innumerable, and whose sealing is implied but not mentioned. If Israel here simply stand for the entire Christian community, as De Wette thinks, it is difficult to understand the appropriateness of the individualizing specification, in which each of the twelve tribes is a distinct subject of the Apocalyptic census. Accordingly we consider the celestial population to be here represented as consisting, 1. of the remnant of the Jewish people, who were converted to Christianity; and 2. of the redeemed, and far more numerous contingent, of the Gentile world. In this way

St. John, like St. Paul, concedes a certain priority to his countrymen. The election of grace still implies a Divine *particularismus*; the holy nation, in its Christian constituency, is still regarded with peculiar favour, it is the "virgin" (c. xiv. 4), it is the first-fruit, it forms the constant and immaculate retinue of the Messianic Lamb. In this way the patriot prophet, while including mankind generally within the circle of the Christian theocracy, finds the means of celebrating the religious pre-eminence of that sacred and aristocratic nation, which was still so loved and so honoured by his constant Hebrew heart.

On the opening of the seventh seal, a further delay intervenes. The end is still deferred. There is a new development; and the event covered by the last seal is drawn out, like the tubes in a telescope, and unfolded, first through the seven trumpets, then by the seven vials, and then by a series of independent visions. Before the seven archangels, "who present the prayers of the saints, and who go in and out before the glory of God" (Tobit vii. 15), begin their tragic blast there is silence in heaven about the space of half an hour; as before the opening of the seals, we had the new song of the elders, the solemn concurrence of the *celestial* representatives of creation, and the chorus of assenting praise from creation itself, as symbolized in the four cherubim.\* This silence, whether we interpret it to imply the infinite tender pity of the heavenly and angelic nature at the prospect of the sorrow and pain that shall vex and desolate humanity, or the awed and breathless contemplation which, as De Wette says, goes side by side with celestial action,—shows the deep feeling and the fine poetic conception of St. John. It is, in truth, an instance of the sublime, which Milton, perhaps, could hardly have equalled and Dante would vainly have tried to excel.

When the silence ceases the prayers of the saints, offered by an eighth angel in a golden censer, and rendered grateful through the odour with which they are perfumed, are graciously accepted. The time of vengeance begins. The trumpets ring aloud, and the storms of Divine wrath burst over land and sea—over salt water and fresh—and a third part of the sun, moon, and stars is stricken, so that partial eclipse and darkness are produced (Matt. xxiv. 29). The trees and grass are burned up; the earth and sea, are hurt; the water is turned to blood and the fishes die, during the blast of the four first trumpets, thus announcing the injury done to inanimate nature,—that nature which supplies the accessories of life. An announcement by an unearthly eagle (not an angel, as in the English version) suspends the action and marks

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\* See "Alford's Greek Test."

off the three remaining trumpets, the three great woe-trumpets, from the preceding four.

And here we will pause for a moment to explain the principle of this repeated division. Even in our own time the idea of good or ill-luck is still occasionally associated with particular numbers. Among the ancients the existence of peculiar numerical properties was a frequent article of belief, and the investigation of these properties a curious and elaborate study. In the Apocalypse the favourite numbers are four, three, seven,  $(1 + 3)$ ; twelve  $(3 \times 4)$ , and its double or square. Thus we have four cherubs, four angels to hold the winds, four stationed at the Euphrates to slay the third part of men, and a city that lies four-square. So a third of the trees is burnt up; a third part of the sea turned into blood; a third part of the rivers embittered; a third part of the sun, moon, and stars darkened. Similarly we have twelve apostles, twenty-four elders  $(12 \times 2)$ , twelve gates, twelve foundations, a city that measures twelve thousand furlongs and has a wall whose height is a hundred and forty-four  $(12 \times 12)$  cubits. The favourite number, however, with St. John is undoubtedly seven, which he either divides into two equal halves, as in his mystical period of three days and a half, or separates into its two integral component parts, four and three. St. Augustine explains the secret virtue of these three numbers.\* The explanation, perhaps, was not unknown to his arithmetical predecessor. Seven is a symbol of perfection or entireness; because it is made up of three, the first entire odd number, and of four, the first entire even number, *two* we presume being passed over, as made up of  $1 + 1$ , and *one*, or unity, not being counted. We thus see a reason for the septenary arrangement of the Apocalyptic vision, and are perfectly convinced that there could not be more than seven trumpets, seven vials, and seven seals, or fewer than three woes, or more than four cherubim. Does not Irenæus assure us, on the authority of a somewhat different though equally cogent logic, that there could not be more than four Gospels, because there were not more than four winds, and was not Irenæus right?

To return. One of the three woes is ushered in by the fifth trumpet. The starry angel, who is deputed to open the great under-world of death and horror, turns the key of the bottomless pit. Issuing out of a smoke that darkens the sun and air, the agents of fresh tribulation—the locusts of this Hebrew Tartarus comparable to the scorpions of the earth—marshal themselves under their angel-king, who is not to be identified with Satan, but whose appropriate name, Abaddon, Apollyon, or Destroyer, indicates his special province to be that of destruction. The

\* "De Civitate Dei." Lib. xi.—xxxi.

army, however, which he is now commissioned to lead, is sent not to destroy but to torment. It is to hurt men for five months, during the real or traditional locust-season, from May to September. The infliction recalls the corresponding Egyptian plague, of which it seems to be a fantastic imitation. These miraculous locusts are, perhaps, rightly regarded as exaggerated likenesses of the real locust, whose fancied resemblance to a horse is intimated in the German word *heu-pferd*. De Wette, indeed, allows the distant resemblance of the locusts' face to the human face divine, points out that natural history assigns the animal a breastplate, and refers to an Arab proverb, which compares their antennæ to the hair of a young girl (Rev. ix. 7, 8).

After this vision of gold-crowned Scorpion-warriors has vanished, the prophet sees the preparation of a far more formidable array, the instruments of the second woe. For now the angels of the great river Euphrates are unbound, and a Parthian invasion, or worse, destroys the third part of the human race. Two hundred millions of these savage marauders, with breast-plates fiery-red, smoke-blue, and brimstone-yellow—these colours having an evident reference to the three-fold deadly agency which they employ—rush forth on their lion-headed steeds, from their eastern mustering-place, when the angels who are ever waiting and ever ready, dismiss, or perhaps resolve themselves into, these cruel and subtle ministers of Divine vengeance. Unhappily, this second woe, like the first, is sent in vain. The world remains impenitent, and the idolatrous empire refuses to become the kingdom of God and his Christ. To effect this a third woe, with a supplementary expansion, that of the seven vials, is requisite. Before its consummation an unexpected change occurs in the arrangement of the Apocalyptic vision. An angel clothed with a cloud, with a rainbow on his head, with his face like the sun, and his feet like pillars of fire, descends from heaven, holding in his hand a little book. Standing with his right foot on the sea and his left on the earth, he swears by the eternal Creator (not, that time shall be no longer, as in the E. V.),\* but that there shall be no further postponement of the Divine purposes, and that when the seventh angel sounds his trumpet, the mystery of God shall be finished. St. John is now directed to take the little book,—that part of the original Book of Fate which is still to be revealed, from the hand of the angel. Obeying the command, he leaves heaven, receives the volume, and like an earlier Hebrew prophet, devours it. The first taste is sweet, the after-taste bitter, for the satisfaction which the knowledge of the future brings with it, is not unalloyed with sadness at the prospect of the sorrow and shame that

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\* English version.

must precede the joy and the triumph. Our prophet thus receives, like Ezekiel of old, a peculiar consecration, and in virtue of this special commission reappears in a new celestial scene (c. xii.). Previously, however, to the representation of the development of this second series of events a very remarkable vision is interposed. Reinvigorated by a solemn dedication for the prophetic duties which still await him, St. John continues his sublime revelations. The Little Book is now read off, as it were, not into words, but into pictures. In order to receive this miniature volume from the angel, St. John has to leave heaven and descend to earth, a very significant fact. A rod is given him (c. xi.) to measure the temple and the altar and the faithful few who worship there, probably the 144,000 Jewish-Christian converts. The external buildings and the city itself are not included in the measurement; they are temporarily abandoned (for three years and a half) to pagan profanation. This is the period known in Christian eschatology as the time of the Gentiles (Luke xxi. 24). What now are we to conclude from the various representations in this chapter? It is perfectly evident that Jerusalem was not destroyed when the Apocalypse was written, and as evident that its author never anticipated its destruction. That the temple and the holy city here mentioned are not an allegorical temple and city may be shown almost to demonstration. The city during the period of its desecration is described as a second Sodom or Egypt, as the great city, no longer the holy city in which Christ was crucified. Afterwards we find it contrasted with Babylon, *i.e.*, Rome, and chosen as the metropolis of the millennial saints. To measure this city, again, the prophet has to leave heaven and descend to earth; and as if to make the conclusion irresistible, "the temple of God in heaven," v. 19, seems purposely contrasted with his temple on earth. Thus we have here a valuable chronological determination. For as the literal Jerusalem was not destroyed till the year A.D. 70, and as the literal Jerusalem is still standing in the Apocalypse, it is clear that the book must have been written before that year.

A word may here be said of the celestial topography of the Apocalypse. The scenical and architectural phenomena of the heavenly world have, as De Wette remarks, no regular plan, sequence, or position. Temple, altar, ark, and throne appear and disappear as the baseless fabrics of a dream. This imitation or reproduction of terrestrial objects,—a council, a Mount Sion,—is intelligible on the principle that these objects are copies of things in heaven, or to reverse the order, as in the "Ascension of Isaiah," "As it is above so it is below, because a similitude of that which is in the firmament exists also on earth." Certain it is that in other instances, if not in this, St. John shared largely in the

traditionary faith and popular expectations of his time. One illustration of this occurs in the passage now before us, c. xi. The two witnesses, whose identification has so perplexed our Protestant commentators, are purely fictitious personages, who never did and never will exist, but whom St. John, in common, we suppose, with most of his countrymen, regarded as the necessary precursors and associates of the Messiah.\* Attributing to these ideal men the wonder-working powers of Moses and Elijah, the founder and reformer of the Jewish theocracy, he assigned to them a determinate and characteristic function, in the imagined occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, during the Danielic period of three and a half years. The most striking instance, however, of this sympathy with prevailing belief, is the acceptance of the wild saga of Nero's posthumous existence, and anticipated return.

The strange representation with which the new serial development of the dream of Patmos opens, (c. xii., xiii., xiv.), must be regarded, like that in c. xi., as an episodic scene. With it, it forms a kind of anticipatory exposition, the period of the desecration of Jerusalem, of the persecuting tyranny of the Beast, and the exile of the mystical woman, having precisely the same duration, and terminating in the great Messianic battle of Armageddon, supposed to be fought almost within view of the Holy City (c. xiv. 20). Unlike the former representation, however, it has in part a retrospective character. A celestial battle precedes the battle on earth. A woman clothed with the sun, trampling the moon under her feet, and diademed with stars (a symbol of the Jewish theocracy), suddenly becomes the mother of a wondrous child (the Messiah). This child, the desired victim of the Dragon-king's vigilant voracity, is mysteriously conveyed into the very presence of God, an allusion to the supposed corporeal ascension of Jesus into heaven. The war then commences between the disappointed Prince of Hell, and Michael, the guardian angel of the Jewish state (Daniel xi. 13—21), issuing in the complete overthrow of the Dragon, and in his final ejection from heaven. Frustrated in his attempt to destroy the Messianic child, and excluded from the celestial world, the Dragon next attacks the Sun-clothed Woman, whom we now find, agreeably to "the lawless law" of dreams, on the earth, to which he has been cast. The woman, however, supernaturally supported, takes refuge in the wilderness, as her possible prototype in Esdras flies "into the field of flowers, where no house is builded."† During her exile of three and a half years, the dragon baffled a second

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\* St. John i. 25; St. Matt. xvii. 3.

† Apocrypha: 2 Esd. ix. 24; x. 44.

time, directs his attacks against the remaining children of the symbolical mother, perhaps the Christian community in general, for Jerusalem is the mother of us all. In beautiful contrast to this picture of battle and tumult, we have next that scene of holy and happy tranquillity, on the celestial Mount Sion, where the redeeming king—the root and offspring of David—is surrounded by the patriot company, that once in their earthly existence gloried in the remembered triumphs of Jesse's warrior son. But now, as the end of this proleptical exposition approaches, three typical angels appear. Of these angels, one presides over that universal proclamation of Christian truth, which was to be the infallible precursor of the last time, another announces the fall of Babylon, and the third the vindictive retribution which menaces the adherents of the Beast, the subjects of imperial Rome, the polytheistic nations of verse 8. The sign of the expected advent, but only as an anticipation, is then beheld. The ominous white cloud, bearing on it the Son of Man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle, crosses the field of universal vision. At the cry of the angel that proceeds from the temple, and the kindred spirit that has power over fire, the harvest of the earth is reaped, and its vintage gathered. By an abrupt transition from metaphor to reality, the juice of the grapes thrown into the wine-press of God's wrath is now designated blood. Rising up to the horses' bridles (for the anti-Christian warriors of Armageddon are typified in this vintage of death), it covers the land outside the city for the space of 1600 furlongs, nearly the computed length of Palestine, it is said.\*

As yet the third woe-trumpet (xi. 15), which was to consummate the mystery, has only done so in angelic expectation. At its blast the mundane empire or kingdom (not kingdoms as in the E. V.) became, virtually, the kingdom of God. But still continuing, as it were, to balance one half of the Christian ethical sentiment against the other, to alternate the characteristic patience of the saints with their equally characteristic hope, the poetic seer again postpones the predicted catastrophe. As the seventh seal, suspending the event, expanded into seven trumpets, so now the seventh trumpet, temporarily defeating expectation, develops, in dream-like fashion, into seven vials or bowls, the last woe being seemingly resolved into the same number of plagues. These plagues, like those inflicted under the trumpet-development, bear a general resemblance to the celebrated plagues of Egypt. The range of the four first seems co-extensive with the idolatrous world-empire: the three last have a more special ap-

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\* "Antonin. Itiner." From Tyre to Rhinoculura 1664 furlongs.

plication. The imperial residence of the mystical beast, the river Euphrates the boundary of his empire, the eastern kings his impious allies, and Babylon his meretricious and tyrannical metropolis, are the predestined objects of this threefold visitation. For now the crisis really approaches; the theatre of action contracts, and the meaning of the visions comes out, with terrible distinctness. The death-grapple of the natural and eternal enemies of the universe—of Jehovah and Satan—is imminent; and the three great foes of the Messiah—the dragon-lord of hell, the bestial king, and the false prophet—are mustering all their forces to strike one great final blow for the monarchy of the world. It is in the right interpretation of the various Apocalyptic passages that describe the supernatural antagonists of Omnipotence, that the entire meaning of the grand but delirious dream of the lonely *Ægean* isle is to be sought.

The required explanation is in the main historical. The monarchy of the saints, whose accession to the throne of the world shortly after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, had been announced by Daniel, was still to be realized, when St. John was wandering in sad exile on the barren shore of Patmos. The Greek empire of the elder prophet had past away. Imperial Rome had succeeded to the iron rule of Macedonia. Living in a later age and under altered political circumstances, St. John found it necessary to readjust to the requirements of his own time the prophetic imagery of his principal predecessor and model. The beast that he sees emerging from the sea of man's stormy practical existence is a revision of the monster in Daniel's strange revelation. His seven heads, a Johannic addition, serve to identify it as a symbol of the Roman empire. The exegetical angel in the Apocalypse distinctly asserts that they indicate at once the seven kings, and the seven hills of the imperial city. The ten horns of this scarlet-coloured beast, of which the Satanic-dragon is the prototype, are the ten fictitious Parthian kings, who are to be the temporary allies of the monster in his individualized character, and transitory co-possessors of power with him. For it will be observed that the beast has both a collective and personal attribution. He is not only the emblem of the idolatrous world-empire in its Roman aspect, but, as the wounded head, he is also the mysterious eighth king, the Antichrist and Antiochus Epiphanes, or "little horn," of the new historical prophecy. With this representative of "many fearful natures in one name," at once leopard, bear, and lion, the dragon or prince of this world enters into solemn league, giving him his power and his seat and great authority. Leaving unnoticed for the present the textual delineation of the dragon-worship (Pagan idolatry), or the beast-worship (apotheosis of Roman imperialism), and the



seeming extinction and revival of the wounded monster, we follow the eye of the prophet as it rests on another mysterious animal. This beast, rising out of the earth, proceeding perhaps from the comparative quiet and stability of social life in its private or contemplative aspect, profanely parodying the Messianic lamb with its gentle looks, yet resembling a dragon in its words, seems to be the emblem of the sacerdotal or spiritual power of Rome; the representative, in fact, of the false prophet, one of the three enemies of Christ. It institutes an image-worship of the beast; gives life to its image; works miracles in its presence; registers its worshippers and persecutes those who refuse it adoration. Turning from c. xiii. to c. xvii., the exposition of the angel of the bowl or vial enables us to comprehend the paradoxical nature of the first beast. Here "the beast that was and is not and yet is," is described, as in an anticipatory passage in c. xi., as destined to ascend out of the bottomless pit (Oreus), the realm of death. He is that one of the seven heads which had the wound by a sword and which revived. In his resuscitated character he is to be the eighth emperor. As such he is to form an alliance with ten imaginary kings from Parthia, before whom the waters of the Euphrates are to disappear. Sharing his transitory power, these monarchs from the East are to assist him in gratifying his unnatural hatred of the scarlet-clothed paramour of the kings of the earth. Aided by them he is to destroy the mystic Babylon; he is to burn the imperial city, Rome, with fire.

Commenting on this passage, Professor Maurice correctly observes, that, "in the absence of any evidence for the old tradition that the Apocalypse belongs to the time of Domitian, almost any thoughtful critic would accept this very passage as a reason for referring it to the reign of Galba." We have indeed only to turn to the first book of the "Annals of Tacitus" to ascertain who was the first of the five fallen Roman Emperors. From its pages we learn that it was not Julius Cæsar, but Augustus, under whom were formally established the military despotism of Rome and the personal deification of the head of that despotism. Counting from the founder of this new universal monarchy, we have Augustus as the first, Tiberius as the second, Caius Caligula as the third, Claudius as the fourth, Nero as the fifth. Nero, who died June A.D. 68, was succeeded by Galba, the reigning monarch at the time when the Apocalypse was written. His seven months' tenure of power enables us to fix the date of its composition with remarkable accuracy. A seventh emperor is announced by the angel, and then for eighth that one of the series who possesses "the enigmatical attribute of spontaneous existence and non-existence."\* Another figure, says Mr. Maurice, referring

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\* See Mr. Mackay's "Rise and Progress of Christianity." Manwaring.

to this last, is "seen rising behind, an eighth, and yet strangely *like* one of the seven," thus eluding a difficulty by substituting similitude for identity. For the eighth king is expressly stated to be a reproduction of one of the seven—the head through which the beast received "the wound by a sword" (xiii. 14) which was healed. There is, we are convinced, but one explanation of the enigma, that suggested by Victorinus in the fourth century, and revived by Bleek in the nineteenth. We believe it to have been the Johannic embodiment of a wild popular expectation, which grew out of the preternatural excitement created by the reign of terror of the fifth Cæsar.

The Nero-myth, or semi-myth as we should prefer to call it, for it never attained the maturity of imagined fulfilment, originated in the fanciful belief that Nero, after his flight from Rome on the defection of the prætorian guards, his desertion and suicide, was not dead, but was living beyond the Euphrates, among the Parthians, with whom he had taken refuge, and with whose assistance he intended to return and destroy Rome. The first indication of this wild fancy which is extant, is, perhaps, that of Dion Chrysostom, contemporary with Vespasian, who, writing early in the second century, says, apparently in reference to the partisans of Nero, "even now all wish and some suppose him alive." We have next the testimony of Tacitus to the commotion produced in Achaia and Asia by the false apprehension of Nero's approach (about A.D. 70), and to a real as well as pretended belief in his post-sepulchral existence. Still more decisive is the evidence of Suetonius, born soon after the emperor's death, that there were not wanting persons to adorn Nero's grave with flowers, and to exhibit his statue and written edicts as those of one still living, and who would shortly return to the great detriment of his enemies. Suetonius speaks also of the popularity of the pseudo-Nero with the Parthians, and of the earnest entreaty of their king to the Roman senate that religious honours should be paid to Nero's memory.

In addition to these classical authorities we have the evidence afforded by the interpolator of the Jewish sibyl, the author of the "Ascension of Isaiah," Sulpicius Severus, Lactantius, Jerome, and St. Augustine, who, while rejecting the presumptuous speculations which he notices, identifies the ruling power, or restraining agent of St. Paul (2 Thess. ii.) with the Roman empire.\*

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\* "Then a great king, like a close perfidious fugitive, shall fly from Italy over the river Euphrates; and this will be when he has committed a horrible wicked murder upon his own mother. And when he has committed many other crimes by his wicked hands, then shall many be slain about the holy ground of Rome, while he flies beyond the bounds of his empire. . . . From the Sebasteni [or Cæsars] Belial shall come, and do many wonders in the sight of men. He shall raise an appearance of a high mountain, and of the sea, and of the great

The passages referred to clearly establish the fact of a belief in Nero's posthumous existence, in his Parthian alliance, and expected return. To a Christian of the first century, Nero must almost inevitably have appeared as the person in whom the attributes of the Antichrist or Man of Sin were unmistakeably visible. The revival of the deceased emperor in some mysterious form presented no difficulty to the faith of the primitive church, for as Gibbon remarks, "even about the end of the second century the resurrection of the dead was far from being esteemed an uncommon event." What could seem more conformable to the "eternal fitness" of Christian dogma, that the man who in his natural life had wished, according to the striking expression of Tacitus, to hew down virtue itself, (*virtutem ipsam excindere*), should reappear in some portentous form as the enemy of God and the precursor of the devil? Had he not, it might be argued, murdered his mother Agrippina, his brother Britannicus; had he not killed his two wives, most of his own kindred, all that were signal for merit or fortune; had he not exterminated "men by heaps with their families and children, by the knife, by poison, by drowning, by starving;"\* had he not pillaged Italy, and robbed the provinces; had he not degraded his humanity by unnatural hate

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fiery sun, and of the great splendid moon, and of the dead rising; but these wonders shall be deceitful, and not complete miracles."—*Sibylline Oracles*.

"Belial shall descend, the mighty angel, the prince of this world, which he has possessed from its creation. He shall descend from the firmament in the form of a man, an impious monarch, the murderer of his mother, in the form of him, the sovereign of the world."—*Ascension of Isaiah*, ch. iv.

"Certe corpus illius (Neronis) interemptum. Unde creditur, etiamsi se gladio transfixerit, curato vulnere ejus servatus secundum illud, quod de eo scriptum est: et plaga mortis ejus curata est, sub sæculi fine mittendus, ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat."—*Sulpic. Sever. Histor.*, ii. 29.

"Dejectus itaque fastigio imperii, ac devolutus à summo tyrannus impotens, nusquam repente comparuit, ut ne sepulturæ quidem locus in terra tam male bestię appareret. Unde illum quidam deliri credunt esse translatum, ac vivum reservatum, Sibylla dicente matricidam profugum à finibus esse venturum, ut quia primus persecutus est, idem etiam novissimus persequatur, et Antichristi præcedat adventum quod nefas est credere, sicut duos prophetas vivos esse translatos in ultima sæcula precursuros initium Christi sanctum et sempiternum cum descendere cœperit sanctis suis comitatus, pronuntiant, eodem modo etiam Neronem venturum putant ut qui præcursor diaboli ac prævius sit venientis ad vastationem terræ et humani generis eversionem."—*Lactantii de Mortibus Persecutorum*, ii.

"Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; . . . ut hoc quod dixit, iam enim mysterium iniquitatis operatur, Neronem voluerit intelligi, cuius iam facta velut Antichristi videbantur. Unde nonnulli ipsum resurrectionem, et futurum Antichristum suspicantur. Alii vero nec eum occisum putant, sed subtractum potius, ut putaretur occisus; et vivum occultari in vigore ipsius ætatis, in qua fuit, cum crederetur extinctus, donec suo tempore revelatur, et restituatur in regnum."—*De Civitate Dei*. Lib. xx. cap. 19.

\* See Gordon's Essays in his "Translation of Tacitus."

and more unnatural lust, and did not this terrible catalogue of crimes mark him out as the preappointed forerunner of Satan, on his arrival to "lay waste the earth and overthrow the human race?" Was not the man who had once destroyed Rome by fire the fitting agent of a second and final conflagration (Rev. xvii. 16; xviii. 8)? Was not the first cruel persecutor of the Christians, who had thrown them, wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, to dogs, who had nailed them to crosses, and who, when the sun had set, had lighted them like candles to illuminate the night; was not he who had converted his own gardens into the first pagan Smith-field, the destined instrument of a second persecution?

But we come now to another important point. In its collective character, the Sea-Beast represents the entire pagan empire, in its latest, that is, its Roman phase. The peculiar form of idolatry, which is the subject of the bitter invective of the prophet, is that which was matured and established under Augustus—Emperor-worship. Commercial and spiritual interdicts; which prohibited men from buying, selling, or drawing water till they had sacrificed to the detestable idols of old Rome, appear to have existed before that of Diocletian, mentioned by Bede in his hymn on Justin Martyr.\* It makes no difference, however, in the essential truth of the matter, whether any such tyrannical prohibition were legally enforced in the second half of the first century. The Roman world was really dependent, socially and politically, on the Roman empire; its dependence ensured its servility, and all who were included in the imperial system, and submitted to the domination of the Cæsars, might be looked on as complying with the idolatrous condition described in the text. In the case of the Christians some such interdict as is there supposed would be a necessary characteristic of the second and ideal persecution of Nero, in whom, as the individualized Beast, the whole strength of Roman anti-Christianity was brought out. Accordingly we are told that as many as would not worship the image of the beast were killed. Pliny's letter to Trajan shows that in literal fact the emperor's image was in his own time made the object of Divine adoration. Josephus, again, mentions Caligula's attempt to have his statue erected at Jerusalem, "in the temple of God;" and the accusation of Apion that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, receiving him as they received the gods, the Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing to erect statues to him and swear by his name. This maturest form of idolatry would naturally be considered by a Jew-Christian like St. Paul or St. John, as peculiarly hateful. Cæsar-worship was the ex-

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\* See "Alford's Greek Testament."

treme phase of an almost superhuman arrogance. It was a distinct, formally established religion. Each succeeding emperor, and occasionally members of the imperial family were, after their death, legally deified. They were regarded as gods, provided with temples and statues like their celestial prototypes, and with an appropriate sacerdotal corporation to offer them the honours of the skies. In Nero's case this Divine promotion (*deum honor*) was perhaps anticipated. It was proposed, in his life time, by Cerialis Anicius, consul-elect, that a temple should be raised to the divine Nero at the public expense, "as to one who had soared above the highest lot of mortality, and was entitled to celestial worship from men." Thus Nero seems when living to have especially qualified himself to assume the part of the Pauline Man of Sin.\* But we pass to another topic.

The allies of the resuscitated or reviving Nero are rightly pronounced by De Wette to be the kings of the East, for whom the water of the Euphrates was to be miraculously absorbed. The readers of Josephus and Tacitus will recall without difficulty the frequent recurrence of this river, as a geographical boundary and the regular advancing and retiring-line of Parthian and Roman. Unknown in history till about 250 B.C., these "chiefs of the east"† had extended their empire within little more than a century, from the Ganges to the Euphrates, and from the Euphrates to Mount Caucasus. In another century they came into direct conflict with Rome. In the year 54 B.C., when the province of Syria was assigned to Crassus, the ambitious triumvir crossed the Euphrates, contemplating the overthrow of the Parthian empire, only to sustain in the following year an entire and fatal defeat. Encouraged by this success the Parthians invaded Syria, 52 B.C., sent an army thither again in 49 B.C., and about eight years after made themselves masters of the whole country, Tyre excepted, subsequently entered Jerusalem, deposed Hyrcanus, expelled Herod, and raised Antigonos to the throne. During the next hundred years, war and preparations for war alternated with submission and pacific and even friendly arrangement. In A.D. 66, when Tiridates, the Parthian candidate, had a second time ascended the throne of Armenia, he visited Rome, purposely to obtain the sanction of Nero for his retention of a diadem which he had already laid before the imperial statue or image. In the recog-

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\* If Paul be the author of 2 Thess. c. ii., compare "Tacitus," bk. xv. 74; also "Ascension of Isaiah," c. iv.

"Then shall the whole world believe in him. They shall sacrifice to him, and serve him, saying, 'He is God, and besides him there is no other God.' And the power of his prodigies shall be displayed in every city and country. In every city also shall his image be erected."—*Ascension of Isaiah*, c. iv.

† "Book of Enoch."

nition of this prince, in the reception of the ambassadors of the Parthian king by Nero, in the proffered alliance by the Roman general, and the actual truce which was concluded, apparently lies the historical suggestion of the mythical league of Nero, on his return from the under-world, with the ten Apocalyptic kings. The number of these imaginary persons is, of course, determined by a traditional fancy. The reappearing beast *must* have his ten kings, because the fourth beast in Daniel's vision had ten horns, the symbols of regal power. In the book of Esdras it is for the returning ten tribes, reserved in the remote Arsareth (c. xiii.) until the latter time, that the suspension of the flow of the Euphrates, the effect of an omnipotent decree, takes place. Thus the number ten recurs with the same or similar natural phenomenon. The exhaustion of the water is perhaps derived from the well-known draining of the river by Cyrus. The Euphrates, as the boundary not only of the Roman empire, but of the sacred land of Abraham and David, must necessarily have had a strange fascination for the author of the Apocalypse. On his ascension from Orcus, the place where the dead are kept and whence they return, the imperial monster, who like a true Antichrist imitates in this revival the resurrection of his Divine antagonist, joined by his ten Parthian associates, proceeds on his unholy crusade to make war with the saints and to destroy Rome a second time by fire. This destruction of Rome is the principal preliminary of the establishment of a divine kingdom on earth. While yet the hated city lies smouldering in its ashes, the demon chief, followed by his vassal princes, hastens to invade the holy land, still in the occupation of the Gentiles, and eventually to attack the angelic army of the Lamb in a famous traditionary battle-ground, the Valley of Esdraelon. Here it bears the name of Harnageddon, not the plain, as might be expected, but the mountain of Megiddo, with reference, perhaps, to its back-ground of highland as seen from the Lake of Galilee.\* In this battle the last representative of the Roman-pagan empire, the supporters of the system of imperialized priesthood, and the military population of the entire earth, dispute the supremacy of the world with the great Messianic king, and the celestial armies that follow him upon white horses. The event of the battle will determine whether the empire shall belong to God or to Satan. Of that event the previous fate of Rome is a sure indication. The battle is fought. The beast and the false prophet are taken and thrown into a lake of fire; the heathen armies are slain by the sword of the warrior whose vesture

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\* See "Alford's N. Test.," who refers to Stanley's description of the Plains of Esdraelon.

is dipped in blood. The dominion is given to the saints ; the empire of the world becomes the empire of God ; and the Messiah as the conqueror of all earthly potentates makes good his claim to the proud title of King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

The conflagration of Rome, the correspondence of the circumstance and order of the monster king of the Apocalypse, with the circumstance and order of the fifth on the list of Cæsars, demonstrates with a strength of probability that almost amounts to proof, the true significance of this extraordinary composition and the date of its actual publication. For, unlike the Book of Daniel, which assumes a fictitious chronological standing-point, the Apocalypse was not to be sealed because "the time was at hand." It would strengthen the argument not a little if, as some have thought, the arithmetical enigma of the thirteenth chapter could be so interpreted as to apply to Nero. The Hebrew letters of the words Nero Cæsar, with some violation of orthography, certainly make up the number 666. Not only, however, is the spelling far from being unexceptionable, but whereas the prophet wrote in Greek, and for a Greek reading-public recourse is had to the Hebrew language, in order to accommodate the numerical value of the symbol to the name of an individual emperor. There is still a further objection. The riddle occurs, not after, but before, the exposition of the angel, in which the beast is confounded with, or exclusively represented by, its last terrific and malignant head. It is the beast, in its aggregate capacity, with his brutal triplicity of nature—leopard, bear, and lion—his ten crowned horns and his seven blasphemously-lettered heads, that is the subject of this numerical conundrum. We know that the beasts of Esdras and Daniel, from the latter of whom at least the data of the Johannic Revelation are avowedly derived, are the kingdoms of Assyria, Media, Persia, and Græcia. The beast of John, then, should be a kingdom too. It is, and can be no other than, that of Rome, which has absorbed into its own imperial centre, the inherited sceptre of its four heathen predecessors. It is a prolongation of the dominion of the Latin men, in the interpolated passage of the Sibyl. "*Latini sunt qui nunc regnant,*" says Irenæus, instancing the traditionary solution *λαρεῖνος*—a solution, however, which he scarcely approves and which is deficient in point and application, to say nothing of its questionable, though not unprecedented, spelling. After the failure of so many distinguished theological conjurors and arithmeticians, it may appear presumptuous in us to anticipate success. Nevertheless, hazarding the reproach that we are "no witch at a riddle," we venture to suggest an answer, the precision, definiteness, and simplicity of which seem to recommend it as the true and intended one. Our name of the beast, the final antagonist of the

kingdom of God, is the Sovereignty of Rome, the Imperium Romanum, or in Greek equivalents,\*

# H ΛΑΤΙΝΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ.

Leaving Dr. Cumming and his brother pundits to pronounce on the value of this important discovery in the realm of the "Infinitely Little," we hasten to complete our critical survey.

The conquest of the beast and instalment of the saints in power are the immediate preliminaries to the imprisonment of Satan and the commencement of the millennial kingdom of the Messiah. The world's Sabbath now begins, in accordance with a popular belief described in the "Catholic Epistle of Barnabas" that "in six thousand years the Lord would bring all things to an end—that his Son should come and abolish the season of the wicked one, and judge the ungodly, and after having changed the sun, the moon, and the stars, should rest gloriously on that seventh day." The subjects of this long-desired theocracy are primarily the decapitated martyrs, and then all the true adherents of the now triumphant Messiah. Their restoration to a happy and sinless corporeal existence constitutes the *first resurrection*. In the Johanneic description of this golden age of the saints, we find throughout a solemn and sustained imagery. The prophetic inspiration of the poet of the lone Ægean isle disdained the minute and puerile fancies in which Papias, the traditionary disciple of an apostle, indulged, and which Irenæus recorded and vindicated. "The days will come," exclaims the alleged transmitter of primitive doctrine, "in which there shall grow vineyards, having each 10,000 vinestocks; and each stock 10,000 branches; each branch 10,000 shoots; each shoot 10,000 bunches; each bunch

\* These letters translated into numbers amount exactly to 666, and the spelling is rigorously correct:—

η	=	8
λ	=	30
α	=	1
τ	=	300
ι	=	10
ν	=	50
η	=	8
β	=	2
α	=	1
σ	=	200
ι	=	10
λ	=	30
ε	=	5
ι	=	10
α	=	1



10,000 grapes; and each grape squeezed shall yield twenty-five measures of wine; and when any of the saints shall go to pluck a bunch, another bunch shall cry out, I am a better, take me, and bless the Lord through me."\* If St. John really furnished Papias with this silly photograph of a millennial Cockayne, we may at least rejoice that he had the good sense not to disfigure his own poem with it.

When the thousand years of Eden-like happiness have expired, "the beloved city," for the patriot cannot forget Jerusalem, is once more invested by the anti-Messianic armies of the Gentiles—the wild nations not included within the circle of the annihilated "*Imperium Romanum*." These last outlying enemies of the theocracy—the Gog and Magog of old Hebrew prediction—are destroyed by the miraculous descent of fire from heaven. Satan, the arch-principle of evil, who misled them to their ruin, is now hurled into a certain brimstone dungeon "that we know of," where the beast and false prophet have been long awaiting him. It is the time of the final judgment—the great day of the Lord announced by the elder seers—the consummation of St. Paul, who not wholly unlike his brother prophet, expected, as Dr. Arnold courageously insists, that the world was shortly to end, but who, altogether unlike him, recognised no millennial kingdom and no first resurrection (1 Cor. xv.). Sentence is now pronounced. The demons Death and Hades, and the whole wicked world after them, are cast, irrevocably, it would seem, into the "fiery deluge fed with ever-burning sulphur unconsumed."

After this practical proof that "lying (in Carlyle's dialect) means damnation in this universe, and that Beelzebub, never so elaborately decked in crowns and mitres is not God," the Apocalypse closes with a highly poetic description of an entire restoration. The scene of the completed theocratic government, to which the millennial reign was but a prelude, is still our own lowly planet, the real world of St. John. But the old heaven and the old earth have disappeared. The old Jerusalem has vanished. There is no more sea, that dreadful unexplored region of unknown terror and danger to the Hebrew and Egyptian mind.† The lake of fire still exists—in some subterranean latitude, we suppose. And now a celestial holy city, the archetypal Jerusalem descends, with its twelve foundations of jasper, emerald, topaz, and other precious stones, in which are inscribed the names of the original apostles, but not that of St. Paul, who, however, if we accept his own verdict, "was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles." The architecture of the theocratic metropolis is purely ideal. Like the impossible Parthian army of a previous passage,

\* "*Middleton's Free Inquiry*," p. 47.

† So at least Ewald.

which amounted to a fifth, or perhaps only a sixth of the present entire population of the world, we have here a city whose length, breadth, and height are equal (about 1500 miles), suggesting the notion of rather an awkward ultra-equatorial protuberance, which seems to trouble even the ruridecanal intellect,\* so that the secular mind may safely confess to some irreligious misgivings. Equally ideal, perhaps, is the jasper stone, clear as crystal; and most certainly ideal are both the angel-guarded gates, each of which is a solid pearl, and the street of the city, which is made of "pure gold, like transparent glass." This semi-celestial capital is in other and nobler respects a beautiful poetic dream. It has no temple, for as St. John solemnly says, "The Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the Temple:" it has no sun or moon, for it has the glory of the same Divine beings for "the light thereof." No wonder, then, if the "nations," who have the *leaves* of the tree of life (the crumbs from the rich man's—the Jews'—table) can see by the "pale reflex" of such splendour, or that the tributary-kings of the earth (for with patriotic inconsistency St. John distinguishes between his own countrymen and these "most favoured nations") bring the glory and honour of their subjects into it. And now, amid the wandering and mysterious voices of the inspired poet of the Revelation, of angel, Messiah, and Jehovah, followed by tones of yearning expectation and denouncement of solemn curse, this dream of the desert-isle—this vision of the pale-lipped prophet of Patmos—

"dies away  
And fades into the light of common day."

We have treated the Johannic Apocalypse as a daring and wildly beautiful poem. How is it possible to regard it as a statement of facts, as a delineation of any real world, present or to come? Nature, as it is revealed to the scientific thought, is constant even in inconstancy. Laws, sequences, uniformities, are the verbal symbols which express our belief in this invariableness of the methods observed in the material and spiritual universe, so far as it is known to us. In the conceptions of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, natural laws are unrecognised. The government of the world is conducted by angels. Angels preside over the winds, or turn the sea into blood, or darken the moon, or stand in the sun, or shake the stars out of the sky, or commission earthquake, pestilence, and famine. We have angels of the Euphrates, angels of the churches, angels of trumpets,

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\* See Mr. Lister's recent speculations; and see also Alford and De Wette's explanations.

vials, and seals. A fallen star has the key of the abyss, as, in Jewish fable, Jehovah has the key of the rain, and an angel bears in his hand the book of man's coming doom. Throughout the representations are equally romantic and unreal. An altar speaks, an eagle talks, thunders articulate. In short, the author of the *Apocalypse* moves in a world wholly unlike our own.

An equally convincing proof of the unreality of the vision is the absolute failure of its principal prediction. It would not be easy to find language which should convey, as briefly, simply, and naturally as that of the *Apocalypse*, the author's expectation of the almost immediate arrival of the crucified Jesus to be the conqueror of the Pagan Empire of Rome, and the founder of the millennial kingdom. St. John, in common, we suppose, with all the Apostles, confidently anticipated the approaching advent of the Messiah. The non-fulfilment of the prediction shows the futility of the hope and demonstrates the fallibility of the prophet.

Yet there is an element of truth and reality, a method even in the madness of this wild vision. The "flaming" hope that kindled in the poet of the *Ægean* the fire of inspiration has, we trust, its immortal spirit as well as its mortal vesture. Our own times, since, at least, the French revolution, have been stormy, turbulent, explosive, minatory as his. Old creeds are dying out; a new faith slowly and dimly growing up; social and national change advancing or impending. In the midst of the wreck of the past the prophetic soul that is in man reawakens, revealing itself, questionably enough it may be, as in the song of Shelley and the rhythmical utterance of Emerson and Lamennais, or less exceptionably, perhaps, as in the musical prose of Goethe, and the lofty psalm of Tennyson. Thus the hope that had so definite and so circumscribed an horizon for the Hebrew race, but which its political position and theological belief fostered into such unexampled strength and intensity, was not the ethical appanage of that people alone. The heart of humanity trembles and sets to the future. In the beautiful language of a modern poet, "we live by hope and breathe the sweet air of futurity." Thus the Northern prophetess sings of the world's destruction and renewal; of the return of Balder, the evanescence of evil, and the palace, brighter than the sun, roofed with gold, standing on Gimle. Thus the Persian magian tells how Ormuzd and Ahriman, the principles of light and darkness, of good and evil, after alternate victory and defeat, shall terminate this old hereditary strife; how the nobler God shall prevail; the conquered power be reconciled or destroyed; and the earth glorified into the happy and radiant abode of men enjoying the

singular privileges of requiring no food and throwing no shadow.

Our ambition does not soar so high. Our ideal is not a celestial but an earthly ideal. We do not ask for a city whose foundations are emeralds, and whose gates are pearls; we are contented with the natural distribution of light and darkness, and are not unwilling to carry our shadows with us. We ask for no millennial resurrection, and for no impossible theocracy. We look for no trumpet to announce, no white cloud to bear the Divine man, who shall give us "nobler modes of life," abolish "the feud of rich and poor," and bring "redress to all mankind." But not the less does "the hope that springs eternal" connect us with the future of the world: not the less do we look for some proximate realization of our dream of terrestrial justice, wisdom, and love; for the partial conquest of evil, for the advancing triumph of manly goodness and purity, and for the self-sacrifice that is not incompatible with self-assertion; not the less do the bells from the ivy-clothed church-towers of our English towns and villages seem, even to us, through the force of a thousand tender associations which we cannot forget, to "ring out the darkness of the land; to ring in the Christ that is to be."



## ART. VI.—THE RIVAL AMERICAN CONFEDERACIES.

*Slavery and Secession in America: Historical and Economical.*

By THOMAS ELLISON, F.S.S., &c., Author of "A Handbook of the Cotton Trade," with Map and Appendix.  
London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. 1861.

ALTHOUGH the actual disruption of the American Republic is but just now on the verge of consummation, if indeed it may not be said to have already taken place, it is an event which since the origin of the Union has been reckoned amongst the certainties of the future, and often been thought imminent. The foundation of this ever-present want of confidence in the stability and perpetuity of the Confederation has been the marked diversity between the political and social characteristics of the various States composing the Union, or rather, between those of the Northern and Southern States. From the original settlement of the western continent there has always been a fundamental difference between the social life of the two sections; for though the colonists were almost entirely the progeny of a single race, they sprang from very distinct ranks of society, and

carried with them very opposite notions of social and political philosophy: the settlers on the north-east Atlantic coast were entirely Puritan, and recruited from the anti-monarchical classes of the people, of whom William Penn and Roger Williams were types; whilst the colonies farther south were peopled by immigrants belonging to noble or gentle families, middle class commercial adventurers, and lower class labourers and convicts, all, except the latter, who cared very little about the matter of strong Tory inclinations. The North therefore was from the first essentially democratic and republican, but the South remained a complete reflex of the mother country—aristocratic and plebeian.

These circumstances give us a clue to the opposition which the African slave trade received from the New England States, and the complacency, if not positive favour, with which it was looked upon by the more Southern ones: the institution of slavery was palpably antagonistic to the purely democratic form of society which existed in the North, where no privileged class held sway, and where all were on an equality as to social position, and pretty nearly so as to worldly means; but was quite consistent with the aristocratic proclivities of the South, where an oligarchy of large capitalists and landowners monopolized the soil and government of the community, and where labour had been rendered dishonourable to freemen owing to its being performed either by convicts from England or by slaves drawn from an inferior race of people.

The essential difference between the materials out of which the Northern and Southern civilizations were made up was for some time only partially apparent; and while the whole of the provinces were under the Government of Great Britain, and slavery existed, more or less, in all the colonies (except Massachusetts, we believe) the contrast, which became more marked in subsequent years, was hardly perceptible. As soon, however, as the settlements became sovereign communities, having the sole controul of their own affairs, and the liberty of choosing their own institutions and forms of Government, their diverse political and social leanings soon exhibited themselves in tangible and practical forms; for whilst the Northern States, by abolishing slavery, adopted a really democratic form of Government, the Southern States, by retaining that institution, perpetuated the very essence of an aristocracy; the government of the one section being entirely in the hands of the people; that of the other under the exclusive management of the slaveholders. The result has been that while the statesmen and politicians of the free states have risen from the ranks, so to speak, those of the slave states have been recruited from amongst a privileged class, comprising not more than one-fourth of the total white population, the remaining three-fourths being dependent

upon, and ruled by, this slavocracy. The lower classes of the Southern whites, far from expressing their antipathy to such a state of things, are often found to be the most inveterate defenders of the system, satisfied that though they are *below* the ruling class, they are *above* the servile race which performs the labour of the country, and are, therefore, in their estimation, of a superior status to the great mass of the Northern people; whilst they may by frugality and industry amass sufficient means to enter the honourable (?) and "high-minded" society of slaveholders, and so attain the highest ambition of a Southerner—a share in the Government of the country. Of course there are some non-slaveholders whose opinions run counter to those of the majority of Southerners, but their influence is entirely neutralized by the popularity of the opposite ideas; and abolitionism is as rare in the South as pro-slaveryism is in the North.

As time has progressed, the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the rival systems have been still further developed, until the people of the two sections, though both nominally democratic, present as wide a difference in their habits and manners, their likings and dislikings, as any two peoples of Europe; and you cannot give a Southerner a greater affront than by calling him a Yankee. One great proof of the anti-democratic tendency of Southerndom is presented by the curious fact that nearly the whole of the immigrant arrivals into the Union shun the Slave States as they would shun Russia or Austria, simply because unless they have the inclination and capital to adopt the labour system of the country, it would be impossible for them to improve their condition and prospects in the world; whilst by taking up their homes in the Free States they enter on an equality with the rest of the people, and can soon raise themselves to a social and political position such as they would be debarred from in the Slave States. This reluctance of European immigrants to build up their homes in the South has been a source of gratification rather than otherwise to the slaveholders, for they dread the too rapid increase of the non-slaveholding class of whites, being convinced that their (the slaveholders') influence and monopoly of political power and patronage would soon be swamped by the fierce democracy, whose interests and their own are so plainly antagonistic. But though rid of their due share of the yearly arrivals of the surplus populations of Europe, the Southerners were not long in finding that they had not thereby escaped all danger, for the new-comers soon made their influence felt through their representatives in Congress, and what with the natural increase in the population of the Free States, and the addition made thereto by immigration, the day did not seem far distant when the Southern States would be reduced to a minority, and the destinies of their "peculiar institu-

tion " guided by a hostile Government. In order, therefore, to prevent the democracy from becoming too powerful, a crusade was got up against alien suffrage, and the cry of " America for the Americans " sent forth.

" In 1836, when the Bill for the admission of Michigan was under consideration in the Senate, Henry Clay moved that aliens should not be permitted to enjoy the right of suffrage, but the amendment was rejected by a vote of 22 against 14. A similar amendment, made during the Kansas-Nebraska debates, was passed on the 22nd March, 1854, yeas 23, nays 21; but the House of Representatives on the 22nd May of the same year, rejected the Senate's decision by a vote of 115 against 96. Subsequently the Upper House agreed; there being only seven dissentients. These figures show the strength of the anti-alien element in the Congress. The fact that the Free States, with few exceptions, favoured the immigrants, and the Slave States without any exception voted against them, leaves the motives of North and South beyond doubt; the object of the one was to augment the political power of freedom, and the aim of the other to restrict that power."—*Slavery and Secession in America*, p. 176.

Though, as we have seen, the triumph of democracy was complete, there is no doubt that another blow had been given to the wedge of disunion, which had already intruded its thin edge between the two sections, and further proof was given of the irreconcilability of Northern and Southern domestic politics. Universal suffrage is the foundation of democracy, and has long been distasteful to the aristocratic Southerner; and we should not be surprised to see a modified franchise adopted by the Southern Confederacy, should it succeed in working out its independence, and a form of Government adopted, perhaps republican, but certainly not democratic. The following passage in one of Dr. Russell's letters is significant:—

" My companion was a very intelligent Southern gentleman, formerly editor of a newspaper. We talked of the crime of the country, of the brutal shootings and stabbings which disgraced it. He admitted their existence with regret, but he could advise and suggest no remedy. ' The rowdies have rushed in upon us, so that we can't master them.' ' Is the law powerless? ' ' Well, sir, you see these men get hold of those who should administer the law, or they are too powerful or too reckless to be kept down.' ' That is a reign of terror—of mob-ruffianism! ' ' It don't hurt respectable people much; but I agree with you, it must be put down.' ' When—how? ' ' Well, sir, when things are settled we'll just take the law into our own hands. Not a man shall have a vote unless he's American-born, and by degrees we'll get rid of these men who disgrace us.' ' Are not many of your regiments composed of Germans and Irish—of foreigners, in fact? ' ' Yes, sir.' I did not suggest to him the thought which rose in my mind, that

these gentlemen, if successful, would be very little inclined to abandon their rights while they had arms in their hands; but it occurred to me as well that this would be rather a poor reward for the men who were engaged in establishing the Southern Confederacy. The attempt may fail, but assuredly I have heard it expressed too often, to doubt that there is a determination on the part of the leaders in the movement to take away the suffrage from the men whom they do not scruple to employ in fighting their battles. If they cut the throats of the enemy they will stifle their own sweet voices at the same time, or soon afterward—a capital recompense to their emigrant soldiers!"

All things taken into consideration, therefore, the wonder is not that two systems so inherently antagonistic as are the Northern and Southern economies should struggle for separation, but that they should have remained united so long. The leaders of the Revolution saw clearly that the Union of the States was what might be called an ill-assorted match, for though the various colonies were unanimous in their desire for independence, and were willing for that purpose to blend their resources together, still they were far from being at one in other respects. The Union was not one of mutual affection, but a purely mercenary contract; and it was the great personal influence of Washington alone which prevented disintegration from taking place at the close of the revolutionary war. So long as the war continued, the sectional interests of the different States were merged into the interests of the whole, and all alike were fought for; but when the battle-field gave way to the Senate, and the sword to the pen, the incompatibility of temperament made itself apparent. Even the Declaration of Independence was not ratified without the occurrence of a sectional debate: the following, out of a long list of counts against George III., was erased from the original draft of the document to appease the consciences of the ultra-proslavery party:—

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to a more miserable death in their transportation thither. The piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain! Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his prerogative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting these very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."



True, this clause was dictated by Jefferson, who was himself a Southerner and a slaveholder, but he was quite an exception to the general run of the Southern people, both in his abolitionism and his extreme democratic ideas; whilst like Washington and others he believed slavery to be doomed to gradual extinction when once the sovereignty of the colonies was recognised, and the right to deal with the subject as they thought fit was obtained. But subsequent events have overturned the philanthropic vaticinations of the great patriots. The expectation of Washington was that not only slavery but every other state custom not peculiar to the whole Union would be entirely obliterated, and replaced by one general code of sociology and politics truly republican and democratic; that ultimately one nation would exist—instead of many States; and that the citizens of the various States would, by fusion with the people of each other, lose their local distinctions of all kinds, and become as literally one people, as the people of England or the people of France. To facilitate this, the Constitution provides that “the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;” and an appeal was made by Washington to the people to beware of giving their countenance and support to any political party founded on geographical discriminations, and to frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest. “One of the expedients of party,” said the father of his people, “to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of the other districts,” and the jealousies and heart-burnings which result from such misrepresentations, can have no other effect than “to render alien those who ought to be bound together by paternal affection.” “Citizens,” he says in another part of his address, “Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than appellations derived from local discriminations.”

But notwithstanding the weighty prestige of the first president, the union of the States has never attained his ideal of perfection. Rival parties founded on sectional issues have menaced the existence of the Confederacy since the day of its birth; and the Union has only been prevented from collapsing by a succession of compromises, in which the concessions have been made uniformly by one and the same party, the Northerners, whose attachment to the Union has always been sincere, and paramount to their attachment to the States; whilst with the Southerners the value of the Union has always been measured by a sectional and not a national standard; the question respecting every new measure being,

not—what influence will it have upon the welfare of all the States and their inhabitants? but—how will it affect the domestic institutions of the South and the position of the politicians thereof? Such has been the unity with which they have pursued their single aim of slavery extension that they have, until within the past year or two, always succeeded in monopolizing the Government of the country and in giving a pro-slavery direction to the politics of the nation. So long as this could be done they were quite willing to remain in the Union; and, in order to gain adherents in the North, were ever loud in their praises of its virtues; but whenever the course of events threatened to take a turn adverse to their favourite views they declared their intention of seceding, and by that means coerced the Union-loving Free States into submission. This course was adopted in 1784, when the Northern representatives endeavoured to obtain the passage of a proviso in the Ordinance for the government of certain territories which were the common property of the Union, prohibiting slavery in all States which might be admitted into the Confederacy in the future. On the 19th April, 1784, Mr. Speight of North Carolina moved that the objectionable proviso be struck out; and though the majority of the States represented in the Congress voted against him, the number did not amount to a constitutional majority, and the proviso was lost. Again, in 1785, a similar proviso was brought forward by Mr. King, of Massachusetts, but no action was taken thereon; subsequently, however, (in 1787), the opposition of the Southerners was removed by a clause prohibiting slavery in those territories only, and the States which might be formed out of them, north and west of the river Ohio, which arrangement was in reality neither a gain to the North nor a loss to the South, as the territories which the proviso affected would have abolished slavery of their own free will, had the institution been enforced upon them..

About the same time (1787) the rival sections came to logger-heads respecting the Federal representation. Population being adopted as the basis, the slaveholders demanded that their negroes should be included in the Southern constituency. The freemen of the North very naturally objected to being placed on an equal footing with over half a million of irresponsible beings, whose representatives would be chosen and elected by their masters, and their influence placed in the scale against the North and the slaves themselves. Here again, however, the slaveholders proved victorious; the matter being compromised by counting five negroes as three persons. This gave the South five more representatives than they were properly entitled to; and at the last Congress twenty gentlemen held their seats by virtue of this three-fifths calculation!

The next matter which brought the two parties into conflict was a territorial one. In 1803 the French Government offered its American possessions lying in the valley of the Mississippi for sale to the United States. The North objected to the purchase for two reasons : first, that the incorporation would be unconstitutional—the Constitution not providing for the holding of foreign territory ; and secondly, that it would endanger the balance of power between the States—thus acknowledging the existence of a rivalry ! Jefferson was amongst the most strenuous opponents of the scheme, but in 1804 the Southerners succeeded in carrying their measure through Congress ; and the purchase of Louisiana was made for the sum of \$15,000,000 (£3,300,000). When in 1811-12, the inhabitants of a portion of the estate made application for admission into the Union, the antagonists of slavery extension renewed their opposition, but in vain, for they were outdone by the clever party-tactics of their unscrupulous rivals, and the Bill became law, in March, 1812. Amongst other provisions which the Act contained was one guaranteeing the integrity of slavery in the State. The passage of the measure, as Mr. Quincy has said, was effected by means which the slaveholders well knew how to apply. “Sops,” “threats,” “duels,” and “violence,” were at that day, as now, modes approved by them to deter men from awakening the Free States to a sense of their danger. “From the moment the Act was passed, they saw that the Free States were shorn of their strength, and that they had obtained space to multiply their slaves at their will.”

Six years later the settlers of Missouri (a second portion of the Louisiana estate) claimed admission into the Confederation on the same terms as their predecessors. Once more the Free States raised the standard of opposition, and this time with a more determined spirit than before, in consequence of the proximity of the new State to the frontiers of freedom. The contest lasted for three years without either side obtaining a decisive victory. Such was the power of the free-soilers, that in 1819 they succeeded in passing an anti-slavery clause by a vote of eighty-seven against seventy-six. This roused the indignation of the Slaveholders to the highest pitch. Mr. Scott, who represented the territory of Missouri, told the members of the house to remember the “Ides of March,” and to “beware of the fate of Cæsar and Rome ;” and Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, said that if the Free States persisted in the work they had commenced the Union would be dissolved : “you have,” he said, “kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish :” and Mr. Tallmage, of New York, replied, “If dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so : if civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten,

must come, I can only say, let it come! If blood is necessary to extinguish any fire which I have assisted to kindle, I can assure gentlemen, while I regret the necessity, I shall not forbear to contribute my mite." The effect of this was that the proviso was thrown out by the conservative Senate, and the bill was lost in consequence of the disagreement of the two houses. At this juncture the Congress adjourned (March, 1820). During the recess the subject was agitated in both the North and the South, and when the Legislature reassembled in December, the contending parties were found to be as irreconcilable as ever, and so equally divided that fears were entertained of a serious rupture of the peace. At first the Southerners endeavoured to pass the Admission Bill by a sort of *coup d'état*. A bill incorporating the State of Maine was under consideration in the Senate, and the Slaveholders took the opportunity of adding an amendment to it, authorizing the admission of Missouri at the same time, and passed it by a vote of twenty-three against twenty-one; but the House of Representatives, where the Free-soil element was uppermost, rejected the "dodge," and for a second time the bill was lost. A conference of three senators and four representatives was then appointed to consider the disagreement between the two houses, and to suggest some mode of reconciliation. The result was the adoption, after a considerable amount of debate, of the scheme since known as the "Missouri Compromise," whereby slavery, though allowed to Missouri, was prohibited in all territory north of 36° 30' north latitude, and which might in future apply for admission into the Union. Here again the South obtained the best of the bargain, insomuch as cotton, the mainstay of slavery, and without which the institution would be unprofitable, cannot be grown in the regions above the line indicated.

By the admission of Missouri the number of Slave States was increased to twelve, exactly half of the whole Union. The security of slavery was thus placed beyond all danger, for however its votaries might have been overwhelmed in the lower House of Congress, in consequence of the superior population, and therefore superior number of representatives of the Free States, the Senate being composed of only two members from each State, and always containing a few "Northern men with Southern principles," as the phrase went, was certain to veto any anti-slavery measure sent up from the House. This circumstance gave the Slaveholders leisure to look about for another grievance, and they fixed their attention upon the tariff, the protective character of which they suddenly discovered had been doing the South great injury. Having, by reciprocating with Northern manufacturers, secured a sufficient number of votes to obtain the passage of the compromises, which had consolidated the power of slavery, and

being thus independent of any further assistance, the ultra-proslavery party unceremoniously broke off the alliance, and commenced to agitate for free trade. Aside from the selfishness and meanness at the bottom of the business, the Southerners doubtless made out a very plausible case. They had a twofold objection to a system of high protective duties in favour of home manufactures. First of all, they said, it would cause a policy of retaliation to be adopted by the cotton consumers of Europe, who, finding their fabrics excluded from the United States, would look elsewhere for their raw material, and adopt a differential duty against the produce of the Southern States; next, in addition to lessening the demand for their cotton, it would increase the cost of producing it,—first, by raising the price of clothing and machinery to more than their natural values, both being purchasable at lower rates in England than in the North,—and, secondly, by keeping up the price of food: every increase to the manufacturing population, they argued, would either retard or decrease the production of provisions, and increase the consumption of them. What the South wanted was the security of its cotton monopoly, and it was quite willing to sacrifice the interests of both the Eastern manufacturers and the Western farmers, provided this object could be attained thereby. They found that under slavery they could not be a manufacturing people, and they also found that it paid them better to grow cotton than food; they were quite willing to purchase their food from the north-western States, which could supply them at a lower rate than they could produce it themselves; but they were not willing to purchase their manufactures from the north-eastern States to the exclusion of the fabrics and the machinery of Europe, because such a proceeding, as just explained, would endanger their cotton monopoly, by raising the cost of its production—thus rendering them less able to compete with other cotton-growing countries, and by bringing down upon themselves the displeasure of their European customers, with whom the protectional tariff prevented them from reciprocating in trade.

The struggle was carried on with vigour for some years, beginning with the tariff of 1824. The Cotton States, though assisted by a number of Northern votes, principally New York ones, were for some time in the minority; the border Slave States, (Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware,) mostly siding with the protectionists. The votes on the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 were very similar in their sectional composition, and may be taken as indicative of the state of feeling at the time. The following is an analysis of the votes on the Bill, approved 19th May, 1828:—

	<i>Senate.</i>		<i>House of Representatives.</i>	
	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Free States . . .	18	5	88	27
Border Slave States .	6	4	16	18
Cotton States . . .	2	11	1	49
Total . . .	26	20	105	94

But though defeated, the Cotton States were not vanquished, and they continued the agitation more violently than ever, threatening secession, if a tariff more in accordance with their views was not adopted. The next pitched battle (there had been several skirmishes in the meantime) took place in 1832, when the North again proved victorious. South Carolina, more violent than the rest of the discontented States, immediately prepared to carry out her threat of withdrawal from the Union. The 1st of February, 1833, was the day appointed, on and after which resistance would be given to the collection of the Federal revenue; but President Jackson, more energetic than President Buchanan, under analogous circumstances, speedily sent down sufficient force to frustrate the work of the nullifiers, and administer a lesson in constitutional law to the recreant State; the result, however, was the passage of a modified, or as it was called "compromise tariff," which arranged for the gradual reduction of all duties to a maximum of twenty per cent. The following is an analysis of the voting by which the bill was passed, July 14th, 1833:—

	<i>Senate.</i>		<i>House of Representatives.</i>	
	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>	<i>Yeas.</i>	<i>Nays.</i>
Free States . . .	10	13	34	81
Border Slave States .	7	3	38	3
Cotton States . . .	12	0	47	1
Total . . .	29	16	119	85

From this period until the passage of the Morrill tariff in March of the present year, the direction of the fiscal policy of the country was tending, though slowly, towards free trade; and the slave question being considered as settled by the Missouri Compromise, it was expected that matters would go on smoothly. But satisfied as were the Free States, subsequent events have shown that it was far otherwise with the larger portion of the Slave States, for they saw that though the anti-slavery feeling of the North was less strong than formerly, still they were anything but certain that it would remain so for long; and they felt that the only way in which they could preserve the safety of their institution, was by securing the government of the country in their own hands, and

if possible, adding to their possessions in the South. So steadily did they keep this object in view, and so successfully did they work out their policy, that by the year 1846, when Texas, the plunder of Southern filibusters, was annexed, there were fifteen Slave States against fourteen Free States: the extent of territory occupied by the former being 851,440 square miles, but of the latter only 402,693 square miles, or less than one half! Here one would have supposed that the Southerners would have been satisfied; not so, however, for they got up a quarrel with Mexico respecting the boundaries of Texas, and the result was a further annexation of nearly 800,000 square miles of territory. But the discovery of the gold mines of California frustrated their efforts to add any more Slave States, for the hordes of settlers who flocked there, being slavery-hating whites from all parts of the world, gave the State a free constitution. Of course the Southerners, chagrined at the defeat of their designs, protested against the admission of the State, and such was their strength that the North had again to compromise with them by granting them the much talked-of "Fugitive slave law." This raised the ire of the people of the Free States, and slavery restriction became the war-cry. As to the fugitive slave law, it was nullified in all the Northern States, either by unconstitutional counter-enactments, or frustrated by popular demonstrations, or by the action of individuals through the instrumentality of the "underground railway." Still, however, the conservative party, represented principally by the Western Free States, which sympathized with neither Northern abolitionists nor Southern disunion fanatics, proved strong enough to prevent the occurrence of anything serious.

But the Slave States were determined to dam back the tide of freedom which was evidently gaining upon them, and accordingly in 1854, when the Bill for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, both north of the Missouri Compromise line, and therefore entitled to be exempt from slavery, was under consideration, they insisted that, spite of that compact, which they denounced as unconstitutional, the settlers should be allowed to choose either a slave or free constitution, as they thought fit; and such was the terror with which they struck the peace-at-any-price section of the Congress, by their threats of disunion and war, that they gained their point.

"This victory was a hard-fought one, and may be said to have been the last triumph of the South. The North was now fairly roused, and the conduct of its representatives for the first time thoroughly censured. The occurrence was the death-blow to the coalition which had existed between the Northern and Southern whigs—whiggery itself disappears from the stage after this date, and the great Republican party com-

mences its onward career. The Kansas-Nebraska act expressly declares the Missouri Compromise in the matter of slavery to be 'inoperative and void.' Down to 1854 the compact had been kept inviolate, for the new Mexico and Utah measures did not directly affect it—those territories being below the Compromise line. The admission of Missouri and Arkansas was one of the *conditions* of the compromise, and the framers of it never dreamt that the territories north of the line would be interfered with. The admission of Texas in 1845 was rendered comparatively easy by the existence of the known compact. The North all along had been too conciliatory—too faithful to the South; but when the Slaveholders had secured the whole of the territory south of the line they repudiated the existence of the Compromise, and declared it was unconstitutional on the ground that Congress had no right to interfere with the Constitutional organization of the territories! They had trucked to the Northern Protectionists, courted Northern whigs, whilst it suited their purpose; but when they had consolidated their power and increased their territory geographically to far above the Free States, they cut the connexion of their Northern tools. This was more than even whiggery could stand; and the leading men of the party of the North declared that they could no longer ally themselves with the Southern section of the whig family, because of its recreant policy."—*Slavery and Secession in America*, pp. 34, 35.

The direct sectional issue, long expected between North and South, was now made clear: the "irrepressible conflict" had commenced, and henceforward the declaration of both sides was "slavery must now become general, or it must cease to be at all." With this motto, or something like it, settlers from both sides entered Kansas to battle for the mastery, so far as that embryo state was concerned. The Southerners, conscious of their superior filibustering powers, were confident of success, but after a long and for some time very uncertain struggle, the honest freemen drove them out of the territory, and Kansas, spite of the disgraceful attempt of President Buchanan to force a pro-slavery constitution upon the unwilling inhabitants, is now a flourishing Free State. Had the Southerners been successful in accomplishing their designs, there is now no doubt but that they would have claimed the right of carrying their "property" into the Free States themselves; as it was, they altered their tactics, and, finding their favourite doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" to have failed in fulfilling their expectations, they repudiated it with the same coolness as that with which they had previously thrown overboard the Missouri Compromise. They repudiated it as equally unconstitutional with that compact, and demanded not to be "let alone" to use their own phrase, but to be *protected* by the Federal executive! "Resolved," said their platform of 1860—

"*Resolved*.—That the democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the territories; first,



that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the territories; second, the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom, nor any power to destroy or impair the property in slaves by any legislation whatever."

"*Resolved*—That it is the duty of the Federal Government to *protect* when necessary the rights of person and property on the high seas, *in the territories*, or wherever else its constitutional authority extends."

"Resolved,"—exactly the contrary, in respect of slavery, said the Republican Platform. With this issue the election of President was left to the people—all the world knows with what result, but—the end is not yet.

What may be in the future it is impossible to predict; but, at all events, it seems pretty certain that the Union will not be restored, at least the balance of probabilities is against the occurrence of such an event. Whatever may have been the opinions of the majority of lookers-on six months ago, or even less, there is no denying that the great bulk of the people on this side of the Atlantic *now* think that the sincerity of the South in the work it has undertaken has been much underrated, and the determined character of its proceedings only partially realized. The Northern Government, when it set itself the task of restoring order in the revolting States, assumed that the secession movement had not the sympathy of the whole of the Southern people, but was simply the work of a band of disappointed politicians, who very naturally could not patiently submit to being deprived of the government of the country and the patronage thereof, which they had enjoyed almost uninterruptedly since the commencement of the Union; and that when the soldiers of the nation penetrated (which it was supposed they could easily do) into the heart of the South, the loyal citizens thereof (thought to be coerced into submission by the secessionists) would flock to the Federal standard, and make short work of the conspirators. The faith of President Lincoln and his cabinet in this estimate of the position of affairs was backed by the line of action which they pursued. The fact that at first only 75,000 soldiers were called for, to serve for a period of only three months, proves beyond all doubt that they had not calculated on meeting with the opposition which they have experienced since the fall of Fort Sumpter. They never anticipated that there would be any conflict, and many of our own journalists ridiculed the idea that there would be much, if any, bloodshed. The prevailing opinion was that there would be a great deal of bluster, and probably a show of resistance, but—no fighting; and that the secessionists, overawed by the superior force of the government, would cry *peccava*, and resume their

former position as loyal subjects of the United States, waiting until the next Presidential election to retaliate upon their political opponents.

There was doubtless *some* foundation for looking at the matter in this way, for we can easily conceive of the chagrin of the Slaveholders at being deprived of a share in the government of the nation, especially when from the peculiar character of their social system nearly the whole of their leisure time, and that is considerable, had been spent in the arena of politics, to which they had been educated, to which they were far more fitted than the Northerners, —and without which they would be consigned to obscurity and listless inactivity. The mistake was in assuming that the leaders of the movement were not backed by the people. From what we can learn, and we have spoken to a great number of gentlemen, English and American, who have recently arrived from the seceding States, the people of the South are, to a man, resolved not to desert their leaders until the independence of the Southern Confederacy is obtained. Now little as we sympathize with the disunionists, suicidal and unconstitutional as we believe their proceedings to be, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that they can be brought back into the old confederation by force. Of the existence of a union party in the South, the great hope of Lincoln, and the main cause of the popularity of the war in the North, we have been unable to obtain the least evidence; we do know, however, that there are no union men of any consequence in Western Virginia, even in the rear of the Federal army, and that the State of Maryland is only prevented from joining the Southern Confederacy by the presence in large numbers of Northern soldiers. Such being the case, it is not too much to assume that the Cotton States may be considered as undivided in their allegiance to the Richmond government; that consequently, though the Federal army may be able to retrieve its past disasters, it will never be able to subjugate the revolted States; and that therefore the sooner the war is brought to a close the better for all concerned. But supposing that the Union army should succeed in disbanding the Southern forces, how would the disaffected States be governed? What would occur if they refused to send representatives to Washington? How would the Federal revenue be collected at the hostile ports? Would not its collection cost more than it would bring in? How could the Federal law officers carry on their business in the midst of a hostile people? How, above all, could this *despotic* work be performed by a *republican* government? What would become of the doctrine of *the people's inherent right to govern themselves*, which is the foundation of all democracies? It is of no use for us to be told that the North *does not intend to subjugate* the South—it is *trying to do it*.

But now comes the question, what will be the fate of slavery, the one and, directly or indirectly, the only cause of the present troubles? In his inaugural address President Lincoln disavowed all intention of meddling with the institution; at the commencement of the campaign the declaration was renewed in various forms; the officers of the Federal army were warned not to give succour to fugitive negroes, and instances occurred in which run-aways were given up to their owners; and, last of all, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives on the 22nd July, and by the Senate three days later, that the abolition of slavery formed no part of the objects of the present war. But now we hear ominous rumours that this line of policy is to be deserted, and the government, urged on by Northern fanatics, having been beaten in a fair stand-up fight, have resolved in the last extremity to incite the servile population of the south to rise *en masse*, and spread untold horrors throughout the Southern Confederacy. "For good or for evil," said Dr. Russell, in his letter of the 10th August—

"For good or for evil, the issue between North and South is rapidly approaching to that which the South predicted and feared, and the North at first disavowed, and does not now altogether accept—the struggle, if it continues, will be narrowed to a contest between slavery and abolition. It is not improbable that in a day or two the President will declare that all slaves within the lines of the United States army become free. On the very last day of Congress the bill which sets free slaves belonging to rebels engaged in war was signed with reluctance by Mr. Lincoln, and was all but lost by lapse of time; for, had he not been persuaded to overcome his scruples, the Congress would have adjourned without the signature of the President having been given to that act. Indeed, but for the prolongation of half-an-hour agreed upon, the signature could not have been obtained, as the President at first refused to put his name to the bill, alleging that 'it will lose us Kentucky;' but there was a pressure of senators put upon him, and he yielded at last but ten minutes before the house rose."

General Fremont's proclamation of freedom to all negroes belonging to slave owners in Missouri, in arms against the government, is a partial fulfilment of Dr. Russell's prognostications. Whether the step will be pushed still further remains to be seen. Should the movement have the effect of destroying the rebellion in Missouri, it is very probable that the experiment will be extended to others of the seceding States. All, however, depends upon the success of General Fremont's expedition down the Mississippi. In case the policy of the North should bring on a slave insurrection, it is probable that European intervention would put a stop to the effusion of blood which would be the effect of a servile war.

But what will be the effect of final secession upon the "peculiar institution"? Will slavery be safer, more profitable, and more

easily managed than under the old Union? . We think not. The Southern system of labour is remunerative only to the extent in which it is employed in the cultivation of cotton, and were it not for the high profits which the production of that fibre ensures, slavery would long ago have ceased to exist in the South, as it has done in the North. In the Border or non-cotton growing States, the institution is popular solely because of the lucrative character of its trade as a slave-breeding system for the Cotton States. It is estimated that during the ten years ending 1860, 263,000 negroes were purchased by the seven principal Cotton States, at the cost of 263,000,000 of dollars, or 26,300 slaves worth 26,300,000 dollars per annum.\* We can therefore appreciate the secession sympathies of Virginia and her neighbours; and when the importance of this labour supply is considered, we can also understand the anxiety of the Cotton States to include the Border States in the proposed Southern Confederacy. Now, how would disunion affect this business connexion between the negro-producing and negro-consuming States, and what influence would it have upon the cotton monopoly of the South, without which it would sink into insignificance? In the first place, there would be no fugitive slave law recognised by the Free States, and the negro desertions, now only exceptional and unconstitutional, would become general and quite legal. Of course the first to suffer would be the Border States. In time it is probable that their losses from emigration North would overbalance their gains from transportation South, and ultimately they would be heartily glad to get rid of both, by emancipating the remainder of their slaves. Then the Cotton States, deprived of their usual labour supply, would not be able to keep pace with the demand for cotton; the result would be greatly enhanced prices, which would stimulate the growth of the fibre in other countries, and finally end in the destruction of the Southern monopoly. Prices would then come down, while the value of negroes in consequence of their paucity would keep up, and the planters finding their candle undergoing consumption at both ends, would, if they wished to save a piece of it, be compelled to turn Abolitionists. True, we are told that the remedy of the South would be, nay, *will* be, to reopen the African Slave trade, and to extend their confederacy by annexing Cuba, and the States of Central America. The effect of these doings, could they be accomplished, would be the secession of the whole of the Border States: but the Southern programme could never be carried out; for if even the European Powers were to look on indifferently, which most undoubtedly they would not, while any attempt was being made to carry such

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\* "Slavery and Secession in America," p. 223.

a scheme into execution, the Northern States of themselves would be able and willing to prevent its consummation :—

“Whatever may be the result of the present sectional dispute—whether there be one or two confederacies, the Southerners may rest assured that the maximum dominion and power of slavery has been reached ; whether the South remains in the Union, or is allowed to go out of it, not one yard more of slave territory will be added to its domains. The slaveholders *already possess* the *whole* of the land which can be profitably cultivated by their system of labour. Great efforts have been made to give the institution a firm footing in the territories of New Mexico and Utah ; but the entire power of the South has failed to accomplish that object. During the ten years ending 1860, the number of slaves in Utah only increased from 26 to 29 ; and at the last Census there were but 24 slaves in New Mexico, of whom one half only were domiciled ; simply because free labour pays better, and there are no cotton, rice, and sugar lands to work up and abandon, as in the Atlantic and Gulf States. The Southerners thought they would get California ; but the people of that State disappointed them, and the incipient States of New Mexico and Utah will follow the example of the gold regions ; and Western Texas, now peopled by slavery-hating Germans, will slide off in the same direction ; so that probably, in another decade, or, at all events, two decades, we shall see slavery completely surrounded by thriving communities of freemen.”—*Slavery and Secession in America*, pp. 263, 264.

Greatly as would the destruction of the American Cotton monopoly benefit the spinners and manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and long as such an occurrence has been desired, the contingency has never been prepared for, and we are now told that a cotton famine and all its concomitant evils are fast approaching. By the blockade of the Southern ports we are to be deprived, for an indefinite period, of the cotton crops now being gathered, and it is said that in consequence thereof, starvation is impending over the homes of our manufacturing operatives. For our own part, bad as will be the effects of the cessation of American exports, we do not think that they will be so calamitous as is sometimes represented, especially by our gracious friends the Southerners, who are under the impression that we cannot possibly go on without their assistance, and that our choice is between distress at home, or war with the Lincoln government. Let us see. It is impossible to say how long the war will continue ; it may break down in a few weeks, or it may last a year ; but most people seem to think that it will be over by the close of the spring of 1862, and we are inclined to agree with this opinion. Let us suppose that we shall receive no cotton from America from now (Sept. 21) until the end of March next. If by any means we can tide over such a period, the notice given to the inhabitants of the cotton-growing countries of the world, would result in such

supplies from all quarters of the cotton zone as would enable us to dispense with the produce of America, except at much lower rates than have been ruling the last year or two.

What will be the amount of our cotton requirements and what the extent of our supplies during the next six months? First, with regard to consumption. The total amount of cotton taken out of the Liverpool market by our home spinners in 1860 was 2,550,000 bales, or 48,770 bales per week, but the actual consumption did not exceed 46,000 bales per week, leaving a surplus stock of over 120,000 bales in the hands of the trade on the 31st December, and it was calculated that they held at least a further quantity of 100,000, thus raising the inland stock to 220,000 bales, or nearly five weeks' consumption. For the first six months of the present year our spinners purchased at the rate of 41,620 bales per week; the total sales to the trade being 1,110,140 bales; but since the 30th June the trade have taken 631,100 bales, or 57,645 bales per week. Supposing, therefore, that the large stock held at the commencement of the year had by the end of June been considerably encroached upon, the large purchases of the subsequent three months have more than filled up the gap, and we may safely consider that the stock of our spinners at the present time (Sept. 21) amounts to at least 250,000 bales, as, though 46,690 bales per week have on the average been taken out of the market, it is said that the actual consumption has not been more than 45,000 bales per week. Small, however, as this consumption has been, it has been large enough to keep up the stock of goods at home and abroad, and to reduce the Manchester market to such a state of despondency that whilst the price of the raw material during the first eight months of the present year advanced  $2\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$  per lb., the prices of yarns have only risen  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb.! while nearly all kinds of goods have remained either stationary or positively receded!\*

Many people have been surprised that the trade have not long ago remedied this state of things by resorting to "short time;" but the want of unanimity amongst them, and the expectation that "things would be better in Manchester," has procrastinated an event which would certainly have taken place before the close of the year, even if the American dispute had not occurred to disturb the course of the market. Messrs. Du Fay and Co., in their Trade Report for August 31st, say:—

"The question of 'short time' working is now seriously entertained, and in some important districts, such as Ashton and Dukingfield, a reduction in the hours of labour has already taken place. *As it is*

\* See the *Trade Report* of Messrs. Du Fay and Co., of Manchester, for August 31, 1861.

*evident that higher prices for yarns and goods will not be attainable if production is not reduced, most markets being overstocked, and the demand consequently small, it becomes on this ground alone advisable to adopt this measure, in order to bring the price of cotton, and those of the articles produced therefrom, to due proportions."* "While we are writing, we learn that most of the spinners and manufacturers of Bacup have begun to work only four days a week." "Both our spinners and manufacturers are disappointed at the apathy of buyers, and 'short time' is pressed upon them as a matter of necessity"

There is no doubt that many individual spinners and weavers would have resorted to short time independently of the rest of the trade, but from the fear of their hands being tempted to join other concerns working full time, and from the difficulty if not impossibility of getting them back again, should trade improve and their services be required. Those in the trade only, who know how unmanageable the operatives have been for the past two years, can appreciate this obstacle. Latterly, however, the very general talk of "short time" amongst the masters has imparted a quieter and more civil tone to the sayings and doings of the hands, and the mill-owners will now have no occasion to fear the action of trade societies in the management of their concerns.

The most general opinion is that from the beginning of October until the close of March, and further if necessary, the factories will only work, on the average, four days per week, or one-third less than during the past eight months; so that instead of a consumption of 45,000 bales per week, we shall have one of only 30,000 bales per week. The mills it is thought will be open daily, but no work will be done by gaslight; this alone will be a saving of two days a week during the winter months; and full time will not be resumed unless very favourable circumstances should warrant it. Taking the consumption of the remaining ten days of September at 50,000 bales in all, and that of the subsequent six months at 30,000 bales per week, the total requirement of the trade for the six months and ten days would be 830,000 bales.

Liverpool, however, in addition to supplying the requirements of our home trade, will also have to meet a large export demand. Down to the end of June, exporters took 285,000 bales, or about 11,000 bales per week, against 243,000 bales, or 9,300 bales per week same time last year; since then they have increased their purchases to about 16,600 bales per week, against 13,000 bales in 1860. From the end of September last year to the close of March of the present year, the exports amounted to 189,000 bales, or 7,270 bales per week. The total of the year 1860 was 529,000 bales, or rather over 10,000 bales per week. If we suppose the continental buyers to continue their present weekly rate of

purchases, say 16,000 bales, and it is highly probable that as Liverpool is virtually their only source of supply, they will require up to the end of March next year a total of 432,000 bales; this, added to the demand of our home spinners, would give us a total consumption of 1,262,000 bales. Now how will this amount be raised? Thus—

The trade, as we have shown above, hold 250,000 bales. The stock in Liverpool on the 21st Sept., was 813,000 bales. There are 180,000 bales of East India cotton on the water to arrive by the end of November; 75,000 bales more will be received by the close of December; and at least 200,000 bales more by the end of March. From the end of Sept. 1860, to the end of March 1861, 113,000 bales were received from Egypt, the Brazils, and the West Indies, but from the present time to the end of March 1862, it is thought that at least 150,000 bales will be received from the same sources; this would give a total supply of 1,668,000 bales to meet a consumption of 1,262,000 bales, leaving a surplus of 404,000 bales, or nearly two months' consumption for our own spinners and those of the Continent. Should there be no change in the aspect of American politics, the early shipments of a new and gigantic East Indian crop will be on the way to give relief to our needy manufacturers; and from the harvest of the Brazils, West Indies, Egypt, &c., twice or three times their usual quantities will be preparing for shipment. True, a large proportion of the supplies will be composed of the much despised Surats, at which our spinners have long turned up their noses, and which even now they avow their inability to use; but when the choice lies between East India cotton and two-thirds of a loaf, and idle spindles and no loaf at all, prejudice will give way; and with four days a week, to be raised to six when the new crops begin to arrive, we shall have neither famine nor starvation in Lancashire and Yorkshire, glibly as the American votaries of "King Cotton" threaten us with those evils.

There are three points which our readers should not lose sight of, in estimating the future course of cotton supply and consumption as delineated above; first, spite of the blockade, we *may* receive a portion of the American crop, small probably, but still some—the crop of Texas, for instance (say 250,000 bales), could be received *via* Mexico; secondly, exporters may not require so much as 16,000 bales per week, perhaps only 10,000; this would give us 160,000 bales more; and lastly, the Southern Confederacy may be recognised sooner than is at present anticipated. Rapid as has been the advance in the price of cotton in the Liverpool market, the demand has been freely met by holders, the majority of whom don't seem to have much confidence in the permanency of the advance, depending, as it does, upon the



fickleness of the American people, amongst whom divisions of opinion as to the propriety of carrying on the war are already apparent, and may shortly bring about a speedy peace.

A few remarks on the work placed at the head of the present article, and from which we have already taken a few extracts.

Mr. Ellison's "Slavery and Secession in America" is a very clear and useful narrative of the progress of the quarrel between North and South up to the capture of Fort Sumpter. His review of the political conflicts which preceded and prepared the rupture is very valuable and judicious, and is likely to become still more so as the progress of events promises before long to obscure the true character of the conflict. The effort of the North to restrict the area of slavery as the indispensable preliminary to any practical measures for its ultimate extinction, is rapidly being lost sight of, in the passionate endeavour to accomplish this purpose without a disruption of the Union.

Though so recently published the book seems to treat of the antiquities of the subject, and much of its arguments and the greater part of its carefully collected statistical information has already ceased to influence either of the combatants. All questions of comparative wealth, population, and progress, are merged in the single one whether the South had a political right to secede: on all the former topics Mr. Ellison gives full and it seems to us accurate information; but on the latter and only essential point he uses the uncompromising language of a Northern partisan, and adds nothing to the argument of Mr. Motley, which, however well put, we cannot but think has been convincing to none but his Northern compatriots.

That the Republican party should have resolved to lay down limits to the further spread of slavery in America, gives them an unanswerable claim to the sympathies of Europe. This claim has been met in the freest manner, and it is only the rash, violent, and inconsiderate means by which they endeavour to carry out this purpose, that has called forth hostile criticism on this side of the Atlantic. The North are now quarrelling with the results of their own policy, and have almost shrunk from the task they have taken upon themselves; the calm and deliberate resolve which should have accompanied their humane purpose has given place to a violent exasperation as its natural consequences, which were not only in themselves probable, but were actually proclaimed as inevitable by their opponents. Is the extinction of slavery worth the price of disruption? This question will be answered, and is answered very differently here and in America. There can be little doubt that this price must be paid. The abolitionists have it in their power to draw a cordon round the Slave States, which will so isolate them that they will be obliged to entertain projects of

emancipation; but for this purpose the North must submit for many years to the neighbourhood of an independent state. This result will have to be acquiesced in, and nothing short of enraged vanity prevents that taking place peaceably and at once, which will at last be left as the only resource of exhausted combatants in a fruitless conflict.

Mr. Ellison, in his chapters on the Probable Progress of Emancipation in the Southern States, deals very tenderly with the gigantic evil, but all summary measures are in their nature so inapplicable, and so fraught with dangerous consequences, that nothing which promises to facilitate so indispensable a result ought to be dismissed without a full hearing and a careful consideration. The American antipathy to mixed blood is so overpowering, that it almost seems like a mockery to tell them that the only course is by absorption into their own race. From this idea the North shrinks with an instinctive horror, much greater than the South. This feeling, perhaps the most insurmountable obstacle in the way of negro emancipation, can only be overcome after the South has for many years taken the initiative in the process of amalgamation. Its political connexion with the North would ever prevent it from entering on such a course; but its independence and isolation would in the course of years enforce its adoption of that process. The Northern prejudice would wear away with time when no longer brought into direct contact with the object of it; and at last might become so weakened as to admit of a reunion with states in which a mixed race had overcome the servile element to which they owed their origin.

In his appendix, Mr. Ellison gives a collection of State documents which will be very serviceable to his English readers, and the full political programmes of the different American parties, which will be scarcely less so. He has also added a very clear map of the geographical distribution of the Slave and border or neutral States, as well as of the Federal territories. The map is shown in different colours; this greatly facilitates its use, and enables the eye to take in at a glance the territorial bearings of the contending parties.



## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the *Westminster Review* is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]

### ART. VII.—TRADES' UNIONS. By PROFESSOR E. S. BEESLY.\*

1. *Report of the Committee on Trades' Societies appointed by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.* 1860. London: 1860.
2. *Trades' Unions and Strikes.* By T. J. DUNNING. London: 1860.
3. *Letters on the Builders' Strike, addressed to the Morning Journals.* By Eight Gentlemen; July 15th and 22nd, 1861.

THERE is a lull, we are often told, in home politics. Reading the newspaper is to an Englishman just now *alterius spectare laborem*—than which, by the way, there is nothing that affects him more pleasurably. The spectre of Reform has been laid; and columns of talk by itinerant professors at Dublin or Manchester, dull as it may be, are more welcome at the breakfast table than the Cassandra-wailings of Mr. Bright. Deak, Cialdini, and Lincoln awake but a languid interest; and the politician is almost inclined to go to sleep till the parliamentary session comes round again.

Yet we venture to affirm that during the last few months we have had under our very eyes a question and a struggle, in comparison with which Austrian wars and American secessions are but trifles. We have seen, or might have seen if we had attended to it, an important step in a movement which seems likely to take rank with the Reformation and the French Revolution, or even the foundation of Christianity itself, as radically altering the condition of society, not in England alone, but wherever industrial civilization has been reached. The combined action of the operative builders during the last two years, is not indeed the first, nor probably the ten-thousandth instance of the organized resistance of labour to capital which the present generation has witnessed. But there are certain features which give it so marked a character, that it seems to have a chance of standing in the same relation to the coming industrial régime, as the meeting of the States General in '89 does to the subsequent history of Europe.

Public opinion has hitherto condemned Trades' Unions unreservedly. But signs of a change are every day becoming more

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\* The author of this article prefixes his name to it at the request of the Editor.

visible. When the Professor of Political Economy at Oxford avows his cordial approbation of the Builders' Strike, and sends a donation to their funds, people naturally hesitate to fix their faith on the assumptions of unknown journalists, daily or weekly, whose acquaintance with economical science is limited to a few bald maxims they can count on their fingers. We hope that some of our readers will have the patience to follow us in considering calmly and impartially the moral, social, and economical principles involved in these disputes.

Let us say once for all that we have no sympathy whatever with certain impulsive sentimental people, who affect to be superior to the teachings of political economy. That science may be no more adequate to the solution of social problems, than pure geometry is to the calculation of eclipses; but we should know what to think of an astronomer who professed himself independent of elementary mathematics, or contradicted Euclid on the authority of the Apocalypse. We are not angling for the sympathies of generous, but half-educated working men in order to win a favourable hearing when we advocate a return to worn-out ideas either spiritual or temporal. If priests and people are "as vinegar upon nitre," it is no affair of ours. With us feelings are not better than reasons, and declamation is not a substitute for argument. We desire to treat social problems in the spirit of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. We are prepared to accept any conclusions to which dispassionate investigation may lead us.

In considering the objects and consequences of trades' unions in the abstract, we are not concerned to deal with any abuses that exist, or are said to exist, in those actually constituted. At present we are only to examine whether they *may not* be so organized and managed as to benefit their members. How far those actually existing correspond with the ideal type will be a matter for subsequent consideration. It is most important that these two questions should be kept distinct. Most people who discuss the subject are so steeped in prejudice on the one side or the other, that it is impossible to confine them within the calm region of abstraction and hypothesis. They are always flying off to the irritating topics which obscure and perplex the real point at issue. If we desire to arrive at a true theory, we must discard non-essentials. We must suppose workmen who understand their interests and obey the laws of the land, and masters who do not persecute individuals or deliberately mislead the public by mendacious statements. Brutality, tyranny, and dishonesty may enter into a trade dispute as into any other human transaction, but they have nothing to do with the economic question. That must be tried on its own merits.

Political economy treats of the distribution of wealth, only so far as it is based upon competition, in other words, on the activity

of the selfish principle. "The workmen," says Adam Smith, "desire to get as much, the masters to give as little as possible. The former are disposed to combine in order to raise, the latter in order to lower, the wages of labour."\* Whether these are motives of action which deserve our approbation is not a question for the economist. He neither praises nor blames, nor has he the pretension to alter men's propensities. He takes facts as he finds them; and at present there can be no doubt that where exchange is concerned, a selfish feeling is generally uppermost in the minds not only of operatives but of every other class of the community. There may be exceptional characters, and for anything we know the exception may, under different moral influences, some time or other become the rule. But at present they are not worth taking into account when we are dealing with facts on a large scale. Obvious as all this is, it cannot be superfluous to dwell upon it so long as the *Times* and the public persist in treating the desire of "ten hours' pay for nine hours' work" as an idiosyncrasy of bricklayers and carpenters. We must suppose it to be the object of the men to share the profits of the master up to the point beyond which it would cease to be worth his while to invest his capital in the business. Similarly we must suppose it to be the object of the master to diminish the wages of the men to the point beyond which it would cease to be worth their while to work for him. Between these two points wages oscillate. It is the debateable ground on which the battle of labour is fought. There is a continual tendency to the equalization of profits in all trades, due allowance being made for risk or other drawbacks. People often talk as if this equality was really attained, and with the same certainty and rapidity with which water finds its level; from which it would follow that the profits in any given trade are always at a minimum, and that any further concession of wages would depress profits below the ordinary rate, thereby expelling capital from the trade, and ultimately injuring the workmen. This is in fact the standing answer of the masters and their journalist friends to all demands on the part of the men. If such crudities are fair specimens of economical science, no wonder the men prefer to trust their own common sense. They know, and everyone knows, that many causes may operate to increase the profits of a particular business. A brisk trade no doubt attracts capital. But this fresh capital will be chiefly in the shape of loans to those who are already engaged in the trade. The equalization of profit with the average rate will be produced much oftener by the necessity of paying higher wages than by the competition of other capitalists.

Again, profits may, as Mr. Mill observes,† in some cases be

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\* *Wealth of Nations*, i. 8, 21.

† *Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 491.

kept up by a combination among the capitalists. This is especially the case when the necessity for a large capital limits the number of those who enter the business. Or, again, the demand for a commodity may go on increasing as fast or faster than capital flows in to create the supply.\* But let us suppose that from any cause a rise of profits takes place in some trade. It will not, as a matter of course, be followed by a rise of wages. So long as population is recklessly increased (the blame of which attaches more or less to all classes of the community), there will always be an unemployed margin among the operatives in every trade. These will, as a general rule, be the worst workmen, men whom the masters will not employ as long as they can obtain any others. But when the men, observing the increase of profits, demand a proportional increase of wages, the master will reply that anyone who is dissatisfied can leave, and his place will be supplied by one of the unemployed who are hanging about for work. It may be that this new hand would be less skilful, and not worth even the present rate of wages. But the master can make the threat with perfect security, because the old hand cannot afford to be thrown out of employ. The seller of labour is not in a position to hold his commodity for a better market.†. He must part with it at a disadvantage. This is the process euphemistically called "a bargain between master and man, without the interference of any third party."

Now let us suppose that the whole of the men employed (or even a part of them, provided they outnumber the unemployed margin) determine to act together, and address their demand simultaneously to the employer. He must either accede to their terms, or he must relinquish a part of his operations (great or small, in proportion to the number of his men who strike), and

\* We say nothing of cases of extra profit analogous to rent,—the possession of a patent, for instance—or superior business arrangements, because these would apply merely to individuals, and trades' unions do not attempt to operate on individuals, but on whole trades. Yet it is conceivable that they might be able to force the possessor of a patent to pay a share of his extra profits to the common fund of the Union, though not to his own workmen.

† At the meeting of the Social Science Association in 1860, the question whether labour is a commodity was hotly debated, and a remarkable confusion of ideas was displayed by most of the speakers. One gentleman talked of "living labour (!) distinguishing itself from cotton goods, by its power of helping or hindering its employer." We can imagine the impatience with which his opponent must have listened to him; who, however, deserved no better answer when he tried to build a theory upon the definition of a word. A great deal of the discussion was of a kind we should expect to hear in a female debating society. The only real distinction between labour and other commodities (and one which has an important bearing on our subject) does not seem to have occurred to any of the disputants. Labour cannot be stored up. But this is equally true, whether the labour is that of a man, a horse, or a steam engine; so that no ethical consequences can be deduced from it.

employ worse workmen on another part. He will of course adopt the latter alternative if the demand of the men is an unreasonable one; that is to say, if it involves greater loss to him than the abandonment or restriction of his enterprise. But by our hypothesis the demand is a reasonable one. Here another consideration comes in. He may calculate that a strike of a week or fortnight, though involving a certain loss, will still cost him less than to give the increased wages, or, what is perhaps more common, he may feel inclined to incur a certain loss for the pleasure of conquering his men. Now, workmen as a general rule have no savings, so that if they have struck without preparation the master is certain of reducing them immediately. But, if they have a society with a fund to fall back upon, and a machinery for obtaining assistance from other trades similarly organized, the struggle assumes a very different aspect. As we have said, if the demand is unreasonable the men must fail, however strongly they are supported, because the employer will withdraw his capital from a trade which no longer affords the ordinary rate of profit. But if the demand is reasonable, a master will hold out only on one of two grounds. Either he will believe that the men's organization is defective, that is to say, that they will not avail themselves of the full advantages of their position, or he will be animated by a dogged determination to suffer any loss rather than yield.\* The latter motive may easily exist; but political economy can no more take it into account than it can allow for the whims of a madman, or for the approaching end of the earth predicted by Dr. Cumming. The former does not apply, because we assume, as we have a right to do, that the organization of our society is perfect. A wise master in such a case will yield without a struggle. A foolish or obstinate one may persevere and inflict great inconvenience both on himself and his men. The men, though successful in the end, may perhaps have lost more than the increased rate of wages when obtained will make up to them. But they had a right to suppose that their employer would act like a reasonable being. Litigation too often involves severe loss to both plaintiff and defendant. But what would become of society if quiet people always gave up their rights when threatened with a lawsuit? In point of fact, the knowledge that a Trades' Union is prepared for extremities, decides the question in favour of the men in thousands of cases without even the preliminaries of a strike. Such cases exhibit the normal action of Trades' Unions, and it is as impossible to estimate the amount of protection which the men derive from those bodies, as it is to

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\* This is not a case merely possible in the abstract. One of the most prominent of the master builders in 1859 declared that sooner than yield to the men he would go into the *Gazette*. And into the *Gazette* he went.

calculate the number of frauds or assaults which are prevented by the fear of legal proceedings.\*

Supposing, however, the demand to have been conceded, what will be the ultimate effect upon profits and wages? Wages, it is said, are limited by capital, and therefore if wages are raised fewer hands must be employed. It is true that the aggregate wages of the labouring classes cannot be raised except by either an increase of capital or a check upon population, neither of which changes do the Trades' Unions pretend to effect, at least, directly. But the wages of a particular trade may be, and are continually from various causes, increased, without any reference to the increase of the whole fund applicable to wages. The employer will borrow capital if he sees a prospect of being able to repay himself by an advance in the price to the consumer. Let it be remembered that we are supposing the operation to take place when the market is rising. Now, at such times the employer always does borrow, and always does expect to repay himself at the expense of the consumer. This simple fact is generally left out of sight by the penny-a-liners, who pretend to lecture the workmen in the name of political economy. If you raise prices, they say, the demand must proportionally slacken. It is sufficient for the present to observe that prices *are* every day raised, and to the advantage of the employer. The men are quite right if they can to get a share of the advantage. But we shall be in a position to understand this better, when we have examined the operation more in detail.

Let us suppose, then, that a builder has a capital of 1000*l.*, which he is about to employ in building a house. An advance of 10 per cent. on their wages is at this juncture demanded, and obtained by his men. At the old rate he would have laid out say 300*l.* in wages, and 700*l.* in materials, calculating on a profit of perhaps 20 per cent. The price of the house, when finished, would then have been 1200*l.* Now, however, he is obliged to borrow 30*l.* to pay the increased rate of wages, which together with a gross profit of 20 per cent, as before, must be repaid him by the consumer; in other words, he must charge 1236*l.* for the house.

The proportion of wages to cost of material will of course vary in different employments, and on different jobs; and it is, therefore, impossible to state generally by how much per cent. the price of any commodity is increased when the wages of those labourers who produce it are raised. One thing, however, is very clear—namely, that the rise in price will naturally be considerably

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\* This simple consideration is a sufficient answer to the paper read by Dr. Watts, last month, to the British Association at Manchester, in which he proves elaborately, what no one ever doubted, that a strike involves a great sacrifice on the part of the men.



less in proportion than the rise in wages. In the instance we have taken, wages' rise 10 per cent., price only 3 per-cent.\* We shall return to this topic presently, when we come to speak of the conduct of the masters in the builders' strike.

Now, let us suppose that, instead of wages being increased, time of work has been diminished 10 per cent., wages remaining the same. It is clear that the employer will, if possible, engage more hands (from the unemployed margin), because if he did not he would not only be paying 10 per cent. more in wages—which he must do in any case—but he would have to wait longer for the replacement of his capital. He will therefore, as in the former case, become a borrower, and to the same extent, the price being raised as before.

But will not the demand for a commodity diminish as the prices rise? Not necessarily. To take an extreme case; the price of corn may rise enormously, while the check to effectual demand is comparatively slight, because people will retrench their expenses in everything rather than in bread. The demand for building is, of course, less imperative and less steady than that for bread. It would, perhaps, not be difficult to ascertain the price which would reduce it 50 per cent. But we think most people will admit that in a year like the present, with several building operations of first-rate magnitude on foot—operations which could not be postponed—the workmen were justified in believing that the demand would not be arrested by an advance of 3 per cent., or even more, in the price.

So much for the vulgar belief that 10 per cent. increase of wages, or diminution of hours, means an increase of 10 per cent. on the price, and a demand contracted in the same proportion. There is a beautiful simplicity in the calculation; but we know now what to think of it.

The eight gentlemen, whose letters on the builders' strike are placed at the head of this article, expressed their fear "that, under the hour system, when the master will treat individually with each man, and will be checked by no recognised standard, he will be able at his discretion to prolong the hours indefinitely." Upon this a newspaper critic observed, that "it is very much as if they were to say, 'when the buyer will treat with each seller individually, and will be checked by no recognised standard, he will be able, at his discretion, to reduce the price indefinitely.' What essential difference is there between the meaning of the proposition the writers have started and the nonsense of that with which we paraphrase it?"

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\* We may mention that our figures are based on a detailed estimate for building an ordinary London house, furnished us by an architect. He informs us that the profit which the builder expects to make varies from ten to thirty per cent. We have taken twenty as a mean.

In analyzing phenomena of whatever kind, it is no doubt proper to reduce them as far as possible to their most simple forms, discarding all that is not of their very essence. Seller and buyer are certainly very general and simple terms; but the critic (unless he is merely begging the question) is using them here in a special and restricted sense—namely, that of shop-keeper and customer; and he means to infer that as a grocer is not forced by his customer to lower his prices indefinitely, so neither can the employer lower wages, or exact increased work indefinitely. No stress need be laid on the last word. Of course, the writers meant no more than that it was impossible to define how far the hours of labour would be extended, just as it is impossible to define how high the price of flour or sugar might rise under certain circumstances. No doubt, the payment of wages is as much an act of purchase and sale as any transaction that takes place in a grocer's shop. But to assume that whatever is true of the one is also true of the other, is very vulgar logic. In the one case it is the buyer who announces the price, and has an advantage over the seller; in the other, it is the seller who announces the price, and has an advantage over the buyer. What is the determining circumstance in each case? Why, that the buyers of labour are few in comparison with the sellers; but the sellers of groceries are few in comparison with the buyers. We might add, that the labourer (except when he belongs to a trades' union) is under the peculiar disadvantage of being obliged always to sell his commodity for whatever it will bring, because it is incapable of being stored up and held for a better market. But what we desire to direct attention to, at present, is the fact that the few, whether buyers or sellers, can and will combine to the disadvantage of the many. We hear a great deal of combinations on the part of workmen; but these are but a modern invention, and confined, as yet, chiefly to skilled labour. Combinations on the part of employers have, and must have, always existed. "Masters," says Adam Smith, "are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform combination not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual, and, one may say, the *natural state of things*, which nobody ever hears of. Masters, too, sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate."\* The report of the Committee of the Social Science Association for 1860 on Trades' Societies contains much curious evidence on this head, showing that it is not unusual for the employers to bind themselves under heavy penalties to stand by each other. While we

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\* "Wealth of Nations," vol. i. p. 8.

write we see a paragraph in a daily paper announcing that Mr. Waller, one of the leading builders who had compromised matters with his men (surely with a knowledge of his own interests), has reverted to the hour-system; and that the men who had been three days at work are again on strike. The paragraph concludes somewhat significantly:—"It is understood that Mr. Kelk, Mr. Lucas, and other leading master builders, had frequent interviews with Mr. Waller, on the Thursday and Friday preceding the announcement of his determination to reintroduce the hour-system. No reason has been assigned for this sudden abandonment of the new arrangement." \*

In proportion as sellers are a minority, a similar combination takes place. "Retail price," says Mr. Mill, "the price paid by the actual consumers, seems to feel very slowly and imperfectly the effect of competition, and where competition does exist, it often, instead of lowering prices, merely divides the gains of the high price among a greater number of dealers."† And again, "either from indolence, or carelessness, or because people think it fine to pay and ask no questions, three-fourths of those who can afford it give much higher prices than necessary for the things they consume; while the poor often do the same from ignorance and defect of judgment, want of time for searching, and making inquiry, and not unfrequently from coercion, open or disguised."‡ No one supposes that by combination prices can be raised or lowered without limit; even absolute monopoly does not confer such a power on the possessor. But monopoly and, in a less degree, combination may and do fix an unnatural value on commodities.

Combination, then, is the rule among a minority. Among a majority it is attended with such difficulty, that it is only adopted under pressure of a dire necessity, and not even then except when there are circumstances specially favourable to unity of action. Moreover, it can have no effect unless it is conducted with wisdom and moderation; and since a numerous body cannot act by tacit understanding, concert can only be secured by high organization. Hence we do not hear of combinations against the retail shopkeepers. The motive is not strong enough. Any given commodity, even bread itself, is after all but a single item in the expenditure of the buyer. Perhaps no two men have precisely the same amount of interest in the price of it. The very poor man, with whom bread forms a far larger item of expenditure than all the others put together, is just the man who is too ignorant, too desponding, too low in the social scale, to adopt any vigorous course

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\* "Morning Star," August 12; a journal opposed to the men.

† "Political Economy," vol. i. p. 297.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 530.

of action. On the other hand in proportion as a man is wealthier, the importance of this or that item in relation to the aggregate expenditure is diminished, and it is not worth his while to enter on a contest. Moreover, as the combination of the dealers is not either rigid or conspicuous, there is less necessity for the consumers to take defensive measures.\* But the importance and interest attaching to wages is of a very different order. They are at least equal to, and may be greater than the sum total of expenditure. To the proletariat they form the solitary item on one side of his balance-sheet. Whether a man has no children or half a dozen, whether he earns ten shillings a week or thirty, he has the same interest in the amount of his wages, and (apart from constitutional peculiarities) will be equally jealous in watching them. It is thus that combinations of workmen come into existence, which among such large bodies would, with any less urgent motive, be impossible. Agricultural labourers have as strong a motive as others, but they have not the opportunity. Nevertheless, even they will some day benefit by the experience and, it may be, the direct aid of the skilled labourers, and it will be amusing then to watch the consternation of certain philanthropic noblemen and gentlemen who now look so sharp after the manufacturers with Ten Hours' Bills, Bills for fencing machinery, white washing factories, fixing dinner-hours, &c., while the cottages on their own estates are nests of consumption, typhus, and incest.

We trust we have made it pretty plain that equal freedom of action on the part of employed and employer is not proved by some glib assertion about buyers and sellers. The arguments that have been used will assist us to estimate the force of another objection, perhaps the most formidable, that is urged against combination. Competition, it is said, operates in favour of the men as much as of the masters; when all who are out of work have found employment, wages can be reduced no lower. When that point is passed, the master competes for labour, and the price of labour rises. Hence it is further argued, the action of competition is even beneficent, for it distributes a share of wages to all, and prevents any from starving.

With the last consideration we have at present nothing to do. As economists, we are supposing the workmen to be guided solely by their own interests. If the object is to prevent men from starving—in other words, to exercise charity—that is another question, and one which is generally supposed to concern the rich rather than the poor. Clearly the economist cannot ask the

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\* The great increase, however, lately of co-operative stores in the north of England, shows that workmen, animated by a spirit of enterprise and independence, and possessing great experience of combination, will enter into something very like a union against retail shopkeepers.

working man to give up his trades' union on that ground. For the rest we answer, that in most trades there are *always* some men out of employ; consequently, to promise improved terms when all hands shall be employed is a mockery and delusion not likely to be listened to by men who have power, by means of combination, to help themselves. Nor is this all. The employers *aim* at keeping a certain number of men unemployed, in order that the rest may be more at their mercy. They will even sacrifice their immediate interest for this object. When there is a press of work, they will, if possible, make the tired men work overtime, even at an advance of sixty per cent. in their wages, rather than utilize that unemployed margin which they hold *in terrorem* over the employed. The object of the notorious "hour-payment" was to make such overtime systematic without the extra payment. Theorists who would work out these questions like a mathematical problem, from a few meagre abstract principles, must be staggered by finding that a master will pay fifty per cent. more to have his work done by a tired man than by a fresh one. It seems incredible. We were ourselves, on one occasion, unable to persuade an intelligent man of business who had not attended to the Builders' dispute, but had a natural prejudice in favour of the masters, that they were really fighting for anything so absurd as over time. The fact was, that they were ready to incur temporary loss rather than permit the labour market to attain that state in which alone, as the opponents of combination admit, competition will benefit the labourer.

Again, the objection supposes unrestricted competition for labour amongst employers, as well as for employment amongst labourers. But the former cannot be said to exist, when it is superseded by that combination which, as Adam Smith and the Social Science Committee tell us, is invariably to be found among employers, and which has for one of its chief objects the enforcement of overtime, in order that a portion of the labouring class may be kept permanently without employment.

But, say the employers, Trade Unions are only reviving the old sophism of protection to native industry. "The Proteus of Protection," we quote from one of their organs, "who disguised himself some years back as the British farmer, and appeared the other day as the British paper manufacturer, now exhibits himself in the form of the British operative builder." We wonder that the very examples he selects did not open the eyes of the journalist to the strange blunder he was making. British corn and British paper were protected by differential duties. The State interfered to prevent the foreigner from competing with the native producer. But there is no law to prevent Mr. Lucas from importing Belgian masons, as he threatened. If he did not fulfil

his menace, it was because, as both he and the men well knew, the thing was economically impossible. He showed his animus, but that was all he could do. If the only protection to British corn had consisted in a unanimous resolution of the landlords and farmers not to sell it at less than sixty shillings, Mr. Cobden would have had nothing to complain of. It was when they used their political influence to prohibit the importation, that the principles of free-trade were violated. The 'Ten Hours' Bill *was* an interference with free-trade. We do not say it was unjustifiable; but if its operation was extended to grown-up males, it would no doubt be an exact parallel, both in principle and in practice, to the corn laws.

We are reluctant to notice arguments which are beneath contempt, and deserve no reply; but it is impossible not to see that nine-tenths of the opponents of Trades' Unions are influenced by considerations to which we have not as yet alluded. Ridiculous as it must seem to every one who has thought rationally on economic questions, the mass of the public has a vague fear that the ultimate result of an improved state of the working classes will be, that no work will be done at all; every one will be above it; society cannot exist without its hewers of wood and drawers of water. We have heard a young curate invite a congregation of miserable rustics to admire the wisdom of Providence in ordaining that the poor should never cease from the land, because, otherwise, there would be no one to till the ground. If language of this kind could be supposed to require any answer, it would suffice to remark, that so long as the production of food is important to the community, it will be worth some one's while to produce it. It is shocking to think that some people can deliberately wish others to be kept poor, that they themselves may live in comfort. Such men would, if they could, re-enact the Statute of Labourers, which limited wages at a time when a diminution of the working class by a pestilence made labour more valuable. "Such laws," says Mr. Mill, with noble indignation, "exhibit the infernal spirit of the slave-master, when to retain the working classes in avowed slavery has ceased to be practicable.\* With what sort of feelings must the working man listen to such atrocious doctrines? What inference can he draw from them, but that the laws and institutions of society are the cause of his poverty, and that the upper classes are in a conspiracy to perpetuate his degradation?"

We are ashamed, we repeat, to allude to this language so

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\* The Statute of Labourers belongs to the reign of Edward III. But so late as 1725 the Manchester justices in quarter sessions drew up a tariff of wages and ordained that workmen conspiring to obtain more, should for the offence stand in the pillory and lose an ear.

ignorant, so fatuous, and so wicked ; but we appeal to any of our readers, whether it is not to be heard every day and in society of every kind ? It is not many years since the *Standard*, the organ of the Conservative party, in denouncing emigration, made the following candid avowal : " A numerous population, necessary to the comfort of all in a civilized country, is absolutely indispensable to the rich, if they would enjoy their riches, or increase them by honest means. A numerous population renders labour abundant, and therefore comparatively cheap ; and whether it is desired to make labour minister to enjoyment or to profit, the more numerous the population, the greater the facility for the one or the other." This is the sort of public feeling which, the *Times* can boast, condemns the efforts of the operative builders. Political economy cannot argue about the right or interest of every man to better his position. When that is denied, it is the affair of the moralist ; would that we could say, of the minister of religion. But that class has done its best to stifle all moral feeling on the subject. Ignorant generally of everything but rusty theological polemics, interested in preventing the spread of all education which does not pass through its own hands, jealous of every organization which it cannot control, it preaches to the lower orders a base submission and contentment, and encourages them to populate recklessly—the surest means of perpetuating their degradation. We know not that any clergy can be excepted from this censure ; but it is naturally most deserved by that of the Establishment, which is most bound up with our aristocratic constitution and the existing social state.

We have succeeded, we hope, in proving that in a rising market, a combination of workmen may extort from the employer advantages which singly they would be powerless to obtain, and that without any ultimate damage to the trade. Hitherto we have argued upon the assumption that the men were unanimous. We have refused to complicate the discussion by adverting prematurely to questions which it does not fall within the province of political economy to decide. But it becomes impossible to proceed any further without noticing an objection which professes to come from the workman, though in point of fact it is urged only by his self-constituted patrons. No union, it is said, embraces all the trade. Many men are opposed to it. Penalties are attached to the infraction of its rules, which proves that it cannot depend upon the voluntary obedience even of its own members. Combination for higher wages or less time may possibly be advantageous to the men as a body, but this or that individual may find it for his interest to accept the employer's terms. Why should a union dictate to him what he is to do ?

We state this objection as plausibly as we know how ; but its

whole force lies in the insinuation contained in the word "dic-tate." We admit that it may be the interest of an individual to stand apart from his fellows; and, immoral as we conceive such conduct to be, we are equally ready to admit that he must be allowed to do as he pleases. But we claim the same liberty for his comrades. The collision between one man's liberty of action and another's has given rise to many questions of great nicety; but no one whose judgment was not blinded by selfishness and passion would deny that if there is any difference between a free man and a slave, it is that the one may labour or not, as he pleases, provided he does not burden society with his sustenance, while the other has no such choice. We claim for workmen exactly the same latitude which is enjoyed by men of every other class, namely, the right of refusing to co-operate, associate, or be in any way connected with a person of whose conduct they disapprove. We are aware that the law of England has not always recognised this right in the case of the lower orders, and that to encourage others to exercise it is still a very perilous step. The Combination law of 1800 punished with imprisonment "workmen prevailing upon anyone to quit his employment, or who *without reasonable cause shall refuse to work with any other workman.*" That law remained in force twenty-four years. In 1859 one of the metropolitan police magistrates decided that though a strike was undoubtedly legal, the threat of striking was a high offence, and when this absurd decision was appealed against, the Middlesex magistrates thronged the quarter sessions to affirm it. The working men know well that no justice is to be obtained in a police-court when a trades' question is involved. If it is a dispute between two drunken bricklayers, the magistrate puts leading questions until he has extracted something to connect it with "the strike," and then inflicts the heaviest penalty the law will allow. We think the working classes are wise to stand aloof at present from political agitation; but they stand in need of a reform bill, if it is only to alter laws which give scope for such injustice.

The provision of penalties for the breach of the rules of a Union does not prove that there is a want of unanimity among its members. Association implies rules, and rules imply penalties. If a ship at sea is short of provisions, it is the interest of the whole crew that what they have should be shared equally, and on short allowance; but it is the interest of any individual to get more than his share. Yet it does not follow that anyone objects to enacting the severest penalty for any selfish appropriation of the stores. On the contrary, everyone desires it, because he feels that not a single man would abstain if he could not rely upon the abstention of everyone else. Hence it is perfectly natural



that the members of Trades' Unions should give security to one another in the shape of fines, the extreme penalty being expulsion. No one would join a Union if he were not satisfied that the balance of advantage was to be gained by doing so. It is true that he sacrifices to a certain extent his freedom of action. But such a sacrifice is inseparable from the idea of association or agreement of any kind; from that of country, for instance, which in most cases has not even been voluntarily entered into. If the decision of the majority is dictation or interference, the same terms are applicable to the management of joint-stock companies, to the resolutions of a parish vestry, or the committee of a cricket club. Argument on so simple a matter would be superfluous, if class prejudices did not silence reason. With most people, however, authority goes further than argument, so to the impudent dogmatism of the newspaper press we will oppose the calm and impartial judgment of Mr. Mill.

“There are matters in which the interference of law is required, not to overrule the judgment of individuals respecting their own interest, but to give effect to that judgment; they being unable to give effect to it except by concert, which concert again cannot be effectual unless it receives validity and sanction from the law. For illustration, and without prejudging the particular point, I may advert to the question of diminishing the hours of labour. Let us suppose, what is at least supposable, whether it be the fact or not—that a general reduction of the hours of factory labour from twelve to ten would be for the advantage of the workpeople; that they would receive as high wages, or nearly as high, for ten hours' labour as they receive for twelve. If this would be the result, and if the operatives generally are convinced that it would, the limitation, some may say, will be adopted spontaneously, and there cannot be any need for enforcing it by legal prohibition. I answer, that it will not be adopted unless the body of operatives bind themselves to one another to abide by it. A workman who refused to work more than ten hours, while there were others who worked twelve, would either not be employed at all, or if employed must submit to lose one-sixth of his wages. However convinced, therefore, he may be, that it is the interest of the class to work short time, it is contrary to his own interest to set the example, unless he is well assured that all others will follow it. But suppose a general agreement of the whole class; might not this be effectual without the sanction of law? Not unless enforced by opinion with a rigour practically equal to that of law. For however beneficial the observance of the regulation might be to the class collectively, the immediate interest of every rich individual would lie in violating it; and the more numerous those were who adhered to the rule, the more would individuals gain by departing from it. If nearly all restricted themselves to ten hours, those who chose to work for twelve would gain all the advantage of the restriction together with the profit of infringing it; they would get twelve hours' wages for ten hours' work, and two

hours' wages besides. I grant that if a large majority adhered to the ten hours, there would be no harm done; the benefit would be in the main secured to the class, while those individuals who preferred to work harder and earn more would have an opportunity of doing so. This, certainly, would be the state of things to be wished for; and, assuming that a reduction of hours without any reduction of wages could take place without expelling the commodity from some of its markets—which is in every particular instance a question of fact, not of principle—the manner in which it would be most desirable that this effect should be brought about, would be by a quiet change in the general custom of the trade; short hours becoming, by spontaneous choice, the general practice, but those who choose to deviate from it having the fullest liberty to do so. Probably, however, so many would prefer the twelve hours' work on the improved terms, that the limitation could not be maintained as a general practice; what some did from choice, others would soon do from necessity, *and those who had chosen long hours for the sake of increased wages would be forced in the end to work long hours for no greater wages than before.* Assuming, then, that it really would be the interest of each to work only ten hours, if he could be assured that all others would do the same, there might be no means of their attaining this object but by converting their supposed mutual agreement into an engagement under penalty, by consenting to have it enforced by law. I do not mean to express an opinion in favour of such an enactment, but it serves to exemplify the manner in which classes of persons may need the assistance of law to give effect to their deliberate collective opinion of their own interest, by affording to every individual a guarantee that his competitors will pursue the same course, without which he cannot safely adopt it himself."\*

It may be added that no employer could afford to make concessions to his men unless he could be sure that the same concessions would be extorted from all other employers.

We have hitherto confined ourselves to proving that combination is advantageous to those who combine. It is possible, however, that though advantageous to their members, Unions may be detrimental to the interests of society. There seems to be some ground, *prima facie*, for supposing that they are so, since they appear to withdraw capital from other employments. We will examine this charge, always premising that even if it should turn out to be true, Unionists are not proved to be more selfish than any other class which takes care of its own interests. When self-denial becomes the order of the day, it will not be among bricklayers and carpenters that there will be most room for reformation.

The additional capital required by the employers will, as we have said, be borrowed. It may be capital already in course

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\* "Political Economy," vol. ii. pp. 552-554.

of withdrawal from some other business which is ceasing to be remunerative, in which case it is clear that no one is injured by the fresh channel opened for investment. But supposing commerce to be in a quiescent state, no employment being so unremunerative as to necessitate the withdrawal of any of its capital, the employer who is compelled to raise wages will borrow from the general loan fund, of which all persons engaged in business from time to time avail themselves. His competition for money will of course have a tendency to raise the rate of interest, but no one will imagine that such additional advances as the master builders, for instance, would have required, if they had conceded the demands of their men, would have had any perceptible effect on the money market. The immense sums required for constructing railways have at times so far raised the rate of interest as to exercise a pressure on other branches of industry. But, in ordinary years, even railway calls are met chiefly out of fresh savings made for the purpose. Hence it appears that, even if the production of wealth were in the stationary state, a rise in the wages of one employment would not necessarily *cause* a withdrawal of capital from some other employment, since it might be *coincident* with such a withdrawal which would in any case have taken place; while in a rapidly progressive state of the wealth of the community such a supposition is altogether chimerical.

So much for the economical bearings of the question. But we do not intend to leave it here. 'Trades' Unions must be justified on far higher grounds. The political philosopher cannot look with any satisfaction on a system which is prejudicial to the interests of society at large, through the habits it engenders, the tone of feeling it fosters, or the low principles to which it appeals. We believe that the moral progress of society consists in the growing recognition of the duty of living for others rather than for ourselves, and we look forward to a time when both employers and employed will desire to settle their disputes with reference to the interests of society, and when neither will feel at liberty to extract concessions merely because he has the power to do so. We believe that the day is not so distant as some may suppose, when the masters will be fain to appeal to those very moral principles which they now vote wholly beside the question, and when those who judge from the point of view of our philosophy will be as earnest in pleading the claims of capital as we are now in defending the rights of labour. It would therefore, in our opinion, be difficult to exaggerate the importance of keeping alive and cultivating that profound moral and social instinct which as yet exists among the working classes, in spite of the selfish individualism so sedulously inculcated on them from above, by both

precept and example. We should deprecate the growth of trades' unions did we think that they were to make the working classes less generous and less sympathetic. Such, however, would be their inevitable tendency, in spite of any amount of sentimental colouring, if it once came to be clearly understood that they merely helped their members in the general scramble, and could do nothing to inaugurate a healthier industrial régime. Let us examine them on this broader ground.

The great embarrassment to social progress, the one obstacle to a more equitable distribution of wealth, is the general neglect of any prudential restraint upon population. Those who exclaim against this doctrine are either the ornamental class who deliberately desire that the mass of the population should remain in poverty that they themselves may live in splendour and idleness, or weak-headed sentimentalists with whom feeling—and that not very refined—takes the place of reason. To the former we say nothing. They at least know what they are about. To the latter we recommend a calm perusal of Mr. Mill's admirable examination of "Low Wages and their Remedies."\* If they remain unconvinced by his demonstrations, they are not fit to be argued with.

To the unionist the population question is all-important. At present he must not expect any concession from the employer which he is not in a position to enforce. A moral change, we are told, may take place in the capitalist. Granted; but his heart will melt much more rapidly when he has been chastened, to borrow the language of the pulpit, in the furnace of affliction. He will begin to doubt the morality of his position, when its policy has become an open question. There is much truth roughly expressed in the remark of Mr. Dunning, that "a certain 10 per cent. will ensure the employment of capital anywhere; 20 per cent. certain will produce eagerness; 50 per cent. positive audacity; 100 per cent. will make it ready to trample on all human laws; 300 per cent., and there is not a crime at which it will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged" (p. 36). Take this stumbling-block out of his way,—remove from him the temptation which the weakness and isolation of the labourer offers, and his notions of right and wrong will be wonderfully altered. But the labouring class as a whole will never be able to treat with the capitalist class on equal terms, as long as it continues to populate without regard to the state of the labour market. Here and there a body of men by rigid combinations—by disentangling themselves as it were from the struggling and sinking mass, might manage to maintain their

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\* "Political Economy," vol. ii. chapter xi.-xiii.

position; but the general tendency would be inevitably downwards.

There is no shirking this difficulty. The fate of the working-classes lies in their own hands. So simple is the proof, that had they but one mind to be persuaded, one will to be influenced, the victory were already won. The inference is obvious. Combination is not unity, but it is something like it. As long as a man knows that all self-denial on his part will be neutralized by some one less public spirited than himself, he will not forego what he regards as, after all, a legitimate satisfaction. Whether the object be to obtain a concession from an employer or to check population, the one necessity for working men is to know whether they can depend on one another.

We do not despair. Although plenty of men are to be found in every rank of life who recklessly produce families which they have no means of supporting, there are only two classes of whom it can be said, that such shameless selfishness is the rule rather than the exception—the agricultural paupers and the clergy of the Established Church. Both these classes abdicate all responsibility, and are content to leave the prospects of their offspring to chance or charity. Among the skilled mechanics earning comfortable wages, there is, we believe, something more of prudence and self-respect;\* but it is hardly to be expected that improvement in this respect will become general, so long as public opinion looks leniently upon conduct as degrading as it is anti-social. At present, if an artisan limits his family within reasonable bounds it is for reasons that concern only himself, and those dependent on him. He objects to diminish his comforts; he thinks it his duty to give his children a fair start in life; he desires to exempt his wife from the miserable drudgery which a large and constantly increasing family entails. All these motives deserve the highest respect; but regard for the interests of his class would be a still nobler principle of action. Everything that leads him to view his class as a whole, possessing common objects and common interests,—everything which accustoms him to sacrifice his individual tastes and inclinations, when they conflict with the well-being of the whole body, must tend to force this momentous question upon his attention. It is combination alone which will bring him face to face with the great difficulty of the social problem. When once he feels that to be the parent of an immoderately large family is, in the eyes of his fellows, a selfish and unjustifiable draught on the common fund, he will shrink from incurring their well-merited censure. It is not too much, therefore, to expect that Trades' Unions will eventually prove a check

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\* Mill's "Political Economy," vol. i. p. 421.

on the increase of population, and so confer an important benefit on society at large.

Combination amongst workmen, having for its chief objects to raise wages and diminish hours of labour, of course tends to limit the production of wealth. Should it ever be directed to the discouragement of population, it will still further limit production. In the eyes of many this admission is fatal. They have a nervous dread of committing themselves to any doctrine which, they are told, lies in the teeth of political economy. The reputation of that science suffers much more from its narrow-minded friends than from its ignorant or uncandid enemies. It cannot be too often repeated that it treats not of morals or politics, or happiness or progress, but of wealth. Every one knows what is meant by "wealth;" but to anticipate the quibbling school who will build you an argument on a word, as though words had some sacred independent nature of their own, we will, with Mr. Mill, define it to be "all useful or agreeable things which possess exchangeable "value." Political Economy studies this subject, abstracting from it all foreign or disturbing conditions. Your fencing-master assumes that you want to kill your man; he does not give you rules for doing it with a clear conscience. Your Murray shows you the way up the Rhine or the Nile, but does not tell you how to save money for the trip. The scientific value of mechanics is not impaired because it ignores elasticity and friction. If some economists have actually held that increased production is all that a nation can want, they have spoken as political philosophers (bad ones in our opinion), not as economists. It is the business of the latter to point out the arrangements best adapted for producing wealth, such, for instance, as unlimited competition, low wages, and, under certain circumstances, slavery itself even in its most aggravated form; but it is for the political philosopher to judge whether such arrangements are for the good of society. He has no right to pronounce an opinion on the question until he has familiarized himself with its economical bearings; but having done so, he has other points of view from which to regard it. Rapid increase of production has no doubt been a very prominent—possibly the most characteristic, feature of modern civilization. There is no danger that its importance will ever be underrated. But to make it the test and measure of progress is the mistake of a narrow mind, cramped by exclusive devotion to a special study. Let us hear one who is at once a sound economist and a far-sighted political philosopher.

"I cannot (says Mr. Mill) regard the stationary state of capital and wealth with the unaffected aversion so generally manifested towards it by political economists of the old school. I am inclined to believe that it would be on the whole a very considerable improvement on our

present condition. I confess I am not charmed with the ideal of human life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on; that the trampling, crushing, elbowing, and treading on each other's heels, which form the existing type of social life, are the most desirable lot of human kind, or anything but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress. . . . Those who do not accept the present very early stage of human improvement as its ultimate type, may be excused for being comparatively indifferent to the kind of economical progress which excites the congratulations of ordinary politicians; *the mere increase of production and accumulation*. For the safety of national independence, it is essential that a country should not fall much behind its neighbours in these things. But in themselves they are of little importance, so long as either the increase of population or anything else prevents the mass of the people from reaping any part of the benefit of them. I know not why it should be matter of congratulation that persons who are already richer than any one needs to be, should have doubled their means of consuming things, which give little or no pleasure except as representatives of wealth; or that numbers of individuals should pass over every year from the middle classes into a richer class, or from the class of the occupied rich to that of the unoccupied. *It is only in the backward countries of the world that increased production is still an important object; in those most advanced, what is economically needed, is a better distribution.*"\*

Nor is this opinion to be disposed of by the assertion often made, that since all productive labourers are also consumers, it is the interest of the whole body, taking one commodity with another, that production should be cheap, and that the labourers of any one trade who keep up their own wages by combination while they are reaping the benefit of low prices in other trades, are taking an unfair advantage of the rest of the community. For in the first place, many commodities are not consumed directly or indirectly by productive labourers; and many more enter but to a small extent into their expenditure. And secondly, the very fact of a fall of wages being *general* would, as Mr. Mill has shown,† prevent it from having any influence at all on prices. It is only when wages rise or fall in some employments and not in others that prices are affected. The reason is obvious. If there is a fall of wages in the building trade alone, the employer must lower his prices to the public, or other capitalists will crowd into the business. But if labour has been cheaper to the same extent in other employments also, he has no greater reason to apprehend competition than he had before, and he will not lower his price. There is no truth in political economy more certain

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\* "Political Economy," vol. ii. p. 319.

† Ibid, p. 238.

than that *general* low wages have no other result than to put money into the pocket of the capitalist. The consumer gains nothing whatever.

As a matter of fact, trades' unions, so far from fostering jealousies between the workmen of different employments, have had a most remarkable influence in a contrary direction. We have quoted Mr. Mill so frequently in support of our opinions, that we feel bound to notice a remark of his, no less harsh than it is unwarranted.

"While they (skilled artisans) continue to fix their hopes on hedging themselves in against competition, and protecting their own wages by shutting out others from access to their employment, nothing better can be expected from them than that total absence of any large and generous aims, that almost open disregard of all other objects than high wages and little work for their own small body, which were so deplorably evident in the proceedings and manifestoes of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers during their late quarrel with their employers."

No thinker of the present day commands such high and deserved respect as Mr. Mill; but on questions of fact he may be misled like any one else. Whatever may have been the policy of Unions in times gone by, we believe it is quite untrue that the leading societies (by which the tendencies of combination should be judged), such as the Engineers, Masons, Bricklayers, &c., attempt to shut others out from their employment. But Mr. Mill makes a specific charge. Let us see with what justice. The Amalgamated Engineers, in the great lock-out of 1851, to which he alludes, made three demands, and three only. That systematic overtime should cease; that overtime in case of emergency should be paid double-time; and that the regular day should be limited to certain hours. We repeat it, they made no other demands; and the effect of these, if conceded, must have been to cause more labour to be employed, not less, as Mr. Mill asserts. The workmen of Messrs. Hibbert and Plate, with whom the dispute began, did, indeed, demand the dismissal of unskilled men, but the Executive Council of the Society *emphatically refused to support them in any such claim, and it was dropped accordingly by them. By the Society, it was never for a moment urged.* The employers and the *Times* repeatedly asserted that the men were demanding it, and so managed to deceive the public, and amongst others, it seems, Mr. Mill; but they were stating what they knew to be false. The Report of the Social Science Committee on trades' unions contains overwhelming proof of this and other artifices, to which the employers stooped in that dispute. We think Mr. Mill should either retract his statement in some future edition, or substantiate it. We would remind him,



moreover, that this very body of men to whom he ascribes a "total absence of any large and generous aims," subscribed no less than 3000*l.* in one sum, to support the operative builders when locked out, on very similar grounds, in 1859. During the last few years, nothing connected with the industrial classes has been so remarkable as the growth of a strong fellow-feeling between the workmen of different trades, manifested by the liberal contributions of one society to assist another in its difficulties.

If there is one thing more certain than another, it is, that the large majority of mankind must always live by the labour of their hands. In the eyes, therefore, of the political philosopher, whatever concerns labour is of paramount importance. To give the labouring class such habits and such opportunities as may tend to raise it as a whole, is the object he has most at heart. Increased production, extended commerce, political liberty, the progress of science he regards with indifference if they have not this tendency. For without pretending to assign any limits to human progress in a far-distant future, we must sorrowfully admit that the lot of the working man, as far as we see at present, cannot but be one of comparative hardship. It is as a working man that he must be improved—not as something else. One would have thought that the educated class, whose position and habits of thought are most favourable to broad and general views, would have been the first to recognise this truth; while the thoughtful working man, who is most dissatisfied with his lot, might have been expected to be most individual in his views, most bent on extricating himself from the struggling mass, careless what might become of his fellows. The reverse is the fact. The upper classes—the so-called philanthropists most actively of all—preach this selfish doctrine to him; but he stops his ears. Get on in the world—this is their first and great commandment. It is as though Davy, instead of inventing the safety lamp, had persuaded a miner here and there to take to some occupation in the upper air. Who are the heroes of Dr. Smiles and the *British Workman*? "Self-made men," as the cant phrase is, men who have raised themselves from the position of labourers to that of capitalists. Such are the models proposed to the proletariat for his imitation! Such is the out-look offered him from his painful drudgery!

Now, the best working men see the combined folly and meanness of such counsel as this. They reply—It is a mockery to tell us of this or that individual who has risen from indigence to wealth. The government which amuses its miserable subjects with lotteries, is thought to have reached the lowest depth of baseness. This is a lottery which you offer us, and one with

remarkably few prizes. All of us have known hundreds of steady industrious men, who have tried in vain to better themselves in life. Besides, you, the respectable classes, frequently find the pushing money-making man deficient, if not in honesty, yet in those finer qualities which command respect and affection. So do we. Why should you set such a type before us as a model, when you sneer at it in your own rank of life? But further than this, if you overlook the interests of society, we do not. We, the vast majority of the community, are overworked and underpaid, and are otherwise in a very unsatisfactory state. How are we the better—how is society the better, because one of our number has become a capitalist? You have still before you the miserable discontented mass, as great a difficulty and scandal as before.

Such is the reasoning of the thoughtful workman, before which our professional philanthropists and popular instructors ought to stand abashed. To the upper classes it may sound strange and Quixotic; but among the poor the sentiment of fraternity, and the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of society is not quite extinct. It is not yet thoroughly discarded for the great Protestant principle—every man for himself; make the best bargain you can with your neighbour in this world and God in the next. Consequently, submission to rules devised for the common good, does not appear so unreasonable to a proletary as it does to a middle-class man, who has no idea of duty except in connexion with his religion; religion being, as some people are always telling us, “a matter between man and his Maker.” Humiliating as the confession may be, it is nevertheless true, that the labouring class have broader and wiser views respecting the future of society than most of their educated fellow-citizens; and this because they can count upon a moral and social sentiment among themselves, which the upper classes have ceased to experience, and therefore to believe in.

No one will deny that trades' unions have often aimed at impracticable or mischievous objects, and have used unjustifiable means to attain them. An impartial examination will, indeed, generally show that they were more sinned against than sinning; but the point is not worth arguing—we concede it. If we honestly desire to know what may be made of the system, we must look at the most powerful and highly organized unions of the present day. It is time that old prejudices were buried, and that educated people no longer shut their eyes to plain facts. Till lately, ignorance was excusable; no one knew where reliable evidence was to be obtained. The employers commanded all the sources to which the public looks for information, and told their own story without fear of contradiction; but the deficiency has lately been supplied; it is now in the power of every one to judge for

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himself. A committee appointed by the Social Science Association have collected and digested a vast amount of evidence on the subject. For a few shillings any one can procure the amplest information on trade disputes, what they have been, and what they are, in all kinds of occupations, and in all parts of the kingdom. We do not expect that this valuable report will produce unanimity of opinion; but of this we feel assured, that when it becomes more widely known, the monstrous calumnies which are busily propagated whenever an industrial struggle is going on, by the employers, will no longer be swallowed simply because the *Times* vouches for them.

In the teeth of the evidence elicited by this committee, it will no longer do to tell us of secret and irresponsible tribunals, of multitudes groaning under the tyranny of the unions, of professional agitators fattening on the plunder of their dupes. It will not do to tell us that their schemes are chimerical and universally productive of misery and ruin. The upper classes have believed all this to be true because they wished it to be so; but it is useless for them to shut their eyes any longer. Whether they like it or not, they must accept the fact, that the feeling amongst working men, whether unionists or not, is almost unanimous in favour of the societies; that the men actually enrolled in those bodies are the very flower of every trade; that their leaders are, as a general rule, able and high-minded men; that their demands are generally reasonable, and attended with success; and lastly, that so far from education being an antidote to the spirit of combination, the latter flourishes in proportion as the former is extended. This is an awkward state of things to fight against. Whether your enemy's cause is good or bad, nothing is gained by persuading yourself that he is ill-armed, ill-posted, and ill-organized, when the reverse of all this is notoriously the case. Every one who has gone through the evidence published by the Social Science Association will admit that, on the whole, it bears out what we have stated. Unions like those of the building trades have ceased to aim at mischievous or impracticable objects. They repudiate all opposition to machinery; they do not attempt to limit the efficiency of the workman;\* they stop hundreds of strikes which would otherwise take place. By unwearied exer-

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\* Much was said in 1859 of rules which prevented a bricklayer from laying as many bricks as he was able. The fact was that these rules ensured *good* work, while the contractors are anxious to *scamp* their work, as it is called. Mr. Marsh Nelson, an architect, states that the police commissioners have condemned houses as unsafe before they were finished, owing to this practice. We have been told by a bricklayer that he has been obliged by a contractor to go to work before regular hours, in order to build rubbish into a wall unobserved, and that many such places have been marked by the men.

tions they have succeeded in putting down violence or outrage. Mr. Marsh Nelson, who, as an architect, knows what he is talking about, says :—

“The rules for the maintenance of order and sobriety are excellent ; and there is no doubt that the quiet behaviour of the men on all occasions (particularly when they were locked out on Saturday\*) is mainly attributable to such regulations. Since the establishment of these societies the conduct of the metropolitan building workmen has immensely improved ; the workhouse is comparatively unknown to them, and dishonesty is equally rare. The rules of the Mason's Society are a perfect study ; they partake very much of the admirable German system for travelling artisans. They have upwards of two hundred lodges throughout the country ; and any one transgressing against ‘sobriety, decency, or morality,’ is reported, and punished by the society. According to this statement, they wish ‘to place themselves in such a position as shall gain the esteem of all good men.’ ”

The unionists are all good workmen, because no one is admitted who has not thoroughly learnt his trade. Men of an independent spirit are naturally attracted to their ranks, because they cannot bear the humiliation of being at the mercy of tyrannical masters and brutal foremen, who are often no better than slave-drivers. As members of a society they can hold up their heads firmly against caprice and petty injustice.

A great deal is often made of the fact that a large portion, sometimes more than half of the workmen in a trade, are not members of the Union. It is assumed as a matter of course that therefore they are opposed to it. Nothing is more untrue. If a man does not join the Union it is almost invariably for reasons connected with his private circumstances and convenience. He is perhaps a member of some other benefit society, such as the Odd Fellows, and does not feel inclined, or cannot afford to contribute to two. It must be remembered that the funds of the Unions are mainly spent in just the same way as those of ordinary benefit societies ; expenditure on strikes is quite exceptional. Many men, on the other hand, belong to more than one society. There is no ill-feeling on the subject. The Non-Unionist looks to the Union to protect the trade, just as much as if he was a member. When a strike occurs he generally contributes during its continuance. In the builders' strike, the large majority of skilled non-unionists have co-operated heartily with the Unionists.

The officers of the societies are the genuine representatives of the men, freely elected by a really independent constituency. They are frequently changed ; but a change by no means implies that the officer superseded has given offence ; the fact is, that

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\* August 6th, 1859.

their powers are so limited, and their function so simple, that any one of ordinary ability is competent to take their place, and whatever the *Times* may say, the men have no idea of being ruled by "professional agitators;" they have a healthy horror of the very word. Any official whose reputation incurred a taint, or who showed a disposition to domineer, would be deposed with little ceremony. The evidence collected by the Social Science Association Committee establishes beyond a doubt that the executive of a society so far from fomenting disputes, is incessantly engaged in pacifying private members burning to resist treatment on the part of employers which, rightly or wrongly, they consider unjust. Nothing, however, speaks so strongly to the character of the officials as their management of the common funds. It is not generally known how large these are. Two examples will suffice. In 1858 the Amalgamated Engineers expended £62,326 18s. 8½d., retaining a balance of £28,722 8s. 3½d. The income of the Masons' Society is, we believe, about £15,000 a year. Sums of this magnitude are administered by hard-handed men earning thirty or thirty-five shillings a week, with a probity and accuracy which Railway Companies and Joint Stock Banks cannot always secure. This is the more remarkable since societies for trade purposes, not being allowed to register themselves under the Friendly Societies Act, are practically *hors de la loi*, and rely solely on the honour of their officers. The oft-repeated insinuation, that these men use their position to fill their own pockets, is as false as it is cowardly. It is a charge which the accusers do not even pretend to be in a position to substantiate. What would be thought of the man who should recklessly and as a pure guess, throw such an imputation on some respectable merchant or nobleman? In England it seems, a working man is not supposed to be sensitive on such a matter. The eight gentlemen whose letters we have before quoted, say of the builders' strike now going on, "The committees are composed, without exception, of working men, every one of whom was at work some days since, and is ready and desirous to go to work again as soon as this dispute is settled. The highest pay which any member of these committees gets is the ordinary day's wages of his trade; a large majority accept much less." The cowardly attempt to raise a prejudice against men who bravely step forward to fill difficult and dangerous posts, by stirring up envy and suspicion among their constituents, meets with as little success as it deserves. Working men know how to trust one another.

In trade quarrels, as in all others, there is generally something wrong on both sides. But in the dispute in the building trade, which has attracted so much attention, we must say that we consider the wrong to be entirely with the masters. We have

watched the contest with keen interest from the commencement ; we have familiarized ourselves with its details ; we have before us, we believe, everything that has been published on the subject, and we have been cognizant of much that has not appeared in print. We cannot but express our conviction, that the object the men had in view was a worthy one, that their motives were highly creditable to them, that they have made no mistakes of policy, and that their behaviour throughout has been straightforward, dignified, and conciliatory. We are further of opinion, that the masters might have made the concession demanded from them without any loss to themselves ; that they have resisted it partly from a desire to crush all independence among their men, partly because they have been made tools of by one or two of their number, whose interests are not those of the trade at large ; that their policy has been tricky and vacillating, and that they have misrepresented the facts in a way that is most dishonourable to themselves and the writers they have employed. It was our intention to give our readers a history of the dispute, but we have already exceeded our limits. We must confine ourselves to one or two points on which much misapprehension exists.

The system of hour-payment has certainly an appearance of fairness. We don't mind admitting that we were ourselves deluded by it at first. It is clear that it *might* be worked in a way that would be quite unobjectionable. But it is equally clear that it has been introduced, not, as is pretended, to enable each workman to do as he likes, but to compel him to work longer than he does at present, and for less wages. If we can show that such would actually be its effects, it will be admitted that the men would indeed be foolish if they did not resist the innovation by every lawful means in their power.

At a conference between the masters and the men some thirty years ago, it was settled that the working day should consist of ten hours, and that every hour of overtime should be paid for at the rate of 50 per cent. extra, or "time and half." This rule has acted as a practical prohibition upon overtime. The men have, therefore, been satisfied with it. They have never wished to put it absolutely out of the power of the masters to obtain overtime in special emergencies. Mr. Kelk and Mr. Lucas might have had as much of it as they pleased, if they had been willing to pay the usual rate for it. But those contractors are in the habit of undertaking vast operations. They plan them as a great general plan, a campaign. Napoleon's victories were founded on a mass of figures. He calculated men, distance, and time with the nicest accuracy, and then won by half an hour. But if his soldiers had insisted on a day of ten or any other number of hours, if they had pined for anything so unreasonable as time for seeing their

families, or leisure for improving their minds, it is needless to say that Napoleon's calculations would have often turned out wrong. That half-hour would sometimes have been a good many hours, and the stories of Rivoli and Marengo would have read very differently. Now, for Messrs. Lucas and Kelk's purpose, it was necessary that the day of the English labourer should be as elastic as that of the French soldier or, let us say it at once, of the negro slave. But masons and bricklayers, like most other people, prefer regular employment and regular hours. Who would like to have the whole work of the year crammed into four or five summer months? If the employer disclaims all interest in the comfort and happiness of his workmen, they must look to it themselves. The conflict of interest becomes open and recognised war.

Now, when Mr. Kelk took the contract for the Great Exhibition building, and when Mr. Lucas joined him, they were entering on a speculation of unusual magnitude and risk, even for them. To finish it in time it was necessary that they should be absolutely unshackled by rules, that they should be able to squeeze any amount of labour out of their men that might be requisite to correct errors in their own calculations. Equally necessary was it to obtain this labour without an extra rate of payment; for time and half, when paid to many hundreds of men, is serious. If the hour-system could be introduced there was of course an end of the recognised day. If there was no recognised day there could be no such thing as overtime: *the twelfth or fourteenth hour would be paid at the same rate as the tenth.*

Messrs. Kelk and Lucas saw that the hour system would deceive the public, but they did not hope that it would deceive the men, so they offered 7*d.* an hour, which would enable a man working the usual time to earn 1*s.* 1½*d.* a week more than hitherto. It was not till they had tried in vain for a fortnight to obtain hands that they added the further bait of a half-holiday. Much has been said about the generosity of this offer. But since pay as well as work was to stop at one o'clock, there was nothing generous in it. The men had always left work on Saturdays at four, *receiving a full day's pay.* They had been promised by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas an additional 1*s.* 1½*d.* a week. By this generous gift of three hours they would lose the 1*s.* 1½*d.*, and 7½*d.* besides. This legerdemain passed undetected by the public, but it did not deceive the men.

What imposed upon the public was the assertion that under the hour system each man could work as long as he liked. That was what Messrs. Kelk and Lucas instructed the *Times* to say. But they told their own men that no one would be allowed to work less than ten hours. The masons made a formal offer to

work nine hours for nine sevenpences. It was rejected. As a practical comment on the system, the men who were employed on the Exhibition were soon working fifteen hours a day. Let it be observed that fifteen hours at 7*d.* is 8*s.* 9*d.*; whereas, under the old system of time and half it would be 9*s.* 7½*d.* It is easy to see which system would suit Messrs. Kelk and Lucas best. If it had been generally known that this was the meaning of hour payment, public opinion, we think, would have viewed it very differently.

But after all, some will say, although the great body of the men object to overtime, why should an individual be prohibited from earning as much as he likes? We have shown earlier in this article how such a man is really compelling the majority to do as he does; which is all that political economy has to say to it. The moral question we have nowhere seen so clearly dealt with as in the following noble words:

"I understand well how hard it seems that a man wanting to work his twelve hours (say to support a large family) should be told, 'No, you must work only ten.' But what if his working twelve hours leads inevitably to others working twelve hours—leads inevitably to a systematic twelve-hour day—to the exclusion of all who would work less? Why this means the degradation, the unhappiness of his order, the brotherhood to which he belongs. He must give way. He ought to give way. And a rule which compels him to give way is a right and just and beneficial rule. The truth is, it is altogether a false method to begin with the individual as such—to begin with (so-called) individual rights, instead of social duties. The absoluteness of such alleged rights, as for a man to work as long as he pleases, make his own bargain in all cases, do what he likes with his own, &c., is comparatively a new claim in the world. It has done good in undoing unreasonable social bonds, and may have more good work of the kind to do; but after the experience of the last fifty years, we ought to know that to reasonable social obligations any one of these 'rights' ought to humble itself and confess that it is no right at all. All patriotism, all social order and well-being depends on this; and one main good of a trades' union is, that it does recognise the good of the whole order, and requires every member to consider that first, and his own profit second."\*

The *Times* has repeatedly stated that the men struck against Messrs. Kelk and Lucas for the nine hours, and that *then* those gentlemen introduced the hour system. This is simply false. The five trades had sent in a memorial asking for the nine hours, but not to Messrs. Kelk and Lucas. It lies before us, and is addressed to the Masters' Association. We have been repeatedly assured and believe that no strike was intended during 1861. A

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\* Letter to the *Spectator*, August 17, by Vernon Lushington.



similar memorial was sent in 1860, and was not followed by a strike. Messrs. Kelk and Lucas acted, not in concert with the other masters, as the *Times* falsely stated, but without consulting them. In fact, the other masters are being ruined for the benefit of Messrs. Lucas and Kelk, who, by acting alone and so getting a start of the rest, secured every "black" who was worth having. Thus, these clever gentlemen managed to kill two birds with one stone—to crush their workmen and cripple their competitors in the trade.

During April and May, while there was no strike except against the half-dozen firms which had adopted the hour system, the *Times* showed its sense of the importance of the question by inveighing against the men day after day with a mendacity and a violence that was quite curious. Soon after the 10th of June, when an extensive strike did take place and the tug of war had just really commenced, the leading journal became suddenly silent, and for some seven weeks did not utter a word on the subject. There is a story current which explains the fury of the spring and the indifference of the summer. In the absence of evidence we do not choose to repeat it here. But this every one will admit—that for tactics so extraordinary there must have been reasons no less extraordinary.

The newspaper press has incurred a deep and unenviable responsibility by the attitude which, with few exceptions, it has assumed towards the building operatives. Its insulting and ferocious language has been bitterly felt by them. On more than one occasion the principal picture in *Punch* has been made the vehicle of coarse slander. Sometimes it is a squalid family group, their faces haggard with woe. This, it is explained, is the family of a man on strike. Sometimes it is a ragged dissipated wretch accosting a sleek, well-fed artisan. This is a unionist begging from a non-unionist. Imagine the feelings of high-minded independent men, who have never asked a favour in their lives, who know that *they* are the sober industrious workmen, while the "blacks" are the disreputable, incompetent scum of the trade—imagine, we say, their feelings when in every print-shop this cowardly and infamous caricature stares them in the face. We wonder whether the artist who drew it ever reflected on the responsibility of the step he was taking. Did he think it a light thing to wound the tenderest and noblest feelings of thousands of honest men, and envenom a deplorable dispute by his savage mockery? Does he suppose that these outrages are not written deep on the memory of the working classes of the metropolis? Every man of them felt the insult as though it had been aimed specially at himself. "Are we to be hunted into our very 'homes'?" we have heard them say. "Are our wives, too, and

"our children to be dragged into caricatures for the amusement "of rich people?" Nor have they met with better treatment from papers of more exalted pretensions. The *Saturday Review*, though not supposed to have a mercantile connexion, and often vaunting itself superior to the sordid instincts of the trader, views any independent action of the lower orders with natural dislike, and treats it accordingly. For our part we do not regret that the literary class has thoroughly discredited itself in the eyes of working men. Its ridiculous pretensions to direct human progress will give less trouble in the future.

We have called the attention of our readers to the conduct of the *Times*, not for the purpose of exposing what every one has observed—the utter absence of high principle in its management, but because it has been in this matter the mouthpiece of the masters, or a certain section of them, who are responsible for every word which has appeared in its columns. The person employed to do this disreputable work, did not even make a show of impartiality, by applying to the men for information, which was cheerfully afforded to all who asked for it. We have not exposed a tenth part of the falsehoods by which public opinion was misled during the spring. The silence which the masters are now maintaining, is almost as culpable. They ought either to justify their position or give in. It will not do for them to say that they know their own business, and are responsible to no one for the way in which they conduct it. To put aside the higher arguments we might use, we have only to remind them that they loudly invoked the aid of public opinion as long as it appeared to be on their side; that they expect to be excused completing their contracts; that they have endeavoured to enlist the Government and Parliament on their side; that they have even got sappers to do their work. After all this, it is impudent to say they wish to be let alone. Undoubtedly, they must act as they please. But public opinion, as they have often told the men, cannot long be defied with impunity. At present, it seems much more likely that certain masters will find their way into the *Gazette*, than that the men will have to give in.

In 1851, 1859, and 1861, capitalists have deliberately attempted to destroy Trade Unions. Fortunately, their strength was ludicrously inadequate to the task. They were like a drunkard sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, and trying to ignite it with a damp match. Society is held together,—or to speak in a tongue they understand better, property is preserved, not by policemen, but by ideas—by the faith which each man has in some principle other than brute force. Destroy that faith, rudely snatch from him that idea, by sharing which with others he has been bound to society, and you have anarchy. It is useless to deny that to

the working man the Trades' Union is something dearer, something more significant, than the British Constitution or the Established Church, aye, or than country itself. If worship is the sentiment we feel towards what we regard as greatest and best, we suspect that with many a working man his union inspires a feeling which, out of respect to our clerical friends, we will not analyse more particularly. Could some people have their wish, and unions suddenly cease to exist, our belief is that the French Revolution would be a rose-water affair to the convulsion which would shake England.

But we hope better things for our country. The working classes are appealing to those above them to regulate their conduct by a high moral standard. The time will come when the upper classes will have to make a similar appeal. Well will it be for us if the men have not by that time forgotten those high principles they now invoke; if the incessant preaching of base unsocial doctrines has not taught them to turn a deaf ear to the loftier voice, which in the freshness of their thought they recognised; if long oppression and a cynical appeal to force has not rendered them sullen and vengeful, and crushed out of their hearts that yearning for an ideal state of society which, illusory as it may be, they now fondly cherish. For we bear them record that there is in them a deep flow of generous sympathy for their fellow-man, which in these latter times is not easily found elsewhere. Long and sore feuds with those above them have not dried it up; the brutal taunts of the press have not turned it into gall and bitterness. It is no cold artificial Pharisaical philanthropy, classified into "sections," digested into "transactions," and effervescing in a subscription. It is the conception, though dim, the realization, though imperfect, of the grand moral law which lies at the foundation of human society—that to live for others is at once our highest duty and our greatest happiness.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE first part of Bleek's "Introduction to Holy Scripture" comprises the Old Testament. The material of the work consists of the deceased author's lectures, repeated by him at intervals during the period from 1821-1858.<sup>1</sup> The work is an exceedingly valuable one, and distinguished throughout from the productions of many German theological professors, by the caution and moderation of its views. Where his researches did not permit him to arrive at a certain result, Bleek was satisfied with an attainable probability. Dogmatism and unsustained hypothesis is as unworthy of the critic on the liberal as on the conservative side. Besides this character of caution, his "Introduction" is also marked by its recognition of a peculiar spirit in the Biblical literature, rendering it worthy, according to the author, of being considered a revelation, or record of a revelation, though not in a superstitious or merely traditional sense. The Old Testament writings, moreover, may be acknowledged to be pedagogical or introductory to the Revelation of the New Testament. Without this acknowledgment, their place in history cannot be appreciated, nor can the New Testament Scriptures be understood. These acknowledgments, however, leave entirely free scope for the critic. Thus the Pentateuchal books are monuments of a revelation, in the above sense of the word, of the movement in the Hebrews of the religious spirit, although they cannot, by any means, in their entirety, be ascribed to the authorship of Moses. And the like is true of the Prophets, even when we have ceased to attribute to them an ecstatic foresight of actual history. Bleek considers the prophetic inspiration to be truly divine, but, though not without some foresight of particulars, to be limited to the ethical domain, and to the preparation of the way of salvation in Jesus the Son of God. His view, however, leaves him free to examine critically the parts of the several prophetic books—to distinguish between the earlier and later Isaiah—and to find in the "Servant" (lii. liii.) rather the spiritual seed of Abraham, the true Israel, than an individual Messiah. We will only specify further Bleek's careful analysis of the remarkable variations in the book of Jeremiah as presented in the Masoretic text and in the Septuagint version. In some cases, no doubt, where the Septuagint translators vary from the present Hebrew, it is obvious to acknowledge that they have either misunderstood the original, or have translated from a corrupt

<sup>1</sup> "Einleitung in das Alte Testament von Friedrich Bleek." Herausgegeben von Joh. F. Bleek und Ad. Kamphausen. Mit Vorwort von Carl Immanuel Nitzsch. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

reading. But on a careful examination of the version of the book of Jeremiah, there is every reason to suppose it was made from an original as authentic as the present Hebrew; and that there must have been, if the authority of our present Hebrew Jeremiah is to be preserved, two editions, as it were, of the book of equal authority. The subject of the variations in the Septuagint from the present Hebrew is of the greatest interest, because the quotations from the Old Testament by our Lord and His apostles are usually made according to the Greek version. Those who uphold the stricter views of inspiration would do well to consider all the bearings of these facts. The entire work now before us falls into three divisions, of which the first treats of the origin and contents of the several books; the second, of the history of the canon of the Old Testament; the third, of the history of the text. Indexes are added.

The purpose of David Zündel's "Critical Inquiry into the date of the book of Daniel," is to vindicate its genuineness and authenticity in unison with the views of Hengstenberg, Von Hofman, and Auberlen.<sup>2</sup> The author attributes little weight to the mention of Greek instruments of music (ch. iii.), some of which he considers as in fact of Oriental origin, and as to others, as *ψαλτήριον*, he thinks that Greek musicians may have been found at the Oriental courts—which, for the date of Nebuchadnezzar is extremely improbable. As to *συμφωνία*, he remarks that it is mentioned as the name of a particular instrument by Polybius (Fragm. xxxi. 1, 4), when he is describing a festival of Antiochus Epiphanes, which is consistent with, even suggestive of, the Maccabæan date of the book. The prodigies related in the former part occasion Herr Zündel no difficulty; he esteems them to have been fitted to confirm the faith of the chosen people in troublous conjunctures of their history. He does not, however, observe that they had, in fact, no effect upon the onward course of events; that the public deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, followed by the proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar, and that of Daniel followed by a like proclamation of Darius, have left no trace in history. As to the visions and prophecies of the later part of the book, our author admits the clearness with which the events are described in Chapters viii. x. xi. up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, which is, in fact, to give up the whole argument for the book containing prophecies properly so called. The work may be consulted with advantage as the last word of the old orthodoxy upon the subject.

By far the greater part of Mr. Burgon's book, which he calls an "Answer to Essays and Reviews," is taken up in personal abuse of the authors of the volume.<sup>3</sup> Five of these, including the lamented Powell, have been active members of the university to which Mr. Burgon

<sup>2</sup> "Kritische Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel." Von David Zündel. London: D. Nutt. 1861.

<sup>3</sup> "Inspiration and Interpretation. Seven Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford; with Preliminary Remarks; being an Answer to a Volume entitled 'Essays and Reviews.'" By the Rev. John William Burgon, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College and Select Preacher. London and Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1861.

belongs; the value therefore of the personal tirades in which he has indulged himself will be appreciated in the place itself. But it is not fair to the public to thicken a book by an Introduction of 228 pages, entirely devoted to the purpose of blackening persons of greater Academical distinction and of higher standing, in every sense of the word, than himself. Great good, we certainly expect, will result from the publication of the famous volume; the good will not be unaccompanied with evils; and of these not the least is the opportunity afforded to third and fourth-rate men to make capital out of the controversy it has awakened. To take a part against the Essayists and Reviewers is not an unpromising road even to a bishoprick. Strange "testimonies" are at times delivered in the University pulpit, and Mr. Burgon's "soul," we are told, has "heard the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war;" he answers it in St. Mary's with screams of fear, rage and hate; from his study he addresses his pupils, instilling into them the poison not only of the *odium theologicum*, but of collegiate envy.

The "cold shade of unbelief has never for an instant," Mr. Burgon tells us, "darkened his spirit; so that he may not be very apt to sympathize with men who walk about hampered with a doubt" (p. ccix.); it is not therefore surprising that he has failed in occupying any common ground on which persons who do walk about with that kind of lumber could meet him; he is under the disadvantage of having to argue what is to himself a truism, and as he only succeeds in rendering his axiom more obscure than it was before, he naturally falls into a passion. This axiom, however, and the sum of his doctrine is simply the roughest and crudest of inspiration theories.

"No, sirs! The Bible (be persuaded) is the very utterance of the Eternal—as much God's Word as if high Heaven were open, and we heard God speaking to us with human voice. Every book of it is inspired alike, and is inspired entirely. Inspiration is not a difference of degree, but of kind. The Apocryphal books are not one atom more inspired than Bacon's Essays. But the Bible, from the Alpha to the Omega of it, is filled to overflowing with the Holy Spirit of God: the books of it, and the sentences of it, and the words of it, and the syllables of it, aye, and the very letters of it."—(Serm. iii. p. 76.)

This is literalism with a vengeance. Mr. Burgon seems to have studied the art of rendering the alternative he would have his hearers adopt, the most repulsive, and of inevitably precipitating them into the conclusion which he chiefly abhors. A really instructive example of this is to be found towards the close of the fourth sermon. He wishes to argue thus: If Paul is fallible, then is Jesus, for the same kind of "difficulties" occur in the discourses of both; but "common piety" forbids us to suppose Jesus to have been fallible, therefore neither was Paul. And he enumerates thus:—

"a. The well-known difficulty about 'the days of Abiathar,' is found in one of our Lord's discourses (Mark ii. 26). Here, then, is a case of what, if an Evangelist or an Apostle had been the author of the statement, would have been called an historical inaccuracy. β. However unworthy of scientific attention the Mosaic account of the descent of mankind from a single pair may be deemed, the universality of 'the Noachian deluge,' the destruction of the cities of the plain, the fate of Lot's wife, Jonah in the fish's belly, and so forth,

to all these (supposed) unscientific statements our blessed Lord commits himself unequivocally. γ. When the Holy One inferred the resurrection of the dead from the words spoken to Moses 'in the bush' (Luke xx. 37, 38); when He proved that Christ is not the son of David, because David in spirit calls him Lord (Matt. xxii. 41—6); and when He showed, from a clause in the sixth verse of the 82nd Psalm ('I said ye are gods'), that it was not unlawful for Himself to claim the title of Son of God (John x. 34—6), I humbly think that the argumentation is of such a nature as would not produce conviction in captious minds cast in a modern mould. . . . I defy any one to bring a charge of faulty logic against passages in St. Paul's Epistles which might not, *with the same show of reason*, be brought against certain of our Lord's recorded sayings."—pp. 135, 136.

Mr. Burgon adds the instances of "irrelevant quotation," from Matt. xxi. 16; of "slip of memory," from Matt. xix. 4, 5; of "logical fallacy," from John viii. 47; and "could adduce many more." Whatever solution "common piety" may require at Oxford, we know how "common reason" will shape the inference from these data elsewhere. Mr. Burgon has walked into the slough, and there let us leave him.

In an entirely different tone and spirit, and altogether a far more respectable production on the same subject, are Mr. Garbett's Boyle Lectures for 1861.<sup>4</sup> In eschewing personalities, he says very properly, "accusations of conscious and wilful dishonesty must be repudiated on both sides. Unconscious partiality is another question" (p. 304). Mr. Garbett writes from a thorough *evangelical* point of view, which we very much doubt would but ill accord with the sentiments of the founder of the lecture, who, we imagine,—not to speak of his "fleeting clouds of doubt and disbelief," or of that "disease to his faith like a toothache to the body, which, though it be not mortal, is very troublesome,"—would have had quite as much sympathy with the "essayists" as with the lecturer: his Christianity was a very liberal one, and he would probably have recognised in their undertaking an attempt to save, not to destroy; in favour of Christianity, not in opposition to it. With Mr. Garbett, Christianity consists in a reception of the Bible as a whole for an inspired Revelation, comprising among its facts, or doctrines, the depravity of human nature, the wrath of God on the offending race, the conciliation of the Divine mercy by the Vicarious suffering of Christ, and the working in the elect of faith in these facts by the operation of the Holy Spirit. The miraculous character of the whole series of the Bible history, and the verity of supernatural events recorded in it, which lie beyond the range of any merely human testimony, is assumed in connexion with the author's notion of the inspiration of the record. It is essential to his argument that the Bible should be considered as a whole, and be made to stand or fall as a whole. He therefore deprecates the criticism of details, for which, in fact, he thinks we have no proper faculty, unless we are possessed by that childlike faith which is ready to accept the whole scheme, in

<sup>4</sup> "The Bible and its Critics; an Inquiry into the Objective Reality of Revealed Truths." Being the Boyle Lectures for 1861. By the Rev. Edward Garbett, M.A., Incumbent of St. Bartholomew's, Gray's-inn-road; Author of "The Soul's Life," &c. London: Seeley and Griffiths. 1861.

which case examination of particulars becomes superfluous. At least, until we can embrace the whole method of human salvation, according to the Evangelical interpretation, as *supposable*, the inquirer, it is urged, is obviously incompetent to judge of its parts, which have their value and meaning only in relation to the whole; but when once one has arrived at the *supposableness* of the scheme, speculative difficulties and detailed objections disappear of themselves. It seems, however, to us, that there is a distinction to be drawn upon the word *suppose*. One may *suppose* or *imagine* a centaur, or a being half-man, half-marble, and our very supposition, imagination, or representation of it prevents our supposing or believing that it can really exist. We apprehend this is the answer which will be made to such an observation as that "if a man replies he cannot suppose their possibility, then he confesses that he is unable to comprehend the very theory of the Gospel which he rejects" (p. 399), the distinguishing feature of which is (*in loco*) that eternal punishment must follow upon unbelief. The danger, in fact, of Mr. Garbett's advocacy of revelation is that he ties together the whole of his scheme of belief on the one side, and the whole of what he represents to be the system of unbelief on the other: he includes under the former the whole of the Evangelical doctrines, and the whole of the Scriptural text (as settled (?) by criticism) under the name of Revelation; under the latter he comprehends the conclusions of the "Essayists," and of many other authors, from whom, however, whether logically or not, they distinctly separate themselves. A High Churchman would, moreover, say that Mr. Garbett is defective in omitting all notice of the Sacraments as means of that grace which man is born without, and of the office of the Church, which is to deliver to him the Scriptures, and interpret them. And he has not as yet completed the chain of evidence by which the New Testament is to be connected with the origin of Christianity. The present existence of the books is certainly a fact from which we may start and work backwards; but when Mr. Garbett speaks of the testimony of Christ and his Apostles (p. 364), it is obvious that before that testimony can be received as it is reported, we must establish the credibility and *identity* of the reporters, which has not yet been done, and which is a preliminary of which the Boyle lecturer does not appear to see the necessity.

Professor Challis's scheme of reconciling the results of scientific observation with the first chapter of Genesis, differs considerably from those which have been hitherto attempted.<sup>5</sup> He presupposes the declarations in Genesis i. to be absolutely true, and as the events happened before there could be any human witness of them, the knowledge there communicated must be by an immediate revelation or inspiration. The problem, therefore, is to bring this revelation, or rather our interpretation of it, into accordance with our interpretation of the revelations

<sup>5</sup> "Creation in Plan and in Progress; being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis." By the Rev. James Challis, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.



of Science. The suggestions of Professor Challis surrender the literal accuracy of the first chapter of Genesis on two grounds: first, he esteems it to contain the description of a plan, and not an historical narrative (p. 18), and to make known to us effects rather than operations (p. 26); secondly, he considers that there is a science of Scripture language, founded upon observation, which reveals to us an inner or spiritual sense belonging to its words. The "days" of the narrative are thus symbolical of periods, and the events which signalize each epoch are significant rather than descriptive of the phenomena which it really embraces. The Professor thinks that some difficulties are thus obviated; that initiative operations are described in terms of their maximum effect; and that the order of greatest development is intended to be presented as the result of the creative plan or design, not the order of commencement. He considers, for instance, that the appearance of herb yielding seed is properly comprehended, together with the Flora of the carboniferous period, in the work of the third day, because it was included in the idea of vegetable development, of which that was the commencement, although the fruit-bearing trees do not appear geologically till long afterwards. Equally laboured, we think, is his attempted reconciliation with astronomical science of the creation of the sun, moon, and stars on the fourth day. His solution fails also, we think, either on the principle of *prolepsis*, or on the principle of greatest development, in respect to the work of the fifth day; for in that relative order, neither do marine animals appear for the first time, nor in their greatest multitude. The Professor's principles of exegesis, however, have a much wider application than to the Mosaic history of creation; for throughout Scripture he finds an inner meaning, both when the words literally taken, do not correspond to an objective reality, and also when the objects are themselves emblematic of spiritual things. Especially he attributes this kind of inner meaning to all miraculous narratives; not shutting out the material miracle, any more than in Genesis he shuts out real creation, but inferring a spiritual significance beyond it, and a continual progress and working out of the Divine plan. The views advanced are maintained very temperately, though not with any great vigour or copiousness of illustration; and, as the Professor observes, they are not new, being not unlike the allegorizing methods of Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and the pseudo-Barnabas, and reminding us also of Jones of Nayland, and the Hutchinsonians.

If such proceedings as the prosecution of Dr. Williams by the Bishop of Salisbury could be considered any evidence or indication of the true character of opinions, we should have to conclude that Bunsen had been the most destructive of all German critics.<sup>6</sup> For giving a summary of portions of his works, for favourably reporting the labours of a life specially devoted to the service of religion and to the illustration of the Biblical Scriptures, for indicating to English clergymen

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<sup>6</sup> "Bunsen's Bibelwerk nach seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart" beleuchtet von Bernhard Bachring, Evangelisch-Protestantischem Pfarrer." London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

that there is a tenable Biblical and Christian ground which they may occupy when the literal Inspiration-theory is abandoned, and when physical and moral prodigies are acknowledged to be inconsistent with the Order of Providence—for such things as these Dr. Williams has been singled out as an offering to the Moloch of Bibliolatry. Yet the position of Dr. Williams relative to extreme schools is essentially the same as was that of Bunsen, stigmatized as an infidel by the Krummachers and Stahls for his very efforts to rescue Christianity from the destructives of the Tübingen school. For a brief and clear account of the life of the man and of the character of those efforts, particularly in his last great work, we recommend the Rev. Bernhard Baehring's *Illustration of the "Bibel-werk."* This gentleman appears to be a minister of the Evangelical Protestant Church; we presume that he has not exposed himself to prosecution, as has happened in liberal England, however he may come in for a share of Evangelical obloquy. A voluntary sect may hug itself in its narrowness, but a Church claiming to embrace the nation as the Established Church does in this country, claiming to be Catholic in any true sense of the word, is a self-destroyer when it seeks to narrow the terms of its communion. We can understand sectarian persons, irresponsible themselves, eager to urge on their ecclesiastical superiors to obtain legal decisions on doctrinal questions, in the hope they will be favourable to their own contracted views. We can understand a weak person in the position of a bishop lending himself to the object of obtaining a decision of that kind; but if done at all, it should be done gravely and without the previous expression of his own opinion. We can even understand such persons as we have described, whether Ditchers or Denisons, aiming at the suppression and punishment of the opinions which they think erroneous; but we cannot understand a person of reasonable competency for the office of an English bishop allowing any ecclesiastical proceeding which he takes relative to the doctrine of his clergy to assume a punitive character. He may conceive it to be his duty, or be driven by pressure, to ascertain whether certain opinions can legally be expressed by a clergyman of the Church of England; but it is, to say the least, extremely unwise to commit himself in speech or writing to any judgment that they are contradictory either to divine truth or to the Anglican standards. For a prudent bishop would consider in what position he would find himself, if the Church Courts should affirm, that the doctrines which he has denounced as heterodox and unchristian are not really in contradiction to the formularies by which the clergy are presumed to be bound—friendly and unfriendly persons might point out that his course then would obviously be, to relieve himself of all complicity with heresy by quitting office in an establishment tainted and unchurched by it, and seeking elsewhere a more orthodox Catholicity.

Yet whether it be Williams or his master Bunsen, it is clear that the designs of each have been conservative. Bunsen's extension, for instance, of the pre-historic period had for its object to preserve the doctrine of the unity of the human race; and those who think the most vital truths concerning human depravity and redemption to

stand or fall with that supposition have but ill repaid his delicate treatment of the subject. So with respect to the miraculous events which are described as having attended the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, he resorted to a strained accumulation of exaggerated natural phenomena within a short period, if so he might retain an historical basis for the narrative. His undoubted leaning, if we may not say his conscious motive, throughout his Biblical criticisms, was evidently how to preserve as much as possible of old belief. He presumes all along the Bible to be true in some sense—if not in letter then in spirit—authenticity of spirit he claims for it, not infallibility of letter; and because this kind of conservative reconciliation has been distasteful, he has been pursued with a venom more bitter than that which self-styled believers distribute to a Strauss or a Baur, with an odium reaching even beyond the grave. And those who would dwell with unction upon the richness of divine grace, manifested in the "conversion" of a felon between sentence and execution, are incapable of appreciating the calm warm cheerfulness of the closing scenes of such a consistent life as Bunsen's. Herr Bachring first sketches Bunsen's life, with an account of his illness and death; exhibits his real relation to the Biblical Revelation in consistency with his scientific stand-point as Immanentist but not Pantheist; reviews his criticism, translation, and exposition of the Scriptures; subjects the critics of the "Bible for the People" to some castigation; and concludes by stating the present condition of the work, which was left by the author with the greater part of the manuscript ready for the press, so that the remaining portions of it may shortly be expected by the public.

One at least of the authors of the "Essays and Reviews" exhibits a determination to maintain the ground which he has taken up in that publication. The "Everton Sermons" of Mr. Wilson were occasional in their origin, and might not have been given to the public if it had not been for an interference on the part of the Bishop of Chester of extreme or doubtful legality.<sup>7</sup> We think Mr. Wilson and Mr. Macnought acted wisely and in the interest of the liberties of the clergy in not trying the question at the present moment, whether the bishop's *summary* inhibition of a person not already ecclesiastically convicted of any offence could have been maintained. The case appears to have been a strong one against the bishop in itself, but so much extraneous matter would have been imported into it, that the cause of freedom would have run great risk in an ecclesiastical court, especially as the case must have been tried in the Consistorial Court of Chester, or in the Provincial Court of York. The sermons themselves restate, in a more popular form, some of the views already advanced by the author in his "Essay," and are especially antagonistic to the extreme doctrine of the corruption of human nature and to the notion of a vicarious satisfaction. In the Preface, without replying to the personalities with which he has been assailed, Mr. Wilson illustrates the application of

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<sup>7</sup> "Three Sermons composed for delivery at the Opening of a New Organ at St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton." By Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hunts, &c. &c. London: Longman and Co.

"Protestant Principles," in the true sense of the words, to modern theological questions, especially those which concern the authority and interpretation of the Scriptures.

Below we give the titles of some of the pamphlets lately issued in the "Essays and Reviews" controversy."<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Desprez will have rendered an immense service to the cause of a reasonable Christianity, if his method of interpreting the Apocalypse should be generally accepted.<sup>9</sup> He will have removed a serious stumblingblock from many well-intentioned persons, and have deprived clerical charlatans of the means of perpetuating a gross imposture and deceit. We have reason to hope that some impression of this kind

<sup>8</sup> "An Answer to the Essays and Reviews." By T. Collyns Simon, author of "The Nature and Elements of the External World," &c. &c. London and Oxford: J. H. and James Parker.

"A Few Words of Apology for the late Professor Baden Powell's Essay 'On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity.'" By a Lay Graduate. The same publishers.

"Thoughts on Miracles, suggested by the late Rev. Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity." By A. V., M.A. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

"The Subject of 'The National Church,' considered in an Examination of Mr. H. B. Wilson's Essay." By C. Gooch, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge. London: Edward Thompson.

"Reply to Dr. Wild and the 'Edinburgh;' a Defence of the Bishops and the Memorialists, in a Letter," &c. By Francis Bodfield Hooper, Rector of Upton Warren, near Bromsgrove. London: J. and F. H. Rivington.

"Discourses on the 'Essays and Reviews,' delivered in Christ Church, New Road, Brighton." By the Rev. Robert Ainslie. London: Manwaring.

"Exoneravi Animam, or one Radical Reformer's Way of Thinking; containing a Few Suggestions touching the Essays and Reviews, as appreciated by Convocation," &c. By John Bues Humperley. London: same publisher.

"Concerning Doubt. A Letter to 'A Layman.'" By a Clergyman. London and Oxford: J. H. and James Parker.

"Free Thought v. Dogmatic Theology; being Two Lectures on 'Essays and Reviews,'" delivered in St. Mark's Chapel, Edinburgh. By Robert Blackley Drummond, B.A. London: Houlston and Wright.

"The Further Revision of the Liturgy, with a Reference to the Clergy, Essays and Reviews," &c. &c. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

"The York Journal of Convocation, containing the Acts and Debates of both Houses of the Convocation of the Province of York, edited from authorized sources." By the Rev. George Trevor, M.A., Canon of York. London: J. and C. Mozley. The Convocation of York signalized its first assembly (we believe) since the Reformation by passing the following astounding resolution in reference to Essays and Reviews:—"That on one of the principles advocated in that volume—the principle of making what is called the 'verifying faculty' in man the test whereby he is to sit in eclectic judgment on the contents of the Bible, determining which are Divine and which human, which true and which false—we are of opinion the *fundamental and distinguishing truths of Christianity must in all consistency be rejected*; seeing that the Ever Blessed Trinity, the Holy Incarnation, and the Resurrection of the flesh, are mysteries *not to be received by any verifying faculty in man*; but only in submission of mind to a reasonably attested revelation from God." The time will come when his Evangelical friends will see the bearing of that resolution, and will not thank Dr. M'Neile for having led them to put it on record.

<sup>9</sup> "The Apocalypse Fulfilled in the Consummation of the Mosaic Economy and the Coming of the Son of Man. An Answer to the 'Apocalyptic Sketches' and 'The End,' by Dr. Cumming." By the Rev. P. S. Desprez, B.D., Curate of Emmanuel, Camberwell. Third Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

has already been made. The falsification by the event of successive epochs fixed upon by various interpreters for the downfall of the Pope, the battle of Armageddon, or the end of the world, has been insufficient to deter others from advancing like delusions from time to time, because no reasonable interpretation has been suggested of the book from whence chiefly the prophetic material is derived. But if it shall once be established that the "Revelation" contains a description in mystic language of events long since passed, is a figurative representation of the events of the great Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem—the occupation of the prophecy-mongers will be gone. Whether the book ever was a "prophecy," in the stricter sense of the word, is a branch of the subject which need not now be opened. It will be seen that by his method of interpretation Mr. Desprez preserves an unison in the meaning of the symbolic language of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and brings the ampler descriptions of the Apocalypse into keeping with the predictions in Matth. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi., and with the expressions of St. Paul and St. Peter respecting the early coming of the Day of the Lord. A point of departure will thus have been determined from which the Christian expectations of the second Advent afterwards became modified by the course of events. And if the Apocalypse shall be recognised as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the Christian Scriptures, as a genuine and really intelligible remains of antiquity, a great light will be thrown upon the chronology and significance of the other New Testament writings. According to Mr. Desprez's interpretation, the mystic Babylon and the Woman sitting on the seven hills is not Rome, either Pagan or Papal, but Jerusalem. "The Church at Babylon," mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13, is very probably the Church at Jerusalem as distinguished from the Church of the "dispersion," and Mr. Desprez says:—

"The only great city which fell at that time was Jerusalem. The only great city whose fall minutely corresponds with the prediction was Jerusalem. The only great city whose fall it would have concerned the Jewish writers of the Scriptures to record was Jerusalem. The only great city whose destruction was among 'the things which must shortly come to pass' of St. John's day was Jerusalem. The only great city which could claim the title of '*the holy city*,' '*the beloved city*,' '*the great city where our Lord was crucified*,' was Jerusalem. The only great city which had dominion over the kings of Judea, as distinct from the heathen, was Jerusalem."—p. 360.

Mr. Desprez deals, we think, very successfully with the symbolical details of the description; and perhaps not least with the expression which seems to present the greatest difficulty, the "sitting on the seven hills;" "the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth." For though there can be no doubt that "the seven mountains" represent Rome, it does not follow that the woman sitting on the seven mountains must be Rome. On the contrary, she cannot be Rome, as neither in the parallel pair of symbols can the Woman riding upon the Beast be Rome, which would be to make Rome ride upon Rome. Rather, the author concludes—

"The woman sitting on the seven mountains is the woman carried by the beast, sitting on the beast, sitting upon many waters:—i. e. Jerusalem carried and

supported by Rome; Judea, a Roman province; her princes of Roman appointment, and sometimes of Roman extraction; and her people rejecting their true king with the words—'We have no king but Cæsar.' This is plain and intelligible, and what is more to the point, in accordance with the history of the period."

Mr. Desprez's work deals a heavy blow upon the Exeter Hall fanaticism, from which it will not easily recover.

Mr. Smith's Exposition of the Book of the Revelation,<sup>10</sup> on the other hand, follows the traditional interpretation among Protestants, and identifies Babylon and the other symbols of "vessels fitted for destruction" with Papal Rome. The author, it must be allowed, avoids the objectionable platform style of treatment.

The design of Dr. Pratt in the "Genealogy of Creation" is to show the reconciliation of science and revelation, if the Mosaic record in the first chapter of Genesis is interpreted from the ancient text as nearly as its original unpointed state can be recovered.<sup>11</sup> The Masoretic pointing undoubtedly has the effect of a version, or rather of a commentary; but we must differ from the author in thinking that it is a commentary more likely to present the true literary sense of the record than modern conjecture founded upon fanciful and mystical philologies. Thus—

"A hidden meaning has also been contained in this word *artz*, 'earth,' for by treating it as an apocopated inflection of *rtz*, 'to run,' 'to move rapidly,' and, perhaps, even 'to revolve,' the earth is thus made to say of itself, 'I shall move rapidly,' 'I shall be caused to move rapidly,' 'to revolve,' or, since it has not and cannot be determined which inflection in a Hebrew verb signifies 'the past,' 'the present,' or 'the future,' which, indeed, are all equal in the sight of God; this uncertainty having been retained with reference to this equality in the presence of God, and also because of the veiled meanings which are thus rendered much more comprehensive,—'*I am revolving rapidly*;' and thus is the rotation of the earth in space clearly indicated, while the charge so often brought against the inspired revelation, that it does not recognise the motion of the world is triumphantly refuted: and again, by considering it an inflection of *rtz*, instead of a derivative from it, it then gives the deep mystical sense, 'I shall be caused to be broken to pieces,' 'crushed to atoms,' 'destroyed;' thus pointing prophetically to some future epoch in the history of the world, and exactly corresponding with the ordinary belief as to its predestined fate."—pp. 232.

We wish that Dr. Pratt had confined himself to scientific illustrations of the Divine Creation, and had not meddled with discoveries in the *unpointed Hebrew*.

M. Colani's four sermons preached at Nîmes are characterized by his usual zeal in the cause of Christian charity, urging a unity of the

<sup>10</sup> "The Revelation; with a Short, Plain, Continuous Exposition." By S. Smith, Vicar of Lois Weedon and Rural Dean. London: James Ridgway. 1861.

<sup>11</sup> "The Genealogy of Creation, newly translated from the Unpointed Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis; showing the General Scientific Accuracy of the Cosmogony of Moses and the Philosophy of Creation." By Henry F. A. Pratt, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians of London. London: John Churchill. 1861.

heart rather than of the head, of life rather than of doctrine.<sup>12</sup> The subjects are, Cornelius, David, the Lost Sheep, Letter and Spirit. At the close of the last discourse M. Colani describes the French Protestant Church before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, as having degenerated into a rigorous, even Judaical ecclesiasticism. He anticipates a promising future for Protestants in France only by their eschewing the formalism and dogmatism in which their ancestors were entangled.

The discourses of M. Naville were delivered in 1859 and 1860, at Geneva and Lausanne, taken down in shorthand, and revised by the author.<sup>13</sup> The purpose of them is conservative or reconstructive in presence of materialistic tendencies of some scientific schools and of modern Biblical criticism, especially in Germany and France. The questions at issue are stated under the forms—What is the human destiny? Has the Soul a distinct existence? The extent is described to which the Greek philosophy, in its best age, could push the anticipation of a future life. The solutions of the problem concerning the future offered by Brahmanism and Buddhism is shown to be even less satisfactory. The revelation of the Gospel it is then maintained is based upon the acknowledgment of miracle. Without the miracle of the Resurrection we could make no step towards a Christian belief properly so called. And here M. Naville thinks the searching criticisms of the Tübingen school have rendered an important service to Christianity. Miracle must have an historical evidence. The most destructive critics, after sifting remorselessly the documents of the New Testament, have admitted the genuineness of the four Epistles of St. Paul, the Romans, the two Corinthians, the Galatians. With this point of departure the author refers to 1 Cor. xv. 1-8, and argues thus:—

“Qu'est ce que ces paroles établissent? Les idées de Paul de Tarse? Beaucoup davantage. Au moment où Paul écrivait une église était fondée; l'Évangile était non seulement prêché mais reçu; et les Chrétiens étaient réunis en communauté de croyants sur la base de la foi en Jésus Christ mort et ressuscité. Dans le passage que nous venons de lire Paul n'enseigne pas, il rappelle ce qui avait été enseigné avant la date de sa lettre. Paul atteste la résurrection de Jésus Christ, et en appelle à des témoins nombreux dont beaucoup étaient encore vivants. Il affirme que le Seigneur lui est apparu à lui-même aussi.”—p. 170.

M. Naville considers that he has thus both a positive basis for the Christian doctrine concerning the person of Jesus, from which the whole Christian scheme can be reconstructed, and also that there are presented a set of facts which can be accounted for on no hypothesis of rationalism. The Christianity of M. Naville, it should however be stated, includes the doctrines of the Fall, of Redemption, of the necessity of “Conversion,” although they are not prominently put forward in these discourses, the object of which is to conciliate unbelievers.

<sup>12</sup> “Quatre Sermons prêchés à Nîmes.” Par T. Colani. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>13</sup> “La Vie Éternelle. Sept Discours par Ernest Naville, Ancien Professeur de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Genève. London: D. Nutt. 1861.

From circumstances of his own life also, M. Naville has been led to take kindly views of Christian differences.

"Man in History," by Adolf Bastian, is an undertaking to collect and arrange the materials for a Natural Science of Psychology,<sup>14</sup> exhibiting a history of the human mind in its intellectual, moral, religious, and political aspects. The book is an ample repository of facts, partly acquired in the course of the author's travels, partly gathered from a wide range of literature.

The author of "Mysteries" has himself foreseen the difficulty which the form of his work is likely to present to the reader;<sup>15</sup> we must frankly say that we cannot overcome it, or venture upon any abstract of a book of such bulk, although it is evidently composed in the interest of true religion and goodness.

"The Old and New Theology," by Henry James, in vigour and unflinching pursuit of the truth, puts us in mind of the same qualities in the writings of Theodore Parker;<sup>16</sup> we meet also occasionally with some of that excess of vehemence which characterized Parker. The English reader will understand that the author writes from an American standing point, but he will find a rich treasure in a small compass and much which is applicable without any modification to the state of religious affairs in England. The position of the traditional churches in the presence of increasing scientific knowledge is thus described:—

"So fares it then with the old sectarianism! It utterly misconceives the mission of Christ in supposing it to imply the degradation of humanity, or an essential antagonism between God and man. Instead of affirming the testimonies of science, and vindicating as man's unquestionable birthright every accession of dignity and power thence accruing to him, it seeks to perpetuate that legal separation between God and man which Christ annulled, by endowing this same Christ with an eternal literality, and so imposing him as another outward law upon humanity. The effect of this teaching is to inflame instead of mitigate hostile relations between God and man. For it is not possible that any person can permanently interpose between them in the way of holding them united, save upon the tacit convention that the parties thus conjoined are intrinsically unworthy of each other's confidence. God and man stand in the relation of creator and creature, of fountain and stream, and therefore to suppose any foreign intervention requisite to enforce their perfect amity, is simply to falsify the total truth of their relation. Such being the main defect of the ritual church, it is bound either to assume an advanced position on this vital topic, or else decline before the light of science as a farthing candle declines in the blaze of the midday sun."—p. 55.

We cannot say that the "Voice from the Ganges" is uttered in any very conciliatory tone.<sup>17</sup> It embraces a good deal of pungent criticism

<sup>14</sup> "Der Mensch in der Geschichte für Begründung einer psychologischen Weltanschauung, von Adolf Bastian. 3 Bände. London: D. Nutt. 1860.

<sup>15</sup> "Mysteries; or Faith the Knowledge of God." In Two Volumes. London: Manwaring. 1861.

<sup>16</sup> "The Old and New Theology, Two Lectures; and The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism; a Letter of Remonstrance to a Member of the *soi-disant* New Church." By Henry James, New York. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

<sup>17</sup> "Awas-I-Hind, or a Voice from the Ganges; being a Solution of the True Source of Christianity." By an Indian Officer. London: Manwaring. 1861.



of the letter of the New Testament, taken from Strauss, Newman, and Hennell. The source of the peculiarity of the Gospel doctrine the author finds in the Essenes, who, he observes, shrewdly, are not mentioned in the Gospels as the Pharisees and Sadducees are—indicating thereby that those writings are of Essenian origin. He also identifies the Jesus of the Evangelists with the Jesus son of Ananus, who perished during the siege of Jerusalem while denouncing woe upon the city. There is, however, no evidence that this Jesus had any followers, or that there was anything in his person which would cause him to be looked upon as Messiah; nor does the author consider sufficiently the necessity of a considerable period for the growth of a tradition into the material of the present Gospels, or into such a form as would serve for a basis for the Epistles of St. Paul.

Equally courageous, but more temperate and critical, is Mr. Perfit's brief treatise on the Canonical Gospels,<sup>18</sup> embracing, first, an inquiry into their inspiration and credibility; secondly, into their authorship and age.

As a worthy sequel to his logical and philosophical writings, A. Trendelenburg contributes a treatise on the principles of Natural Right.<sup>19</sup> The tendency of modern improvements in useful material arts, and in the wide extension of commercial transactions, is to narrow the conception of Right, and to seek its root in the selfish instincts of the individual. On the other hand, a confessional theology connects the idea of human Right with the declarations of Revelation, as if it was superimposed upon man as a rule from without him by an arbitrary Divine appointment. The purpose of the treatise is to replace Right upon its proper ground in the moral nature of man. The author reviews the theories and definitions of Right as mere Might, or the law of the strongest; of Right as the result of a combination of the weak against the strong, or as a means of security (Hobbes); of Right as means of unanimity in order to the increase of human power (Spinoza); of Right as the will of the majority (Rousseau); and of Right as a limitation of the individual freedom for the sake of the general freedom (Kant). He contends against the separation of Right from Morality, of Right from Duty, against the distinction between the *forum internum* and the *forum externum*. For if the individual be considered, as he must be, as part of an organism, private and public ends can never be in contradiction. Hence Right is defined as the sum of those determinations of conduct which serve to maintain and propagate the moral organism. This definition, it is evident, is applicable to any development of human society. And in the second part of his work the author applies his doctrines to the solution of questions concerning the rights of persons, of families, of the State, of Government, of Church and State, of international law. Moreover, as a far distant possibility, the whole human race may become welded together

<sup>18</sup> "On the Origin and Credibility of the Canonical Gospels." By P. W. Perfit. London: Manwaring. 1861.

<sup>19</sup> "Naturrecht auf dem Grunde der Ethik." Von Adolf Trendelenburg. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

as an organism; but it can only be when Right and Duty shall be felt to be in no opposition.

The third volume of Dr. Whewell's "Platonic Dialogues" contains two most important ones; the Republic, which will be found of general interest, and the Timæus, which may be consulted with advantage in this translation even by scholars.<sup>20</sup> There still remain some dialogues of considerable importance, as the *Banquet* and the *Theætetus*, which it is to be hoped the learned translator will give to the English public. The influence of Plato in the world will not be diminished when he shall have ceased to be a mystery.

It is not possible, says M. Tissot,<sup>21</sup> to establish an absolute separation as to their principle between Life and Intellect, by demonstrating merely that the functions of Life differ from the functions of Intellect; that these functions are performed by means of different organs; or that the functions of life do not cease simultaneously with those of the intellect. It would be necessary to prove that the intellectual operations may also survive the extinction of the living powers, and to trace this mutual independence beyond the organs through which it manifests itself up to a duality of source. Until this is done, the two sets of phenomena which constitute the appearances of intellect and of life will not really prove what they are supposed to prove. Moreover, if life and intellect are due to only one principle, the seat of the principle (if there be a seat) must be one and the same for both. Hence psychology and physiology are perceived to be inseparably connected sciences, yet not so as that either is to be merged into the other: there is not a double source for the two series of phenomena, but rather one spiritual source both of life and thought in all its modifications. Thus the two series of manifestations are accounted for; man is conceived of in his two natures, which are linked together by mutual action and reaction, yet with a subordination of the lower to the higher nature. To carry the distinction of these two natures further than this would be to constitute two beings between which should be supposed to exist a "pre-established harmony." These views of the author are in direct opposition to those of M. Flourens, in his work "*De la Vie et de l'Intelligence*," and the concluding part of the present volume takes in great degree the shape of a critique upon that treatise. The author considers himself to have established at least the negative results, that the fact of a diversity of organs being at the service of the Life and of the Intellect are no proof of any multiplicity in their cause, no more than a plurality of musical instruments would imply a plurality of persons to play upon them; that it is a mere confusion of terms, if not of thought, to take the organical or instrumental cause for an efficient; that, at least until thought shall have been really shown by experience to exist apart from life, it is unproved that

<sup>20</sup> "The Platonic Dialogues for English Readers." By William Whewell, D.D. Vol. III.—"The Republic and the Timæus." Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

<sup>21</sup> "*La Vie dans l'Homme, les Manifestations diverses, leurs rapports, leurs Conditions organiques.*" Par J. Tissot, Professeur de Philosophie, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

thought is the product of one agent and life of another; that the phenomenon of a brief continuance of life in man, after thought has ceased, no more proves a substantial distinction between a living and a thinking subject, than the continuance of the function of the stomach after the rest of the body is paralysed, or after mortification has commenced, would prove the individual to be made up of two bodies. In a continuation of the work M. Tissot undertakes to establish his positions positively. M. Tissot is an exceedingly close thinker, and expresses himself with the greatest clearness and precision. As a specimen of his style, as well as for the sake of the matter, we subjoin a passage from the chapter on the sources of prejudice:—

“Le merveilleux s’entend, à proprement parler, des manifestations fictives du surnaturel. Il se distingue ainsi du merveilleux moins proprement dit, et du miraculeux. Le merveilleux dans le sens large ou moins propre du mot, n’est autre chose que la manifestation extraordinaire d’une force naturelle, mais qui par le fait ne se déploie que rarement, parce que rarement elle est dans les circonstances favorables à la production de son effet. Le miraculeux d’après l’idée qu’on s’en fait généralement, est l’effet physique ou sensible d’une cause supérieure à la nature, et qui ne fait point partie de l’ensemble de ses forces. C’est pour cette raison qu’elle est appelée surnaturelle. On la reconnaît à la suspension des lois de la nature, ou à la production des phénomènes en opposition avec elles. Une force surnaturelle qui agirait dans le sens de ces lois, qui se servirait des forces physiques connues pour produire des effets connus, et dans les circonstances où ces effets se produisent naturellement; cette force, tout en produisant encore un effet partiellement surnaturel au moins, ne pourrait pas être reconnue, son action se confondant avec celle de la nature. D’après ce qui précède, il est facile de voir que le merveilleux proprement dit, bien qu’il ait souvent un point de départ réel ou objectif, peut être essentiellement subjectif. Il est en partie l’œuvre de l’imagination; œuvre d’art souvent, de superstition très fréquemment, de charlatanisme et d’imposture trop souvent encore, d’une maladie mentale quelquefois, enfin de plusieurs de ces causes réunies d’autres fois.”—(pp. 148, 149).

The philosophy of Spinoza, observes M. Saisset in his introduction to the translation of his works,<sup>22</sup> has been subjected to a strange fate: rejected by the seventeenth century, nearly forgotten in the eighteenth, it has exercised under a modern form an immense influence upon speculation in the nineteenth. Substantially, pantheism is the same in the East and in the West, in the seventeenth or in the nineteenth centuries; in Plotinus, in Giordano Bruno, in Spinoza, in Hegel: the human mind falls into that form of speculation in its recoil from dualism: for dualism may supply a resting-place, but not a final solution of the problem of the universe. When the finite and the infinite, the contingent and the necessary, Nature and God, are considered as two aspects or co-existences, the whole of Being is already acknowledged to be One. The finite, the extended, the temporal, the moving, effects—imply the infinite, the immense, the eternal, the fixed,

<sup>22</sup> “*Œuvres de Spinoza*,” traduites par Émile Saisset, Professeur d’Histoire de la Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres à Paris, avec une Introduction Critique. Nouvelle Edition, revue et augmentée. 3 Tomes. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

and the Universal Cause, or God: there can be no Nature without God; no God without Nature, which is His manifestation; Nature without God is a vain shadow, God without Nature is a vain abstraction. But thus God and Nature are not two beings, only the one Being under two aspects, the one developed into the many, the many bound together by the one. Nevertheless, in the systems of different philosophers there is some variation of nomenclature; what Spinoza calls substance, Hegel terms idea; with the former the one substance is developed in an infinity of modes; with the latter the one idea is in an eternal process of manifestation. Nothing therefore can be more simple, logical, and unassailable than a pantheistic system, so long as it can confine itself within the regions of abstract speculation. But as soon as it is applied to details, and especially to those which are presented by the moral consciousness of man, its difficulties commence. For while it must take into account, at least as phenomena, the beliefs of human beings in the realities of an objective world and in a living God, it must at the same time remain faithful to its principle of reducing God and Nature to an unity. Some modifications of pantheism absorb Nature in God, others identify God with Nature. The God of Spinoza, says M. Saisset, is the absolute undetermined substance, pure being, a mere abstraction, no more than a name; and he thus explains the charge of atheism which is brought against Spinoza:—

“Cette accusation n'est pas absolument juste. Spinoza ne veut pas être athée; il admet sérieusement un premier principe infini de toutes choses, qui est son Dieu; mais si Spinoza n'est pas athée, il y a dans son système une pente qui incline du côté de l'athéisme vers un Dieu abstrait et indéterminé qui ressemble fort à la négation de Dieu.”—Tome i. p. 309.

Spinoza, indeed, is not on all points consistent with himself, and may be considered to have expressed himself exoterically in the “*Traité Theologico-Politique*,” esoterically in the “*Ethique*,” and in his letters. M. Saisset pursues modern pantheism in his critique to its very last word; and whatever may be thought of the cogency of some of his arguments, he has given a masterly description of the debate.

A very practically useful lecture is by Dr. M'Cosh on the Association of Ideas,<sup>23</sup> showing the young student how much his intellectual and moral attainment is in his own power; for the more certainly the mental laws can be ascertained, the more certainly can we guide the powers which are given us to useful purposes: for “Law reigns in mind as it does in matter. When we know what the laws of matter are, we can take advantage of them, and apply them to a useful purpose in the arts. When we know what the laws of mind are, we can apply them in the education of the mind” (p. 35).

We have to thank the Bishop of St. David's for communicating the fact that his lordship was ordained deacon in the year 1827, and therefore two years *after* the publication of the translation of “*Schleiermacher on St. Luke*.” Of course, any observations in our last number sug-

<sup>23</sup> “The Association of Ideas, and its Influence on the Training of the Mind. A Lecture by the Rev. James M'Cosh, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast.” Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. 1861.

gested by the supposition of his lordship's ordination in 1821 fall to the ground. The Editor of "Crockford's Clerical Directory," by which we regret to have been misled, has also stated in the *Clerical Journal*, Sept. 10, 1861, "that the unit in 1821 is a typographical error, and that it ought to be 1827." We trust, however, the time will come when a dignified clerical scholar may not feel it a "material circumstance" to allege that it was *before* his ordination he expressed his admiration of the method of Schleiermacher in his investigation of the origin of the third Gospel, and said candidly, with reference to the attempt of Paulus to rationalize the miracles of the New Testament, "His representation of those occurrences is consistent with the highest purity and dignity in the character of Christ, and therefore, from the dogmatic point of view, is in itself unobjectionable."—*Introduction to Schleiermacher on St. Luke*, p. cxlviii.

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#### POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

ALL Mr. Herbert Spencer's writings have the rare merits of originality and independent thought: that they have also strong individual peculiarities is only another way of saying the same thing, and whatever there is provocative of criticism in the latter by no means balances the value and importance of his conclusions. His favourite method of moral inquiry, the pursuit of analogies between physical and moral development, though susceptible of fanciful excesses and open to the abuse of wire-drawn similarities, has yet been elevated by him to the height of a positive instrument of moral discovery. If there be anything which tends to diminish the immediate usefulness of his writings, it is his habit of expressing his conclusions in the language of the highest scientific generalizations; this on a subject such as he has treated in his last publication,<sup>1</sup> with which every one supposes himself to be in some sort familiar, and which is full of popular and empirical rules, which seem at first sight to arrive at the same result, gives an air of pedantry to his *Essays on Education*, which has been seized upon by a weekly cotemporary as a ground of ridicule, and pursued to a not too creditable extent. That parents should be told of the importance of warm clothing and generous food, that they should be warned against the caprices of fashion in the one or an ill-conceived regularity in the other is tolerable enough; but if they are shown that not only are these practices injurious to their children, but in conflict with the most recent discoveries of the laws of life in general, a critical caper like the following is cut for the amusement of a crowd of barren readers: "We know not exactly who are the people who bring up their children in obedience to the revelations of what are called

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<sup>1</sup> "Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical." By Herbert Spencer, Author of "Social Statics," &c. London: G. Manwaring. 1861.

*biological laws.*" The highest aim of remarks like this is to produce a laugh against a term, supposed to be strange to the readers, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the critic who descends to it. The quarrel is not with the thing meant, but only with a terminology, which may, indeed, be pedantic, but which is not likely to offend any one so deeply as the scholastic pedant, who thinks "it hardly worth while to take notice of *parents* who care about biological laws, and who is at a loss to say where a novel and imposing vein of humbug ceases to affect ordinary people." We can only say that those are very ordinary people, indeed, on whom this poor term biological produces such an impression by its *imposing novelty*. As education is a constant compromise between high aims and the surrounding hindrances to their attainment, there is surely little loss in making those aims as high as possible, that the compromise may be correspondingly elevated; it is only in this way that education can be truly accommodated to any period of the world's history. We cannot call to mind any work on education in which the pursuit of a high ideal is so little deformed by unpractical precepts or by unreasonable expectations: from mistakes of this character, which deform so many treatises on this subject, Mr. Spencer not only guards his readers, but is fully preserved by the philosophical idea of conditional evolution which underlies and gives a temperate balance to all his speculative investigations.

It may be questioned whether the unconditional preference he gives to science as a means of education can be maintained at the height at which he sets it, but there can be no question of the ingenuity and ability with which he maintains his opinion. The merely verbal way in which history and classical learning were not long since imparted to the young, has now given place to more interesting and arousing methods; and it can hardly be doubted that the greater human interest which attaches to these studies, is more congenial and consequently more educative to the minds of the young than the dispassionate inquiries of science. In his "Essay on Intellectual Education," Mr. Spencer advocates strongly the principles which have been associated with the name of Pestalozzi, and which are now, divested of much that was fanciful in their original form, but seldom lost sight of in conscientious tuition; it is now fully agreed that words not associated with things are the reverse of helps to mental progress, and that only by a careful attention to the conceptions of children can they be properly helped forward in their mental growth. That to know only by heart is not to know at all is a maxim as old as Montaigne; indeed, it is not so much want of true principles of education which is to be complained of at the present time, as need of men who will undertake the heavy task of applying them. The most important service which a man can render to society is but little recognised, and but poorly remunerated. There have been recently, and still are, most honourable exceptions to the low standard which is accepted as a qualification for those who undertake what, when properly performed, is one of the most arduous of tasks. Mr. Spencer's estimate of the importance of the profession ought to arouse nothing but acknow-

ledgment on the part of its professors, and has a direct tendency to promote both a higher estimate of their services and a claim for greater efficiency at their hands, which can be objected to only by those who feel themselves unequal to comply with the latter condition. This book will, perhaps, be found even more useful to parents than to professed teachers: the *Essay on Moral Education* is full of the most acute criticism on domestic rewards and punishments. The principle that juvenile delinquencies should be made to bear, as far as is possible, their own punitive fruit, is so excellent that nothing but the demands it makes upon the patience and thought of parents prevents its universal application. But those demands are so constant, both upon the one and the other, that Mr. Spencer well remarks, "children are but the completion of their parents' education," and those only are fit to teach children who will themselves learn of their pupils. The judgment and good sense of the following extract can hardly be too highly praised. *Ex pedo Herculem.*

"Lastly, always recollect that to educate rightly is not a simple and easy thing, but a complex and exceedingly difficult thing: the hardest task which devolves on adult life. The rough and ready style of domestic government is indeed practicable by the meanest and most uncultivated intellects. Slaps and sharp words are penalties that suggest themselves alike to the least reclaimed barbarian and to the stolidest peasant. Even brutes can use this mode of discipline; as you may see in the growl and half-bite with which a bitch will check a too exigent puppy. But if you would carry out with success a rational and civilized system you must be prepared for considerable mental exertion—for some study, some ingenuity, some patience, some self-control. You will have habitually to consider what are the results which in adult life follow certain kinds of acts; and you must then devise methods by which parallel results shall be entailed on the parallel acts of your children. It will daily be needful to analyse the motives of juvenile conduct—to distinguish between acts that are really good, and those which though simulating them, proceed from inferior impulses; while you will have to be ever on your guard against the cruel mistake not unfrequently made of translating neutral acts into transgressions, or ascribing worse feelings than were entertained. You must, more or less, modify your method to suit the disposition of each child; and must be prepared to make further modifications as each child's disposition enters on a new phase. Your faith will often be taxed to maintain the requisite perseverance in a course which seems to produce little or no effect. Especially if you are dealing with children who have been wrongly treated, you must be prepared for a lengthened trial of patience before succeeding with better methods; since that which is not easy even where a right state of feeling has been established from the beginning, becomes doubly difficult when a wrong state of feeling has to be set right. Not only will you have constantly to analyse the motives of your children, but you will have to analyse your own motives—to discriminate between those internal suggestions springing from a true parental solicitude, and those which spring from your own selfishness, your love of ease, your lust of dominion. And then more trying still, you will have not only to detect, but to curb these baser impulses. In brief, you will have to carry on your own higher education at the same time that you are educating your children. Intellectually, you must cultivate to good purpose that most complex of all subjects—human nature and its laws, as exhibited in your children, in yourself, and in the world. Morally, you must keep in constant exercise your higher feelings, and restrain your lower. It is

a truth yet remaining\* to be recognised that the last stage in the mental development of each man and woman is to be reached only through a proper discharge of the parental duties. And when the truth is recognised, it will be seen how admirable is the arrangement through which human beings are led by their strongest affections to subject themselves to a discipline that they would else elude.<sup>3</sup>

A prisoner in unjust bonds, dying daily from poison in everything he eats and drinks, may say to his soul, Go, since I needs must die, and—

“Tell zeal it lacks devotion,  
Tell love it is but lust,  
Tell time it is but motion,  
Tell flesh it is but dust,  
And wish them not reply,  
For thou must give the lie.”

We accept as pathetic and natural this protest at the hands of one who looks in vain for help, when he has no interest to appeal to but that of outraged virtue and decency. It is with quite a different feeling we lay down a ponderous volume of complacent railing against our own times, which calls itself an unpopular view of them.<sup>2</sup> This view is not likely to be so unpopular as it is absurd and unjust. Every social organization of the time is pulled to pieces by this sagacious philosopher, who holds up his simple hands with horror at the amazing discovery that an arrangement of means to an external end has no soul beyond the end proposed. It does not seem to strike the author that the impossibility of any institution possessing personal virtues is a complete bar to his censorious complaints. To turn from public charity because it cannot have all the graces and excellence of private benevolence, to denounce Church establishments because endowments do not ensure spiritual-mindedness in those who enjoy them, to see in trade nothing but avarice, is merely to display that low habit of mind which turns to the point of human weakness which is to be found in all things, a habit of mind of old rewarded with the ducking-stool. It is no new discovery that no human virtue is without alloy, and ought not to be forgotten that few vices are without some palliation and root in better things.

The author's crusade against political economy is founded upon the usual confusion between a declaratory result and a hortatory precept. Political economy is only concerned with the results of the various methods of production; these results once proclaimed by her, she has no power to bring them about. The truths, indeed, of political economy are only so far such as they depend upon some uniform moral law of human action; that this law should be found in human selfishness and inertia speaks not against the present time alone, but against all that has gone before it. It is now for the first time that man prefers a greater to a lesser gain, and a lesser to a greater exertion. The effect of capital in the division of labour, and the consequent restriction of the workman's energies to some trifling and

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\* “An Unpopular View of our Times.” By P. A. Fraser. Edinburgh: M. Macphail. 1861.



mechanical action, constantly renewed, no doubt in some degree narrows the powers of a majority of those so employed; but that it has this tendency in an overpowering degree, the whole history of mechanical invention flatly contradicts.

It will hardly be maintained that the intelligence of factory hands is inferior to that of agricultural labourers, who have certainly as great variety of employment as any class of men in the kingdom, without drawing from it any of those moral and intellectual advantages supposed to be sacrificed in manufacturing industry. One of the points the author most labours to establish is, the evil result of "associated commercial undertakings," in reducing the bond of connexion between employer and employed to the simple giving and receiving of wages; but while expatiating on the impossibility of an intelligent interest being taken in the discharge of some simple and restricted duty, and on the absence of all personal sympathy between employer and employed, he totally forgets the corresponding advantages of personal independence, both of the caprices of the employer, and of that absorption in a mere breadwinning occupation, which is more fatal to intellectual liberty and progress than any other servitude to which a man can be subjected. In fact, the soul of goodness in things evil is so completely ignored by Mr. Fraser, that his whole production has more the air of an intemperate reprisal than of a candid discussion, and this becomes the more evident when we find that there is one class to whose failings and short-comings he is as lenient as he is elsewhere mordant and uncompromising. Can he be himself a Scotch landlord who turns from the consideration of his agricultural labourers, and retorts upon the critics of bothies and demoralized peasant homes, because it is more pleasant to look at evils we can lay at our neighbour's door than resolutely contend with those at our own?

Herr G. F. Kolb, of whose Handbook of Comparative Statistics we had some time since occasion to speak highly, has published two little volumes of English State Prosecutions, extending from the times of Mary to those of James II., under Jeffries;<sup>3</sup> his object has been to point out to his countrymen the characteristic differences between the English modes of procedure and those which prevail on the Continent. Each trial is accompanied with a running commentary, illustrative of the progress in individual rights which ultimately found their consummation and substantial settlement at the time of the Revolution. In a short appendix, he gives accounts of several recent political trials on the Continent, and criticises them both from a juristical and humanitarian point of view, dwelling chiefly on the absence of trial by jury, or its perversion, by the refusal of that freedom of challenge which alone prevents its being but a cloak for irresponsible persecution.

In September, 1858, an offer was suddenly made to Mr. H. A. Tilley to undertake a voyage round the world. Two days only were allowed him to prepare for a voyage of two years. The proposal could not have been made to a fitter person. The account he gives of his

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<sup>3</sup> "Die wichtigsten älteren Staatsprozesse in England." Von G. F. Kolb. Leipzig: 1861.

journey,<sup>4</sup> is one of the best books of travel we have ever seen; unlike most voyagers, who fancy that their personal adventures are a sufficient account of the countries they visit, he sets himself successfully to the task, not only of describing the appearances of nature, but also, by constant intercourse with the natives, he gained himself, and gives to his readers, the fullest information on the varied states of society which come under his notice. The *Rynda*, commanded by Commodore Popoff, was accompanied by another corvette and a clipper gunboat, and formed the little squadron in which he sailed. After leaving Brest, they crossed the Atlantic to Rio, and then touching at the Cape, visited Java and the Philippines, on their way to Japan, where they were detained some months, awaiting the arrival of General Mouravief, for the negotiation of the Russian Treaty of Commerce. This long leisure was devoted by Mr. Tilley to the study of Japanese manners and customs. His account is most complete and manifestly trustworthy; he lays before us a coherent picture of national peculiarities, which carries its own evidence with it, and a very strange and instructive picture it is, one that will soon be defaced by European intercourse, if the Japanese policy of obstruction does not succeed in disgusting Europeans with the attempt to force their trade and intercourse on an unwilling community.

"More than half the feudal princes are said to be against the new order of things, and to be dissatisfied with even the temporizing policy of the Imperial Government. They would willingly expel all foreigners from their ports, and abide the consequences. But the ruling men seem directed by a more acute policy; they hope to weary the patience of the traders, increase their expenses by delay, and so render all trade unprofitable; meanwhile, by temporizing, granting only what is absolutely necessary, fulfilling the words but not the spirit of the treaties, to keep out of difficulties with the foreigner as long as possible. At the same time they seek to strengthen their own forces after the manner of those they would have to oppose, in case of necessity, and to prevent as much as possible the too familiar intercourse of their own people with the strangers. Lastly, when they consider themselves capable of coping with their adversary, they will resist all further encroachments by force."

Subsequent events have gone far to support the justice of, this opinion. Such a policy as this is very far from barbarous; it manifests a full consciousness of their present position in the minds of the Japanese rulers, and a very resolute determination to obviate, if possible, what must seem to them its disadvantages. And it must be confessed that these disadvantages are very real; that Europeans have nothing to offer the Japanese but a questionable cheapness of some things they use in common, some vicious tastes which they do not yet possess, and the certain destruction of a social system under which they have for centuries enjoyed an amount of happiness, to which it would be difficult elsewhere to find a parallel. What can the natives of Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Isles show, as gained by

<sup>4</sup> "Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific, with Notices of other Places comprised in a Voyage of Circumnavigation in the Imperial Russian Corvette *Rynda*, in 1858-60." By Arthur H. Tilley. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

their intercourse with Europeans; their native vices, almost innocuous in a savage state, have only acquired a lower depth of brutality, while the artificial wants with which they have been inoculated, have only produced vices as artificial as themselves.

Courtesy and consideration of the feelings of the Japanese, produced an unusual cordiality between Mr. Tilley's companions and the inhabitants of the various places at which they stayed, and greatly increased the opportunities of familiar intercourse, of which he has made such excellent use. After the purpose of their stay in Japan was accomplished, the little squadron sailed for the Amoor, the north bank of which has recently been ceded by the Chinese to the Russian Government, and the opposing shores of the island of Sangalien have been relinquished by the Japanese, by a treaty concluded since Mr. Tilley was there.

In his opinion, these Russian settlements in Eastern Siberia are but posts of occupation, supported by the Government to keep out rivals from other countries, that might in future years give trouble; that they can be of any political importance for very many years, Mr. Tilley thinks impossible. There seems much ground for his opinion, but it must not be forgotten that it was formed in the company, and in some degree on the information of Russian friends, who would have all the world of that opinion. There is, however, no doubt that the Russians find it almost impossible to maintain an European population in this country of an eight months' winter, and that such posts as they have established, are so dependent upon communication by sea, that they are even at times exposed to want the common necessaries of food and sustenance. From the Amoor, they crossed to San Francisco, of which Mr. Tilley gives a most striking description. In the present position of American affairs, it is impossible to say what future is in store for these Pacific States; their geographical formation and position point strongly to an independent government, now that the fashion of secession has once established itself. It will, indeed, form a strange nation, should this take place, but a great one, no doubt, with something of every country in the world in her population, and the whole Pacific as a dependency. The Sandwich and Society Islands were touched at in the homeward journey, and most excellent accounts are given of both groups. Mr. Tilley thinks that the French domination in the latter group, is, on the whole, beneficial to the natives, as they are brought under the restraining influence of an intelligent despotism, more fitted to such children of nature than the attempted self-government of Owhyhee. A short stay at Monte Video gives occasion for a description of the southern plains of Buenos Ayres, and South American ways of life, which is as graphic and full of interesting details as the rest of this first-rate book of foreign travel.

The Landholders and Commercial Association of British India have published a memorial addressed to the Secretary of State for India, in answer to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal's celebrated minute,<sup>5</sup> which we think must convince every candid reader of the partial one-

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<sup>5</sup> "British Settlers in India." London: J. Ridgway. 1861.

sidedness of that acute document. The importance of the quarrel between the Calcutta authorities and the indigo planters in Southern Bengal has led us for some time to call attention to the war of pamphlets which has raged upon the subject. It is with difficulty that the over-occupied English public can be made to take an interest in even so important a question as this, which requires some time and trouble at the hands of those who would arrive at any just conclusion. It seems at first sight so difficult to believe that mere class prejudice should have brought about so alarming a state of things, that the representations of educated gentlemen in authority have had more than a due share of influence. This memorial, however, leaves nothing unnoticed which has been brought forward against the planters by the magisterial authorities of the country districts, and after a very careful perusal we must say that it also leaves nothing unrefuted. In our last number we referred to a very clever paper ("Brahmins and Pariahs"), and regretted that the tone of exasperation and violence with which it was written should weaken the strong evidence of unfair treatment which it brought forward. No such complaint can be made of the present paper, which is singularly free from any warmth of expression, even where the writer cannot but feel most warmly; it is also more complete and full than its predecessor, and leaves nothing untouched which was called for to establish the case against the Covenanted Service.

This view has also been taken by Mr. Hare in a remarkably able pamphlet, reprinted from Macmillan's Magazine, on the Development of the Wealth of India.<sup>6</sup> The judgment of so distinguished a political inquirer as the author of this treatise, is a heavy blow to the representations of the official class. We have not space to re-enter on the merits of this question, but cannot omit calling public attention to two such important contributions to its just and final settlement. Mr. Hare's proposal for the improvement of the judicial system of India, seems to us characterized by his usual judgment and penetration. By holding each village community answerable for all branches of the law within their own limits, and allowing them to elect their own judges, from whose decision there might be an appeal to the European magistrate, the overwhelming pressure of work on the latter would be so far removed that some progress could be made in that turning-point of Indian prosperity, the judicial system. By the course adopted in the Indigo disturbance, the Covenanted Services have done much to reconcile the English public to the recent measures by which some of its higher posts have been made accessible to Europeans who have not been brought up in that hierarchy. We should not leave the subject of India, without mentioning Mr. Patterson's very able Essay on Caste, which received the last Le Bas prize.<sup>7</sup> After tracing its origin to the Aryan conquest of India, and pointing out many instances where tendencies of a similar

<sup>6</sup> "The Development of the Wealth of India, with Notes." Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

<sup>7</sup> "Caste considered under its Moral, Social, and Religious Aspects." By A. J. Patterson, B.A. of Trinity College. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

kind have shown themselves in European communities who have undergone a similar fate, the author proceeds to show how completely the system has been disintegrated by time, and how utterly the complicated gradations of society, found in the Indian sacred poems, if they ever existed in fact, have disappeared from modern life. When discussing its character and effects, Mr. Patterson is inclined to think that in times past, and with the loose ethical notions of Orientals, the sectional morality incumbent upon each caste has had a greater effect for good than evil; that it has in some sort resembled the rough notions of honour which at one time were the chief morality of many an European caste, and thus the evils it has left behind it do not counterbalance these advantages. The author is so far from considering it an insuperable bar to the progress of Christianity in the East, that he almost welcomes it as some test of the sincerity of a conversion that, without it, would be too often simulated for material advantages and personal gain. If the motives to conversion do not outweigh the temporal and often only temporary inconvenience of loss of caste, the change itself is likely to be of little worth. The clamour of missionaries for its suppression, are but the expression of a desire for the removal by force of difficulties which can only efficiently be destroyed by argument and conviction.

At the present moment, when public attention is turned with some anxiety to the Island of Sardinia, Mr. Forester's account of that country and of Corsica, will be a welcome source of information, and the more so as it is very full and accurate.<sup>8</sup> An experienced traveller, Mr. Forester, with a friend, Col. Biddulph, traversed both Islands, from north to south, without escort, and without molestation, in spite of the evil repute of the more northern of them. In fact, the unsettled state of Corsica, and the system of private revenge for which it has become proverbial, have yielded to the energetic measures of the Imperial Government. No person whatever is allowed to carry arms, even for the purposes of sport, without a special permit from the authorities. The known bands of outlaws have been so resolutely followed up by the military forces under the Prefect, that the country is now utterly cleared of them, either by death or by a forced emigration to the neighbouring island; this benefit of an absolute régime may, in such a state of society, be accepted without qualification, although it implies restraints upon the peaceable inhabitants, which it is to be hoped may be relaxed as soon as they have fully answered their purpose.

In his preface to the present edition, Mr. Forester reviews the past fortunes of the southern island, and discusses the probability of the threatened annexation to France; he gathers together Nelson's energetic protests against any such consummation. Many passages from the correspondence of the great English admiral are curiously striking and appropriate to the present time. From General La Marmora's

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<sup>8</sup> "Rambles in the Islands of Corsica and Sardinia; with Notices of their History, Antiquities, and Present Condition." By Thos. Forester, Author of "Norway in 1848-9," &c. Second Edition. London: Longmans and Co. 1861.

topographical survey, the fullest statistical details, both of the present state and probable productiveness of the Island, are taken, and show, even more conclusively, how important an acquisition the Island would be to France, and of what increased importance it would soon become in the hands of the French. The chief trade is already theirs, and many material interests of the more wealthy inhabitants would tend greatly to promote that mode of popular sanction which has been so adroitly introduced into political questions by the present emperor. This handsome volume is adorned by some very clear sketches of both Islands from the pencil of Mr. Forester's travelling companion, whose name is studiously avoided in the text, though printed at the foot of each of his illustrations of it. A chapter is devoted to the discussion of those problematic structures, the Nuraghe, which are scattered over the southern portions of the Island, and which are as great a stone of offence to antiquaries as the round towers of Ireland, which they in some degree resemble. Numerous anecdotes of peasant life are scattered about the pages of this very interesting volume, which give a lively picture of the romantic manners and character of the inhabitants. On the whole this must be pronounced a very opportune and well-executed volume of travels.

Mr. Farley's account of last year's disturbances in Syria gives a very full detail of the sufferings of the Maronites,<sup>9</sup> but does so with such partisanship of the Christian sects, that his book requires to be read with great caution. The uncompromising manner in which he attributes all the evils which have resulted from that breaking out of an ancient blood feud between the inhabitants of the Lebanon to the vindictiveness of the Druses, is very well qualified by the account given of the country in an unusually well-written description of this region by Mrs. Harvey.<sup>10</sup> It is very seldom that a summer's pleasure trip leaves behind it so substantial a chronicle as the voyage of the *Claymore*. The remarkable talent of the author for picturesque and characteristic description of the scenes visited is deformed by no overstrained sentiment. The interesting localities of Syria and the Holy Land are brought before the reader with a vividness that is the more remarkable from the complete absence of any factitious feeling. The same well-balanced mind, favoured it is true by excellent opportunities of observation and sources of direct information, make this little volume as instructive on the condition of Syria and the neighbouring countries as any we have seen.

M. G. de Molinari, editor of the "Economiste Belge," having been called upon to deliver a series of lectures—or, as he calls them, conferences on Political Economy—in Russia, started for Moscow in February, 1860, and in the course of his expedition visited St. Petersburg and Moscow, crossed the Steppes of Southern Russia to Odessa, and touching at Eupatoria and Sebastopol, returned by way of

<sup>9</sup> "The Massacres in Syria." By J. Lewis Farley, Author of "Two Years in Syria." London: Bradbury and Evans. 1861.

<sup>10</sup> "Our Cruise in the *Claymore*; with a Visit to Damascus and the Lebanon." By Mrs. Harvey, of Ickwell Bury. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

Constantinople and Greece. The results of his observations on Russian society he has published in a series of letters, the greater part of which were forwarded at the time to his paper at home.<sup>11</sup> They are, of course, of a highly miscellaneous character, but not on that account the less instructive; and his opportunities of observation were not only in themselves considerable, but the nature of his favourite studies led him to such topics as are likely to be most interesting to those who wish to form some substantive opinions on the prospects of the country he was visiting.

The account he gives of the German colonists who were induced to settle in Southern Russia by Catherine II., and whose political immunities have always been rather grudged than envied by the surrounding peasantry, is curious and interesting. They preserve all their national peculiarities, even their native language; their villages are pictures of comfort and neatness, in a country where neither the one nor the other are of native growth; but they remain from generation to generation the peasants they were when first their fathers settled in the country, growing rich indeed, but having no ambition to be more. They have furnished no distinguished men to the service or ornament of the State, while the surrounding peasantry have given birth to both painters and poets; and many of their national airs have been appropriated by famous composers—by Chopin, and even by Mozart, who, it is said, adapted one of them in the “Barbiere.” The immense and lonely extent of the Steppes between Moscow and Odessa, is well described by M. Molinari. A journey across them is like nothing so much as a voyage at sea; and in the rainy season you are exposed to the casualties of both land and the sea, and must absolutely rely on your own commissariat.

Of the enormous difficulties with which the present Emperor will have to contend in his endeavour to emancipate the serfs of his dominions, M. Molinari rather indicates the existence than describes the character. The greatest of these, however, seems to be in the unpreparedness of the serfs themselves. What between immobility on the one side, and nervous restlessness on the other, the great experiment now making in Russia seems to be exposed to no ordinary danger of obstruction and delay, if not of temporary defeat.

Dr. Francis Lieber,<sup>12</sup> so well known for his writings on America, and on general politics, in two lectures on the constitution of the United States, is forced to fall back upon the original contract by which the States constituted themselves a united nation; and while deprecating all forced constructions of solitary terms, yet relies simply upon that notion so discredited in Europe, that the contracts of one generation are binding upon its successors. It is very strange that while in Europe, Italy, in spite of contracts without number, is exer-

<sup>11</sup> “Lettres sur la Russie.” Par M. G. de Molinari. Bruxelles: A. La Croix, Verboeckhoven, and Co. 1861.

<sup>12</sup> “What is our Constitution, League, Pact, or Government? Two Lectures on the Constitution of the United States.” New York: Printed by Direction of the Trustees of the Law School of Columbia College. 1861. London: Trübner and Co.

cising the rights which flow from a common consensus, for the purpose of becoming one nation ; and while Hungary, relying on the same political principle, is carrying it out to a diametrically opposite result, we should find the exploded notions of an indissoluble contract between a people and their government appealed to in that country which has hitherto been looked upon as the refuge of freedom, and the advanced guard of progress. As in Europe these questions will be settled by the direct or implicit effect of arms and physical preponderance, so in America we can look for no more rational result ; if, indeed, that appeal be in its nature so irrational as it is often called. A readiness to endure for the sake of our belief is the only unquestionable proof that we can give of its sincerity, and is a far more conclusive one than disquisitions on its beauty and truth.

Nothing can exceed the intemperate tone, unless it be the utterly inconsequent character, of most of the Northern pamphlets. One of the most able of these, by the Rev. W. H. Channing,<sup>13</sup> treats the American civil war as a slaveholders' conspiracy. If a conspiracy, it is one of the most public ever entered on ; and even the evidence brought forward is extracted from open declarations, which have as little of that secret preparation which is usually considered of the essence of such proceedings, as can well be imagined. The aim of this conspiracy, the maintenance and spread of slavery, is announced as if it were a damnable discovery now for the first time made public, and not the openly professed purpose of every Southern statesman for the last generation. The end, too, though not so openly advocated by the leaders of the Confederate States, is too evidently implied by their position and by the political exigencies of their situation, so soon as they shall have leisure to turn their thoughts to anything but self-defence, that the imputation of a resolve to annex Mexico, Central America, and Cuba, as soon as leisure and opportunity offer, falls with but very little force upon them as a condemnation, so much does it partake of the character of a foregone conclusion.

M. Xavier Eyma, already well known for his works on America, has published a very seasonable history of the States.<sup>14</sup> Written before the decided rupture between North and South, it is not the less valuable on that account. The catastrophe which has at last overtaken the American Republic has threatened it so long, that it is impossible to write a candid history of their remarkable progress without repeated reference to that danger which every American constantly recognised, and as constantly denied to be more than a theoretical possibility. From the time, however, of the quarrel between Washington and Jefferson, and from the decided victory of the principle of State rights advocated by the latter, nothing but a constant self-denial and watchfulness, and that fertility of compromise which has so remarkably distinguished American politics, could keep together

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<sup>13</sup> "The Civil War in America ; or, the Slaveholders' Conspiracy." An Address by the Rev. William H. Channing. London : G. Vickers. 1861.

<sup>14</sup> "La République Américaine, ses Institutions, ses Hommes." Par Xavier Eyma. Paris : M. Levy Frères. 1861.



States whose interests were so divergent, and who from that date were so little subject to any central control. M. Eyma's volumes are written with great clearness, and give the history both of the birth and progress of the American Republic in a very attractive form. In his preface he gives a well-considered *resumé* of the condition of the Central and South American Republics, and of their relations with the States and West Europe.

"Social Life and Manners in Australia"<sup>15</sup> is a very lively and amusingly written account of society in Victoria by a lady who came in contact with the agreeable side of rough colonial life, and has done justice to the virtues of hearty hospitality and friendly helpfulness which characterize such new communities. Her book abounds in anecdotes and stories, which, though perhaps a little highly coloured, yet give a very good idea of the strange contrasts and varied fortunes found among the earlier seekers of fortune at the gold diggings. There is a feminine preponderance of concerts, evening parties, and picnics, in the scenes described, which it would be foolish to find fault with; these are a lady's spheres of observation, and the motley company at these gatherings at the Antipodes is as characteristic of the new forming society as anything else. The author's sex and position kept her from contact with the darker sides of the picture, and although some of her anecdotes throw gleams of light in these directions, they generally have some exceptional features about them which take them out of the dead level of ordinary experience, which is, after all, the most instructive.

There is a healthy cheerfulness and determination to make the best of everything about the author which makes her book very pleasant reading, and indirectly gives excellent advice to all lady emigrants to follow so good an example.

The most remarkable thing in Mrs. Bromley's "Wanderings in the Western World"<sup>16</sup> is, that she and a young female friend travelled 20,000 miles in ten months. Her letters to her father, giving accounts from time to time of how much she had accomplished of this feat, are such letters as all at home like to receive from absent friends; but are too full of changes from steamboat to railway, and every other kind of South American conveyance, to be very edifying to the general public. In the short time mentioned, the writer "does" the West Indies, the United States, Canada, the West Indies again, the northern coast of South America, Mexico and Puebla, Chagres and Panama, the Pacific, as far as Lima, Cuba, Jamaica, and most of the Windward Islands. To read through these forty-seven letters, each dated at a different place, gives you a sense of hurry and confusion which must have frequently been experienced by the writer, but which can hardly have been her intention of conveying to her readers. Such slight personal experiences and still slighter accounts of places, rather visited than seen, answer no useful purpose in print, unless it be that it affords

<sup>15</sup> "Social Life and Manners in Australia; being Notes of Eight Years' Experience." By a Resident. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

<sup>16</sup> "A Woman's Wanderings in the Western World: a Series of Letters addressed to Sir Fitzroy Kelly, M.P." By his Daughter, Mrs. Bromley. London: Saunders and Otley. 1861.

the writer a public opportunity of acknowledging the polite attentions she met with at the hands of the various South American and Colonial friends to whom she carried letters of introduction.

## SCIENCE.

BY the separate publication of Sir John Herschel's treatises on "Meteorology" and "Physical Geography,"<sup>1</sup> the proprietors of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" have placed within reach of every one who may desire to possess them two masterly outlines of the most important features of these great subjects; the value of which consists not only in the body of well-digested information they contain, but also in the philosophical spirit by which they are everywhere pervaded. The author does not desire that either of them should be regarded in any other light than as an introduction to more systematic and elaborate treatises; but even the most advanced student of the sciences of which they treat will consult them with advantage, as containing the matured judgment of the author upon various controverted questions as to which the opinion of few philosophers, if of any, is entitled to so much weight.

The ample title-page of Dr. Bishop's work so fully sets forth its plan and objects, that we need do little more than draw attention to it.<sup>2</sup> The first volume, which is all that we have yet received, carries down the history to the end of the eighteenth century; and it contains a very interesting account of the infancy and early growth of the principal branches of manufacturing industry in each of the American colonies, up to the time when, by the adoption of the Constitution, the United States first began to have a national existence; special attention being bestowed upon those manufactures which have since become important, or which seem likely at no distant date to be engrafted upon the staple industries of the country.

Mr. Churchill has lately added to his very successful series of students' manuals, a "Manual of Botany," by Prof. Bentley, of King's College;<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Physical Geography, from the Encyclopædia Britannica." By Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., K.H., F.R.S., &c. Edinburgh: 1861. Post 8vo, pp. 441. With Maps.

"Meteorology, from the Encyclopædia Britannica." By Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., K.H., F.R.S., &c. Edinburgh: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 288. With Diagrams.

<sup>2</sup> "A History of American Manufactures, from 1608 to 1860; exhibiting the Origin and Growth of the Principal Mechanic Arts and Manufactures, from the Earliest Colonial Period to the Adoption of the Constitution, and comprising Annals of the Industry of the United States in Machinery, Manufactures, and Useful Arts, with a Notice of the Important Inventions, Tariffs, and the Results of each Decadal Census." By J. Leander Bishop, M.D. To which is added, Notes on the Principal Manufacturing Centres and Remarkable Manufactories of the Present Time. In two vols. Vol. i. 8vo, pp. 642. Philadelphia: 1861.

<sup>3</sup> "Manual of Botany: including the Structure, Functions, Classification, Properties, and Uses of Plants." By Robert Bentley, F.L.S., M.R.C.S.E., Professor of Botany in King's College, London. Illustrated by nearly 1200 Woodcuts. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 811.

which may be best described as a respectable compilation, not by any means destitute of merit, but scarcely coming up to the mark of what such a manual should be. It seems to us that the author has aimed at too much, in endeavouring to compress within so narrow a compass a large amount of minute information on the Organography of plants, which can be valuable only to such as desire to devote themselves almost exclusively to the study of Botany; thus distracting the attention of the student who seeks only to master the essentials of the subject, from that which he really ought to know. Moreover, we think it a great mistake to dismiss to the end of the work, after not merely the organography but the systematic classification of plants has been treated of, what has to be said of their Physiology or (as Prof. Bentley rather strangely synonymises it) their Organology. Surely it would have been much better to treat of the functions of each part or organ in sequence to the account of its structure, and not merely to throw together as a sort of appendix a variety of fragments of information, which can only be properly valued when taken in connexion with what has been elaborately discussed in the first portion of the work. We are at a loss, moreover, to know what possible use can be served by the introduction of an account of the Linnæan system of artificial classification, which has now been completely superseded (as its author designed and expected it to be) by the natural system. If greater care had been taken in proportioning the different parts of the treatise, the author would not have been reduced to the necessity of omitting his intended appendix on Descriptive Botany; a department of the subject which ought to enter into the elementary instruction of every student.

Of the result of Dr. Hoffmeister's admirable and laborious researches on the "Embryology of Flowering Plants," a further instalment has recently appeared, which treats of the development of Monocotyledons.<sup>4</sup> No physiological botanist has made such important contributions as he has done to the elucidation of the history of vegetable development, alike in the Cryptogamic and in the Phanerogamic series; and his zeal and devotion to his favourite pursuit will find their reward in the high appreciation of his labours by every scientific botanist. We learn with great satisfaction that the Ray Society purposes to issue a new edition of his work on the "Development of the Cryptogamia," prepared for it expressly by the author, and translated under the able superintendence of Mr. Currey.

It is not a little surprising that artists in search of the picturesque should continue to devote themselves, year after year, to the same familiar class of subjects, instead of going forth into scenes altogether new, and delineating Nature as she presents herself in a garb far more striking for its richness and variety than any she wears in less genial climes. A picture of the "Heart of the Andes," exhibited by Mr. Church in 1859, led men of science to hope that the time had arrived when their endeavours to spread a correct knowledge of the physical

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<sup>4</sup> "Neue Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Embryobildung der Phanerogamen: II. Monokotyledonen." Mit 25 Tafeln. Leipzig: 1861. 8vo, pp. 130.

features of our globe would be aided from a side from which they have long anticipated assistance; but so far there is no sign that Mr. Church's example will be followed, although North America, with its wide-spread forests and gorgeous autumnal hues may now be reached with little more time and expense than Italy, and the East or West Indies almost as easily as Italy a quarter of a century ago. Thus whilst every branch of science is tending more and more to become cosmopolite, pictorial art remains essentially local. Strongly impressed with the desire to extend a knowledge of the physiognomy of vegetation under the diversified aspects which it presents to the botanical explorer, Dr. Seeman has placed within our reach a set of twenty-four photographic reproductions on a reduced scale from a series of etchings (made by the artist himself, who spent several years in preparing himself for the work) from the pictures painted by M. von Kittlitz, the artist to the Russian exploring expedition which circumnavigated the globe about twenty years ago, under the command of Captain Lütke.<sup>5</sup> Although little versed in botany, the painter is stated by Dr. Seeman (than whom there could scarcely be a higher authority on such a subject) to have given delineations which are unrivalled for their truthfulness, and which will ever be a source of deep interest and study, whether they be regarded with the eyes of artists or with those of botanists. On the continent these delineations have been fully appreciated, and the work containing them is totally out of print. The botanical descriptions have been revised and rendered more precise and complete by Dr. Seeman, whose personal familiarity with most of the scenes represented in the plates enables him to speak with the confidence of the accomplished botanist, in regard to many points as to which the author was less adequately informed. We commend this work alike to our artistic and to our scientific readers, as one which will greatly enlarge their acquaintance with the aspects of Nature.

Turning from the scientific and artistic study of Plants to their culture as objects of healthful interest, we have great pleasure in bringing under the notice of our readers a little book which will be found of great practical value to all such as desire to make the most of the limited opportunities afforded by an urban or suburban residence.<sup>6</sup> We extract the whole of the Preface, as clearly specifying the object which the writer has had in view; and have only to add that an examination of its pages has satisfied us that this purpose has been so well carried out, as to have attained the happy medium between overminuteness and insufficiency of information.

"My aim in writing this little book has been to give such plain and prac-

<sup>5</sup> "Twenty-four Views of the Vegetation of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific, with Explanatory Descriptions, taken during the Exploring Voyage of the Russian Corvette *Senjavin*, under the Command of Capt. Lütke, in the Years 1827, 1828, and 1829." By P. H. Von Kittlitz. Translated from the German, and Edited by Berthold Seeman, Ph.D., F.L.S., Author of "The Botany of the Voyage of H. M. S. *Herald*," &c. London: 1861. Small 4to.

<sup>6</sup> "In-door Plants, and how to Grow Them, for the Drawing-room, Balcony, and Greenhouse: containing clear Instructions by which Ladies may obtain, at a small Expense, a constant Supply of Flowers." By E. Maling. With a Coloured Frontispiece. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 150.

tical directions for the cultivation of in-door plants, as may enable any lady to choose and grow abundant flowers to adorn her house. And I am the more confident of the sufficiency of the rules here laid down, because they have been tested by myself during some years' practice in rearing and keeping plants.

"The sweetness and brightness of flowers and plants are never more delightful than in a crowded city; and, even when grown on the smallest scale, they may be so very charming and perfect in their way, that I think it is only necessary to show how small an expenditure is required either of time or money, to induce many ladies to begin to grow them. The pursuit is also one in which, even with a very little practice, experience comes so quickly, that a single season may be enough to render the care of flowers a very easy task, even to those who take it up at first as quite a new employment.

"In the following pages will be found a minute description of everything needful for the care of plants, both as to their selection and their arrangement and preservation in perfect health and beauty. I have described not only what should be done, but also *how to do it*, knowing that the simplest points of plant culture are often the worst attended to, merely because it is supposed that 'every one knows how to do that;' indeed, I have frequently experienced the disappointment caused by relying upon books that profess to tell one everything, and yet leave out the very alphabet by which alone the uninitiated could understand the instructions given."

Judging from the number of popular treatises which have of late appeared on the Ferns and their allies, and the dearth of new books on aquaria and their inhabitants, the current of public favour seems now to be setting, from sea anemones and starfish, to that interesting and beautiful group of plants which holds so high a rank in the cryptogamic series as to be commonly associated with phanerogamia.<sup>7</sup> Against this we have nothing to say, being only too glad that the attractions of *any* of nature's productions should exert their due influence. But we should like to see the interest excited by the beauty and grace of these plants turned to some better account than in the mere collection and drying of their fronds for the herbarium, or in the cultivation of living specimens in Ward's cases or on rockeries. Why, now that a really useful achromatic microscope may be purchased for a few guineas, should not the lover of ferns be encouraged to study for himself the marvellous phenomena of their reproduction, and to extend to a larger number of species the observations which have been hitherto carried out thoroughly in regard to a few only? We are sorry to have to say that in such a pursuit he will only be misled by the teachings of Mr. Moore, whose knowledge of the group, good as we believe it to be in the matter of specific distinctions, does not seem to extend to what has now been conclusively shown to be the real generative process in this tribe of Plants.

Notwithstanding the multiplication of popular treatises upon flowering plants and ferns, we do not recollect that any one has attempted to interest the general public about these humbler forms of Cryptogamic vegetation, which, though everywhere around us, and performing no mean part in the general economy of nature, are not only trodden under foot as valueless or even injurious, but are despised as incapable

<sup>7</sup> "British Ferns and their Allies; an Abridgment of the 'Popular History of British Ferns;' and comprising the Ferns, Club-Mosses, Pepperworts, and Horsetails." By Thomas Moore, F.L.S., F.H.S., &c. With illustrations printed in Colours. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 181.

of affording any worthy sources of occupation to a rational curiosity. Mr. Macmillan has tried the experiment of making them the subjects of lectures to a popular audience, and has been sufficiently successful in awakening the interest of his hearers, to be encouraged to seek a wider public, for the benefit of which he has enlarged his exposition into the little volume that now lies before us,<sup>8</sup> which has not the dryness of a text-book or guide to species, but is a very pleasantly written summary of the structural peculiarities, uses, associations, and other interesting topics connected with the humblest forms of plant-life; and is well adapted not only for such as desire to gain this general acquaintance with the subject, but also for those who desire to pursue it into more detail by the aid of more formal scientific treatises.

The various questions which connect themselves with Binocular Vision, and especially the theory of corresponding points of the two retinae, continue to occupy much attention among continental physiologists; and we have before us the results of another elaborate investigation of the subject, which, like most that have preceded it, is vitiated (to our minds) by a total misapprehension of the share that the *mind* takes in the act of vision.<sup>9</sup> The careful study of the phenomena of the Pseudoscope, the only instrument which enables us to experiment upon that stage of the process in which the retinal picture gives origin to the conscious perception of the object, is worth far more than any diagram that the most able geometers can construct; for the latter can only elucidate the results of that consent which (as we hold to be demonstrated by the pseudoscope) is originally established, not by the physical relations of the two retinae, but by the mental appreciation (through the early comparison of visual and tactile experience) of the indications afforded by the two dissimilar pictures formed upon them.

Every physiologist who desires to attain a scientific knowledge of the history of Development, will welcome the appearance of a full yet compendious treatise on that subject from Professor Kölliker,<sup>10</sup> who superadds to a thorough knowledge of what has been accomplished by other investigators, that complete mastery which can only be acquired by a laborious course of original research, and who possesses moreover that power of clear exposition which seems denied to some of the most profound among German embryologists. The work is limited to the development of Man and of those higher Vertebrata the study of which throws most light upon the process as it takes place in him; but within that range it is most complete and exhaustive, the author having especially applied himself to fill up the *lacunæ* left by other observers, so as to elaborate the whole of what had been previously

<sup>8</sup> "Footnotes from the Page of Nature; or First Forms of Vegetation." By the Rev. Hugh Macmillan. With Illustrations. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 292.

<sup>9</sup> "Das Sehen mit Zwei Augen, und die Lehre von den Identischen Netzhautstellen." Von Dr. Albrecht Nagel, Privatdocenten der Universität in Bonn. Mit 4 lithographirten Tafeln, und 37 in den Text Gedruckten Holzschnitten. Leipzig: 1861. 8vo, pp. 184.

<sup>10</sup> "Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen und der höheren Thiere." Akademische Vorträge gehalten, von Albert Kölliker, Prof. der Anatomie und Physiologie an der Universität Würzburg. Mit 226 Figuren in Holzschnitt. Leipzig: 1861. 8vo, pp. 468.

attained, together with the results of his own inquiries, into one complete and harmonious system. There is really much more of original investigation in the work than appears at a first glance over its pages; for in many portions in which the results it presents had been previously attained by others, they have been so unsatisfactorily set forth as by no means to command general acceptance; and it will be by the confirmation and clearer exposition which they have received from Professor Kölliker, that they will now first acquire their real value as important parts of the system to be henceforth adopted. We are glad to learn that there is a prospect of a translation of this important work being issued in this country under the supervision of its distinguished author.

In connexion with the preceding we have to mention another important work, which, though almost identical in title, and equal in excellence, differs from it so greatly in scope and character that each may be considered (so to speak) as the complement of the other:<sup>11</sup> for whilst Prof. Kölliker specially concerns himself with the minuter details of the developmental process as exhibited in man and the higher vertebrata, Prof. Rathke describes its larger features, and follows these through the chief variations they present in the principal subdivisions of the Mertebrated series; so that his work is really a treatise on the comparative embryology of that sub-kingdom. Hence the student who may have already made himself master of the history of the process as worked out by Prof. Kölliker, will be enabled by placing himself under the guidance of Prof. Rathke to comprehend the modifications presented by its fundamental plan in other parts of the scale; whilst he who may have first familiarized himself with the grand outlines sketched with a master's hand by Prof. Rathke, will be all the better prepared to appreciate the admirable elaboration of one portion of the design by the no less masterly touches of Prof. Kölliker. It is greatly to be regretted that the Lectures of Prof. Rathke (which are published posthumously), have not the advantage of illustrations like those which constitute so valuable a feature in the treatise of Prof. Kölliker.

The influence of Prof. Müller's teaching and example upon the younger generation of anatomists and physiologists in Germany is strikingly shown by the succession of works which appear from time to time, containing the results of valuable original researches made by his former pupils, especially in the various departments of Marine Zoology.<sup>12</sup> The volume now before us is a valuable addition to the series, although some portions of the ground over which its authors have worked had been previously explored with a minuteness that has left little for them to add in the way of novelty. They especially studied the development of the *Siphonophora*, of *Sipunculus*, *Doliolum*,

<sup>11</sup> "Entwicklungsgeschichte der Wirbelthiere." Von Heinrich Rathke. Mit einem Vorwort von A. Kölliker. Leipzig: 1861. 8vo, pp. 201.

<sup>12</sup> "Zoologische Beiträge gesammelt im Winter 1859-60 in Neapel und Messina." Von Wilhelm Keferstein, M.D., Professor in Göttingen, und Ernst Ehlers. Mit 15 Kupfertafeln. Leipzig: 1861. 4to, pp. 112.

*Pyrosoma*, and *Eolis peregrina*; and of these they have given a very exact and complete account, with excellent illustrations.

Prof. Van Beneden has lately added to his previous valuable contributions to the Zoological history of the Belgian Coast, a Memoir on the *Turbellaria*, containing an account of several forms previously very imperfectly known.<sup>13</sup>

Although the great value of Polarized Light in the microscopic study of Animal and Vegetable structure is known to every scientific observer, yet its applications have not until recently been systematically worked out.<sup>14</sup> The subject has of late received great attention in Germany: and we are extremely glad to have from so able an investigator as Prof. Valentin an express treatise upon the application of Polarized Light to Histological research, which combines with the results obtained by other observers a large amount of information brought together by his own labours.

Although the emancipation of the German mind from the philosophical mysticism which pervaded the writings of its scientific investigators down to a very recent period, is now so far advanced that the members of the younger school of naturalists are content to study the phenomena of life as actually exhibited to their senses, instead of seeking to evolve them out of the depths of their own consciousness, yet a lingering remnant of the ancient worship still manifests itself from time to time in the appearance of treatises like that of Dr. Carus,<sup>15</sup> who seeks to determine the relation of Nature to certain "ideas" of his own creation, some of which are expressed in diagrams more curious than useful. As a contribution to the natural history of the human mind, such a work may have an interest for a limited class of readers; but as an introduction to the study of Natural Science we most assuredly cannot recommend it to any.

The readers of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" have the advantage of perusing, from time to time, the excellent essays on various departments of natural history and physiology, contributed to its pages by M. de Quatrefages;<sup>16</sup> essays which combine in a rare degree the thoroughly scientific tone of the real *savan*, with the faculty for popular exposition that is too often limited to the practised *littérateur*. Although the researches by which M. de Quatrefages gained his high reputation as a zoologist were made among the lower forms of animal life, yet his duties as a Professor in the Museum of Natural History require that he should discourse on Anthropology; and he has applied himself to its study in that truly philosophical spirit, of which the

<sup>13</sup> "*Recherches sur la Faune Littorale de Belgique.*" Par P. J. Van Beneden, Professeur à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. *Turbellaries*. Bruxelles: 1860. 4to, pp. 56. VII Planches.

<sup>14</sup> "*Die Untersuchung der Pflanzen und der Thiergewebe in Polarischem Lichte.*" Von G. Valentin in Bern. Mit 84 Holzschnitten. Leipzig: 1861. 8vo, pp. 312.

<sup>15</sup> "*Natur und Idee, oder das Werdende und sein Gesetz: eine philosophische Grundlage für die specielle Naturwissenschaft.*" Von Dr. Carl Gustav Carus. Wien: 1861. 8vo, pp. 492.

<sup>16</sup> "*Unité de l'Espèce Humaine.*" Par A. de Quatrefages, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: 1861. 12mo, pp. 420.



want is lamentably apparent in the writings of many recent dogmatists. The results he has obtained have led him to an unhesitating acceptance of the doctrine of the unity of the human species; that is, of the conclusion that the existing races either did have, or may have had, their origin in the same progenitors: their differences not being greater than the influence of variation in external conditions, operating through a sufficient lapse of time, is sufficient to account for; whilst their mutual relations are of a character more intimate than those which exist among species whose distinctness is universally admitted. These views are set forth with the author's usual ability; and we cannot doubt that they will have a valuable influence in the direction of intelligent thought as to this important question.

The laborious researches pursued by Dr. Edward Smith during several years past on the Statics of the Human Body,<sup>17</sup> the results of which have found a place in the Transactions of our learned Societies, have enabled him to accumulate a vast mass of important information as to the changes which the system undergoes under the varying influences of the diurnal and annual cycles, and the modifications in those changes which depend upon Period of Life. These results he has now collected and arranged in a compendious and systematic form, and has based upon them a series of deductions having relation to the preservation of Health and the cure of Disease, which give a sound scientific basis to many doctrines that were previously only vague and empirical, and overthrow some current notions which prove to have no foundation whatever. We are not sure that some of the author's generalizations may not require modification hereafter, when the basis of observation shall have been widened; but the work as it stands is a most valuable contribution to medical science, and will doubtless extend the appreciation of the self-sacrificing zeal which has carried its author through one of the most toilsome and personally unpleasant series of researches that has ever been undertaken by a physiologist.

The distinctive purpose and scope of Dr. Brinton's treatise "On Food and its Digestion"<sup>18</sup> may be best expressed in the author's own words:—

"It is intended to describe the process of Digestion, in its natural connection with the Food on which it operates, and with the purpose which that food, as thus elaborated, fulfils. In so far as it answers to this intention, it differs from most of the works on Diet hitherto published. It gives a more complete account of the several organs of Digestion, as respects both their structure and function. It illustrates the relation of Digestion to Nutrition, by referring the details of the demand for food to those of that process of bodily waste by which that demand is dictated. Endeavouring specially to harmonize the study of food with that of digestion, it everywhere keeps the

<sup>17</sup> "Health and Disease, as influenced by the Daily, Seasonal, and other Cyclical Changes in the Human System." By Edward Smith, M.D., LL.B., F.R.S., Assistant Physician to the Hospital for Consumption, &c. &c. London: 1861. Post 8vo, pp. 409. With numerous diagrams.

<sup>18</sup> "On Food and its Digestion; being an Introduction to Dietetics." By William Brinton, M.D., F.R.C.P., Physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, and Lecturer on Physiology at that Institution. With 48 Wood Engravings. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 485.

natural history of the various alimentary substances in due subordination to their practical bearing on life and health. Hence, while chiefly discussing the articles of food commonly used in this country, it views these from a rational rather than an empirical aspect; in order to seek out the physiological principles of their use, so far as these are discernible by the light of our existing knowledge. In short, it treats the whole subject of digestion as a natural subdivision of the 'Institutes of Medicine;' and especially dwells on the Physiology of Food, as constituting a basis for the practice of physic, in reference both to the prevention and to the cure of disease."

We have great pleasure in expressing it as our conviction that Dr. Brinton has most satisfactorily carried out the design sketched in this extract, his book being one which we can confidently recommend as containing a compendious digest of the latest and most reliable information on the various subjects which it embraces, with much that is original in the author's own thoughtful suggestions, and bearing evidence throughout of the careful exercise of a judgment trained in the best school of scientific culture.

From Dr. Humphry we have an exposition of the structure and uses of the Human Foot and the Human Hand,<sup>19</sup> originally addressed to a popular audience at Cambridge; and now put forth in a more complete form for the benefit of a larger public. The contents of this little volume, which is framed very much upon the model of Sir C. Bell's *Bridge-water Treatise*, will well repay an intelligent perusal; the information which it contains having the scientific accuracy which might be expected from so accomplished an anatomist, and being conveyed in an extremely pleasing form.

The treatise of Mr. Haynes Walton upon the Surgical Diseases of the Eye acquired for itself a high reputation upon its first appearance a few years since;<sup>20</sup> and that reputation will be fully sustained by the new edition which has recently appeared. Some chapters in it are altogether new, and others have been rewritten; the progress of ophthalmic surgery and the author's own increased experience having supplied materials for valuable additions and improvements. Among the additions we especially note an account of the Ophthalmoscope and its applications; an instrument for which we are chiefly indebted to Prof. Helmholtz, and by which the oculist obtains an insight into the condition of the structures forming the posterior portion of the eyeball, which affords him the most valuable indications in the treatment of their maladies.

The second volume of the excellent *System of Surgery* in course of preparation under the able superintendence of Mr. Holmes, has followed the first with laudable promptness.<sup>21</sup> It contains *Essays on*

<sup>19</sup> "The Human Foot and the Human Hand." By G. M. Humphry, M.D., F.R.S., Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Cambridge. With 84 Wood Engravings. London: 1861. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 215.

<sup>20</sup> "A Treatise on the Surgical Diseases of the Eye." By H. Haynes Walton, F.R.C.S. Second Edition. With 172 Wood Engravings. London: 1861. 8vo, pp. 686.

<sup>21</sup> "A System of Surgery, Theoretical and Practical, in Treatises by Various Authors." Edited by Thomas Holmes, M.A. Cantab. In Four Volumes. Volume the Second—"Local Injuries; Diseases of the Eye." 8vo, pp. 895.

Gun-shot Wounds, by Professor Longmore, of Fort Pitt, Chatham ; on Injuries of the Head, by Mr. Prescott Hewett ; on Injuries of the Back, by Mr. A. Shaw ; on Injuries of the Face, by Mr. Holmes Coote ; on Injuries of the Neck, by the late Mr. Henry Gray ; on Injuries of the Chest, by Mr. Alfred Poland ; on Injuries of the Abdomen, by Mr. George Pollock ; on Injuries of the Pelvis, by Mr. J. Birkett ; on Injuries of the Upper Extremities, by Mr. W. H. Flower ; on Injuries of the Lower Extremity, by Mr. Carsten Hothouse ; and on Diseases and Injuries of the Eye, by Mr. Dixon.

We have a decided objection to treatises which profess to instruct the *pater-* or *mater-familias* in the treatment of any but the most simple diseases. We would teach every one as much as he or she can profitably learn of the conditions on which health depends, and of the hygienic management of sickness ; but except in situations which are beyond the ready access of a medical practitioner, we do not know what good is likely to come of any other than the mildest "domestic medicine ;" and we know that a great deal of harm is frequently done by the unskilful use of edge-tools. We cannot, therefore, recommend the treatise of Dr. Gardner,<sup>22</sup> and are sorry to see the author making it the vehicle for announcing himself as an orthodox practitioner of long and extensive experience, and for vaunting the efficacy of new American remedies, which, he says, "will be more readily adopted by being first made known to the public, than if previously treated of in medical journals"—certainly no compliment to his professional brethren.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A DELIGHTFUL volume of essays, by the late distinguished Carl Ritter, will remind the reader of Humboldt's review of the principal momenta that have influenced the history of the physical contemplation of the universe in "Cosmos."<sup>1</sup> There are obvious differences arising from the difference of object and treatment, but each of these great writers presents us with a more or less perfect history of geographical discovery. Ritter's volume, edited by Herr Daniel, who contributes only a brief occasional preface, consists of lectures, characterized by learning, feeling, and purity of language. The subject of the book is the discovery of the earth, in antiquity and the Middle Ages. It is a history of the successive explorations of our globe, from the most remote period to the time of Columbus. Separating those nations

<sup>22</sup> "Household Medicine ; containing a Familiar Description of Diseases, their Nature, Causes, and Symptoms ; the most approved Methods of Treatment ; and the Properties and Uses of Remedies, including many New and Valuable Medicines, with Directions for preparing them, and Rules for the Management of the Sick Room, expressly adapted for Family Use." By John Gardner, M.D. With Numerous Illustrations. London. 8vo, pp. 520.

<sup>1</sup> "Geschichte der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen," etc. Von Carl Ritter. Herausgegeben von H. A. Daniel. London and Edinburgh : Williams and Norgate. 1861.

which have only a domestic history from those which have a geographical history, Ritter takes a rapid survey of the contributions to a knowledge of the earth for which we are indebted to the Hebrews and Egyptians, the Phœnicians, Greeks, Indians, Chinese, and Romans, in the first part of this work, and of the enlargement of that knowledge by the barbaric immigrations of the dark ages, the propagation of Christianity, the Mahometan Conquest, Norman adventure, Italian commerce, and Portuguese enterprise; in the second part Ritter considers that our earliest ethnographical documents are derived from the Egyptians through the Hebrews. (Gen. c. 10.) In Joshua (c. xviii) he finds a second valuable geographical record; and a third in the route of the Israelites in the desert. (Deut.) The sculptures and paintings accumulated in Egypt under the dynasty of Sesostridæ, throw considerable light on the commerce, the flora, fauna, and ethnology of the period. In one of these catacomb-pictures the termination *apuro* (town) carries us at once to India, where we meet with it in Hastinapura, Singapura, &c. So, again, Schari is Assur or Assyria, Naharina is Aram-Naharaim, or Mesopotamia. Thus in general outline we recover portions of primitive history. Glancing at the times of Solomon, Ritter identifies Ophir with the west coast of anterior India, the Hebrew names for ape, peacock, ivory, and sandal wood (*almug*), which grows in India only, being all of Sanscrit origin. To the Phœnicians our author attributes the first finding out of the ocean, observing "the name *Okeanos* from *Og* or *Ogen*, the All-embracer, is an enduring memorial of this period of discovery." The work abounds in similar striking elucidations.

"The Wanderings of the Celts,"<sup>2</sup> by Leopold Contzen, is also an attractive and valuable book. It contains an apparently exhaustive history of the principal divisions or subdivisions of this early immigrant people, first touching on their great irruption into Europe, collecting all the earliest historical indications of their existence, from Hecataeus of Meletus downwards, and describing their wanderings and settlements, whether as Gauls, Iberians, Ligurians, Illyrians, or Kelts of the Alps and Danube. In the concluding chapter of the first division of the work there is as complete a general survey of the physical and mental characteristics of this mobile, courageous, licentious, practical race, as we are perhaps ever likely to obtain. There is some curious learning, too, in a note, in the section on the Druids. Contzen, or rather Glück, differing from some modern critics, brings back the etymon of the word to *dru* (Gr. *δρῦς*), comparing the Irish *dar* (dair), Darnagh being *Daru* = *magus*, or Oak-field. According to Lucan, the supreme god of the Kelts was called *Teutâtis*, the Strong, and with the Kelts the oak was the symbol of strength. In Ammianus the Druids are called *Drysidæ*, or oak-sitters. Elsewhere they are named *Saroudai*, a possible perversion of *Saronidai*, the men of the hollow oak, from *σαρωνίς*.

The second main division of Contzen's work relates the doings of

<sup>2</sup> "Die Wanderungen der Kelten. Historisch-kritisch Dargelegt." Von Leopold Contzen. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

the Gauls in Italy, Greece, and Asia. In four chapters he tells us of the battles of the Etruscans with the Gauls, the plunder and burning of Rome under Brennus, the retreat of the Gauls before F. Camillus, the incursion and overthrow or retirement of the Bœii and Senones (Gallic tribes), and the final Romanizing of Cisalpine Gaul. In Greece the Gauls were almost unknown about Ol. 125. A little later we find them breaking into that classical land under Cambaules. A second irruption, having for its arena Pæonia, Thrace, and Macedonia, speedily followed; then came the great catastrophe at Delphi, when, according to legend, the "gods" nearly annihilated these formidable marauders. The residuary portion was still strong enough to found a kingdom on the Hæmus. In Asia Minor, however, the Gauls suffered a terrible reverse under Antiochus I. Soter. Joining Antiochus the Great, the Galatians fought against Rome; but in the war of Mithridates they were the allies of the republic. In the civil war they took part with Pompey against Cæsar. In the year B.C. Galatia became a Roman province, with M. Lollius for its first pro-prætor. Under the Cæsars it extended from Paphlagonia to Pisidia, and from Cappadocia and Pontus to Pisidia and Bithynia. After splitting up into many minor districts, it was ultimately divided, in the reign of Theodosius, into Galatia Prima and Galatia Secunda. Its influence was once so considerable that it was known as Gallo-Græcia. Stephen of Byzantium calls it the most beautiful part of Phrygia. Its waters abounded in fish; its mountains supplied wine and olives; its pastures were covered with magnificent cattle. All this general history, with much of detail, is related in Contzen's "*Wanderings of the Kelts*" with force, grace, and dignity, and with that full and ready knowledge which implies extensive research.

The ancestors of the Germans of our own day meet us later than the Kelts. Dr. Souchay concerns himself but little with the primitive past of his country; its position and influence in the Middle Ages and in modern times, have far more attraction for his sensitive and patriotic mind. Resigning his legal and senatorial functions in 1849, Dr. Souchay has employed his leisure in the study of this period of his nation's life, and in the composition of a "*History of the German Monarchy*," from its rise (A.D. 687) to its decline (A.D. 1519).<sup>3</sup> Of the seven volumes of which the work is intended to consist, one only has been issued: the remainder are to be published at intervals, all following within the close of this summer and the spring of 1862. Lamenting over the political nullity of his country, and desiring for it a nobler and happier fate, Dr. Souchay conceives that its prosperity and independence can only be obtained through unity. To solve the problem of the future, he directs our attention to the perspective of the past. Germany, he tells us, was great, powerful, and flourishing, as long and so far as the German monarchy was a reality; but declined with its decline, and sank into an almost unconnected aggregate of

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<sup>3</sup> "*Geschichte der Deutschen Monarchie von ihrer Erhebung bis zu ihrem Verfall.*" Von Dr. G. C. F. Souchay. Erster Band. Geschichte der Carolinger und Ottonen. London: Nutt. 1861.

separate states when the Empire retained only a nominal existence. Dr. Souchay's political aspirations would seem to point to a united Kingdom of Germany. The last hope, according to our author, of the restoration of the German monarchy, was extinguished by the Protestant movement, which prevented the nation from rallying round the imperial throne of Charles V. We can thus understand why Dr. Souchay has treated the history of Germany as the history of a continuous royalty, introduced by the Carolingians, carried on by the Hohenstaufen line, and expiring in that of Hapsburg. Taking the German princes as so many central points of the collective interest, Dr. Souchay does not lose sight of what is the real subject of his work, the prosperity of the empire, but seeks to show how it was promoted or impeded by these supreme depositories of power. Dr. Souchay's present volume appears to us to be a favourable specimen of his projected work. It contains two principal divisions, the first extending over a period of about two centuries and a quarter (687-911) and comprising a history of the Carolingians, and the second, terminating in the year 1024, comprising that of the Othos.

Dr. Souchay's countryman, Hermann Baumgarten,<sup>4</sup> considers the Hapsburg rule for two centuries over Spain, to have had a paralysing and denationalizing effect for that once magnificent empire. Commencing with this position, we have briefly the history of the nation from the year 1700, under Philip V., Ferdinand VI., and Charles III. We then come to the break-up of the old order, the assembling of the Cortes, the Nootka-Sound conflict with England, and Florida Blanca's resistance to the French Revolution. Remarking that in 1793 the Spanish people was the only one in Europe that clung with unlimited reverence to the past, and threw itself into the war with France with a fanatic attachment to throne and altar, he inquires how it happened that in 1808 this conservative nation compelled its king to abdicate, in 1810 revolutionized its constitution, and from 1815 to 1830 gave the signal for every political explosion in Europe and America. The last sentence of his work supplies the answer. "Spain, for the first ten years of the present century, was the principal source of the revolutionary commotions in Europe and America; the degrading weakness of Charles IV., the wicked life of the Queen, Maria Louisa, and the criminal frivolity of Godoy, made it such. Here lies the universal significance of the seven years of Spanish history which forms the subject of this book." The author appears to have paid considerable attention to his subject. One result of his historical recension is, or should be, to place in their true light events which hitherto have only been known or misknown through Godoy's "mendacious memoirs."

"The History of the French Revolution"<sup>5</sup> seems destined to be

<sup>4</sup> "Geschichte Spaniens zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution." Von Hermann Baumgarten. Mit einer Einleitung über die innere Entwicklung Spaniens im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>5</sup> "Les Girondins : leur Vie privée, leur Vie publique, leur Proscription et leur Mort." Par J. Guadet, Neveu du Représentant. 2 vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

written and rewritten, fresh memoranda suggesting, if not warranting, some revocation or revision of an old verdict. On the present occasion M. Guadet, a nephew of the famous representative of that name, comes forward with a justification of the Gironde party, in the shape of a biography, drawn up in a wise and moderate spirit, and telling the story of the private and public life of his heroes, in such a way as to win at once our attention and respect. The Gironde party seems rightly described by Mignet, as a party rendered illustrious by great talents and great courage, a party which did honour to the republic by its horror of bloodshed, its hatred of crime and anarchy, its love of order, justice, and liberty. According to this historian, its very principle destined it to defeat and death. Placed between the middle class and the multitude, it had no support in the social sources of power. Attached to law, to constitutionalism, and originally desirous to preserve the royal authority, it prepared the way for the deposition of the king and aided in the establishment of a new *régime*. The Girondists have been called the pedants and even the Jesuits of the revolution. Guadet rather represents them as its lawyers. In this way he justifies their conduct on the occasion of the king's trial. As men of law, he argues, the Girondists were obliged to vote for the punishment prescribed by law—death; but shrinking from the execution of so terrible a sentence, they sought to save the king by an appeal to the people. The appeal was rejected; the throne fell, and the Girondists with it. Now to us it seems clear that this boasted respect for law should have led the Girondists to assert the king's inviolability, and the legal incompetency of the Convention to arraign him before its own self-created tribunal. Had they done this, they would certainly have lost their political and most likely their personal existence, but they would have saved their character. As it was, they lost all three.

The numerous accusations brought against his clients are met by Guadet in various portions of his work. He denies that they originated the movement of the 20th of June, and to prove this, he cites the evidence of Bertrand de Molville, who refers it to the Jacobins, and to Guadet's distinct repudiation of it, when it would have served his purpose to have taken credit for it. To show the statesmanship of the Girondists, he inserts the report of Condorcet, whom he regards as the exponent of their views. This report, which is worth reading, contains a sketch of a possible constitution, on the Gironde platform. It maintains, if we rightly understand it, the representative system of government (with universal suffrage), in opposition to the principle of mere delegation or of direct popular action. The Girondists strongly reprobated the prison massacres. Gensonné in particular demanded that the brigands and cannibals of September should be prosecuted with all the rigour of the law. But the republic was threatened by the armies of Europe. Danton and the Mountain directed the great popular and patriotic struggle, and the Gironde, accused of conspiracy, fell before the insurrection which transferred the power to Robespierre, Marat, and the commune. Those who care to see what can be advanced in vindication of the character, statesmanship, and policy of these

"intrepid and eloquent men, who carried with them to the prison and the scaffold all the generous resolutions of the assembly," will find in the pages of the representative of one of the most distinguished of their number, the facts or arguments by which he attempts to re-establish their reputation as politicians and thinkers. In the course of his narrative, M. Guadet takes occasion to correct Lamartine's mis-statements, or to expose his inventions. His command of illustrative or documentary material, gives additional value to his work. He adduces evidence in proof of the treasonable correspondence of Louis XVI., after his acceptance of the constitution: he shows that the object of the September Terrorists was to preclude any possible action of the enemies of the revolution, to rid themselves of their political prisoners, and of all their more formidable convicts at the same time, the less guilty delinquents being saved. The massacre was regularly organized, and the perpetrators were paid for their atrocious doings. The responsible persons, according to Guadet, were Danton and the members of the *comité de surveillance de la commune*, Marat, Parris, Sergent, &c.; Robespierre, Collet d'Herbois, Barrère, &c., approved; and a part of the people and the national guard encouraged the murderers by their presence. It seems impossible to displace Danton from a bad pre-eminence in this great crime. The document addressed to all the communes of France, which not only justifies this sanguinary measure, but invites them to repeat it, was directed and countersigned by the Minister of Justice, Danton.

The first volume of the "*History of the Italy of our own Time*,"<sup>6</sup> contains an account of the progress of events, from 1815 to the death of Charles Albert and the peace with Austria. In the introductory portion a general survey is afforded of the condition of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, the States of the Church, the Two Sicilies, Tuscany, Piedmont, &c., to the accession of Pius IX. and the awakening of Italy. The second portion comprises a sketch of the insurrectionary movements of Sicily, Naples, Milan, and Venice, of the campaign against Austria, and the general situation of 1847. The tyrannical government of Austria is exhibited in its true light in these pages. It is shown in them how women and youths below a certain age, by the provisions of the penal code were subjected to "*la peine des verges*;" how the president of the tribunal was empowered to punish with the bastinado, fasting, and irons all who refused to answer the questions of the judge; how the wife was compelled to denounce her husband, and the son his father; and how from 1820 to 1836 the most illustrious Italians were sacrificed to the savage and suspicious restlessness of Austria. One fact strikingly illustrates the fiscal rapacity of "the foreigner." Of the 390 million florins which made up the imperial revenue, 124 millions were levied in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, that is, one-third of the taxes was paid by one-seventh of the superficial territory. While the restoration of Italy is remotely connected by the authors of this work with "the dream of the illustrious cap-

<sup>6</sup> "*Histoire de l'Italie Nouvelle et du roi Victor Emmanuel*," etc. Par Ernest Rasetti et Charles de la Varenne. Tome premier. London: David Nutt, 1861.



tive of St. Helena," and immediately referred to Napoleon III., *heritier des idées de son oncle*, as the auxiliary of the Italians in their attempts at national reconstruction; the services of the Carbonari, with their scheme of Italian federation under the constitutional princes; those of the Republicans and their Apostle Mazzini, with their proclamation of a united Italy, and those of the House of Savoy—are all severally noticed, and, in the preface at least, fairly enough appreciated. On the other hand, the cowardly Governments of France and England, in 1848, are severely censured. M. de Lamartine, however, appears to be the special object of our authors' reprobation. They who question his good faith during his brief tenure of power in 1848, affirm that he ought to have actively seconded the Italian movement, and assert that the alleged rejection of foreign aid by the people of Italy was a mere pretence. This hasty notice may serve to indicate the ground which this history covers, and the spirit in which it is conceived.

The East of Asia is beginning to take its part in the universal life of modern times.<sup>7</sup> Siam, Cochinchina, China, and Japan, &c., are all entering into the circle of western civilization. Desiring to contribute towards a right comprehension of the position and prospects of the remote East, Herr Neumann—who has visited China, and who includes among his friends and patrons Lancelot Dent, Staunton, Davis, the Morrisons, Bowring, Gützlaff, Overbeck, and others, to some of whom he is indebted for a continuous supply of documentary information—has compiled a useful and sensible history of Oriental Asia, from the period of the first Chinese war in 1840, down to the Treaty of Peking in 1860. China, with its political and social phenomena, its secret societies, its religious revolution, under the "younger brother of Jesus Christ;" Japan, with its geography, history, government, &c.; American discovery and policy, Russian influence, and Christian Missions, are all duly described or criticized. The work also contains an ample narrative of the events of the first and second Chinese wars. Herr Neumann censures the commercial greed of Western Europe, and the people and government of England are of course prominently rebuked. As we understand the business, the affair of the *Lorch Arrow* seems to have been a regular muddle. At Hong-Kong, as in all British settlements, any foreign ship can procure a register, sail under an English flag, and be regarded in all respects as English. Of this usage, quite foreign to Chinese law, the provincial government was apprised, by the delivery of copies of the English navigation laws to the mandarins. The Chinese courts, however, regarded this unheard-of practice as a fresh instance of the selfish ingenuity of the barbarians; and as some of these registered vessels, manned by pirates and other criminals, were regular smugglers, it is not surprising that the native authorities should have protested against it in the case of the *Arrow*, which, according to their showing, was not an English ship, but belonged to the Chinese Su-Asing, and had got her papers through

<sup>7</sup> "Ostasiatische Geschichte vom ersten chinesischen Krieg bis zu den Verträgen in Peking, 1840-1860." Von Karl Friedrich Neumann. London: David Nutt, 1861.

false representations. The people of China have no very high opinion of European morality. An intelligent subject of the Celestial Emperor, who allowed that the ethical system taught by Christ agreed with that of Confucius, on learning that the Russians, French, and English were Christians, exclaimed, "Impossible! not the English, or they would not sell opium, and spread death over the kingdom, &c.; not the Russians, or they would not filch one country after another; as to that Bowring, he is the most shameless of all! he had actually the audacity to tell his Excellency that opium was just as innocent as tea."

The seventh volume of the *History*<sup>8</sup> in which Mr. Knight relates the fortunes of the worst of these immoral nations forms a kind of repository of the social, political, and military facts which elucidate English civilization during a period of thirty years. It opens with a view of the industrial progress of the country from about 1760 onwards to the war of the French Revolution, comprising a survey of the Fine Arts, Literature, and Manners. A retrospect of Indian affairs then introduces us to the India Bill of Mr. Fox, to the peace administration of Pitt, whose schemes of internal improvement were irrevocably suspended by the outbreak of the French Revolution. The volume gives a full though rapid sketch of the history of the French Republic; it describes the Consulate and Empire of Napoleon; "the gigantic struggle of Great Britain against the ambition which aimed at universal conquest;" her splendid naval victories, her ill-executed military expeditions, and "her final triumph in the great war of the Peninsula, under the one commander who was worthy to be matched against Napoleon." Mr. Knight has done his work very fairly. The social picture with which he commences this volume is excellently drawn; his narrative is clear, lively, truthful, and intelligent; his estimate of men always conscientious, his appreciation of events usually correct. There is not, however, either power or originality in the volume now before us. Mr. Knight is, perhaps, seldom wrong in his judgments; but you always feel that he is treading in the footmarks of preceding promulgators of now accepted liberal opinion. We miss in his account of the French Revolution any attempt to show its real significance, its "scientific aspect," as Mr. Mill calls it, considered as one "turbulent passage in a progressive transformation embracing the whole human race," and implying "a change so far from being completed that it is not yet clear, even to the more advanced spirits, to what ultimate goal it is tending." Again, we miss any masterly exposition of Pitt's war system of finance. Mr. Knight apparently adopts Macaulay's view of the great Minister, and satisfies himself with a delineation generally conforming to that of his authority. Thus, with considerable research, great information, and general fairness, this history of a remarkably epical period fails in grandeur, original treatment, and philosophical insight.

Passing from England to Arabia, we find that the only really

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<sup>8</sup> "The Popular History of England." Vol. VII. By Charles Knight. London: Bradbury and Evans. 1861.

valuable English "Life of Mahomet"<sup>9</sup> is now happily completed. For a general appreciation of Mr. Muir's historical qualifications we refer the reader to the corresponding section of the *Westminster Review* for 1858, merely repeating that the author of the present biography derives his materials directly from the three earlier authorities, Ibn Hisham, Al Wackidi, as abridged by his secretary, and Tabari, none of whom, however, afford really independent contemporary evidence. In his first instalment of this very able work, Mr. Muir, besides supplying an analysis of the original biographical sources, and disserting on the pre-Islamite history of Arabia, brought down his narrative of the Prophet's life to the era of the Hegira. The concluding instalment, resuming the story with the flight of Mahomet to Medîna, describes the state of parties in that city after his arrival, the religious institutions established about this period, the hostilities between Medîna and Mecca, with the siege of the former city; the great battles preceding the expulsion of the Bani Wadhîr, the two pilgrimages to Mecca, the foreign embassies, the conquest of Kheibar and Mecca, the campaign of Tabûk, and the sickness and death of Mahomet. The final chapter contains an estimate of the character of the Arabian prophet, drawn up with careful conscientiousness, though not, we think, entirely satisfactory. Mr. Muir rejects the "impostor" hypothesis. He gives Mahomet credit for sincerity, earnest and ennobling conviction, and thoroughness of purpose and action, at least during his "Mecca" career:—"We search in vain," he says, "through the pages of profane history for a parallel to the struggle in which for thirteen years the Prophet of Arabia, in the face of discouragement and threats, rejection and persecution, retained his faith unwavering, preached repentance, and denounced God's wrath against his godless fellow-citizens." From the period of Mahomet's arrival at Medîna, however, our author detects a marked and rapid declension in the system he inculcated, and concludes that he was delivered over to the judicial blindness of a self-deceived heart. He accuses him of cruelty, perfidy, sensuality, and hypocrisy. We have no intention of offering any absolute vindication of the Hero of Islam; but we think it quite possible that two of these accusations may in part be obviated by the reflection that theological morality is sometimes, if not always, dependent on the Divine Will, and that the right or the wrong of an action varies with the supposed caprice of Deity. In this way Mahomet might plead that he had God's command for substituting conquests of the sword for conquests of the word; and for destroying the enemies of God by subtlety or force. Again, if a Hebrew prophet (Hosea) was justified in contracting an equivocal alliance with an objectionable woman, by an alleged positive injunction, is it not possible that the "special licences" by which Mahomet appropriated a friend's wife or a Coptic slave might be sincerely believed by the accommodating surrogate to bear the Divine sanction? Mr. Muir himself seems not disinclined to admit the plea, though only "in a very modified

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<sup>9</sup> "The Life of Mahomet," etc. By William Muir, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. Vols. III. and IV. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

and peculiar sense." Turning from the founder of the religion to the religion itself, Mr. Muir applauds it for its pure and earnest monotheism, its spirit of resignation, its charity, temperance, and consideration for slaves. On the other hand, all its benefits are, in his judgment, outweighed by the evils which accompany it, the polygamy, divorce, and slavery which it maintains, its intolerance, and its antagonism to Christianity. We allow all but the last to be evils, but we are not convinced that some of them would not have existed in an equal, or even in a greater degree, if the religion of Mahomet had never been promulgated. The Prophet imposed restrictions on polygamy, encouraged the practice of female inheritance, and generally elevated the position of unmarried women. (Before Mahomet, the *Kendites*, it is said, buried their daughters alive.) Yet it must be admitted that the Mahometan law of divorce and the sanction of a slave appendix to matrimony deserve all Mr. Muir's reprobation. In judging, however, of the merits or demerits of a particular form of civilization, we must not forget that it has its compensating advantages and disadvantages. Even Christianity cannot put down slavery in the Southern States of America, nor suppress prostitution in the great cities of Western Europe. Thus Mahometanism, with all its encouragements to licentiousness, may after all have been productive of more good and of less evil than our author supposes. It is not easy to see what other religion or civilization would have been adapted to the Arabian tribes. Would the idolatrous or metaphysical Christianity of Mahomet's own time have been preferable? Mr. Carlyle thinks not. The Catholic Church, no doubt, has done much to raise and discipline European society; but, whatever may have been its moral superiorities, it has certainly not been over-favourable to intellectual freedom. It was probably a blessing to mankind that Arabian monotheism was not, like the Christianity of the Middle Ages, subjected to the control of a sacerdotal corporation. Had it been, we should scarcely have found in the Arabs companions and even pioneers of intellectual progress—the founders, in a certain sense, of physical science. Bagdad would not then have become "a central point of power and civilization," nor would the schools of Seville and Cordova, in a later age, have diffused their accumulated knowledge over the hierarchical society of Christian Europe. Yet, if we are in some respects dissatisfied with Mr. Muir's philosophical views, including the cheap and easy notion of Satanic suggestion, we have but little doubt that some abatements are to be made, both from the purity and disinterestedness of Mahomet's character, and from the beneficial influences of Mussulman civilization. On the whole, Mr. Muir's book is a real book, one that has a right to *be*, genuine in its kind, though not of the highest order.

Captain John Brown,<sup>10</sup> whose rash and questionable enterprise at Harper's Ferry, cost the United States of America the life of more than *one* noble citizen, was almost as great an enthusiast as Mahomet

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<sup>10</sup> "The Life and Letters of Captain John Brown," etc. Edited by Richard D. Webb. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861.

himself. We think we see in him a man flaming with indignation against wrong, thoroughly sincere, upright, with a high sense of duty, "believing in the golden rule, sir, and the declaration of independence;" perhaps, also, impracticable, hasty, fanatic, censurable. A friend of ours, not without love or wisdom, some time since remarked—"If ever man deserved to be hanged, it was John Brown." Perhaps he was right; but that country must be in a sadly hampered state, in which men like John Brown can do nothing better with themselves than take out a qualification for the gallows. Mr. R. W. Emerson, whose judgment does not accord with that of our friend, asserts that Brown possessed the greatest integrity, truthfulness, and courage that he ever met; and Theodore Parker thought "there have been few spirits more pure and devoted than John Brown, and none that gave up their breath in a nobler cause." The life and letters, the doings and sayings of this fool of an idea, who rushed into crime and death in the name of a principle, as well as notices of a few of his companions in arms, with a sketch of the ruffianly proceedings of the pro-slavery party at Kansas, and the official consecration of some of these proceedings, are comprised in Mr. Webb's unpretending and quiet little volume,—a volume which it will not abuse any man's leisure to read.

"The Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England," by Miss Agnes Strickland, may be pronounced a tolerably successful specimen of book-making.<sup>11</sup> The usual authorities have been consulted; facts and traditions are related in the orthodox way; details of costume and bits of picturesque information are thrown together, and thus a volume has been produced that is not entirely devoid of merit. Judging, however, by the work before us, we should say that Miss Strickland has no real historical or biographical faculty; that she has no command of language, no critical talent, no art, no power of statement, no style. The very subject of her book is "got up." Who are the bachelor kings of England? William Rufus, Edward V., and Edward VI. Of these the first alone can properly be called a bachelor king. As he lived to be forty-one years of age, he might of course have had more than one opportunity of "improving his life by entering the holy pale of wedlock." Of the two remaining royal celibates, one died before he was thirteen years of age, and the other before he had attained his sixteenth year. The "philosophical reflections" seem to us equally *got up*. For instance—"If the reckless Norman, whose unrefined nature had disposed him to scorn holy matrimony, had not been cut off so suddenly, it is not impossible but he might have followed the example of his brother Robert, who, though several years older, and of equally irregular habits, had forsaken his evil ways, and married one of the most beautiful and charming princesses of the age." We should like to know what authority Miss Strickland has for asserting that "the disreputable life and unlamented death" of her first bachelor king *warned the next fourteen sovereigns* who successively occupied the throne, of the expediency of providing themselves with queens, as in-

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<sup>11</sup> "Lives of the Bachelor Kings of England." By Agnes Strickland. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

dispensable to the happiness and respectability of their Courts; or are we called on to believe, on Miss Strickland's suggestion, that our Henries, Edwards, and Richards were frightened into the propriety of matrimony by their meditations on the shocking end which had followed "the bachelor's revelries" of the Conqueror's jovial but highly unexemplary son? It is obvious that we are no admirers of Miss Strickland's moral carving and gilding; yet the kind of historical or biographical upholstery which she offers, though not much to our mind, may please a less exacting or fastidious taste.

The author of "*Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III.*" is mentioned or alluded to more than once in Miss Strickland's "*Biographies*," in no complimentary terms. An anonymous critic, however, pronounced this essay "ingenious and acute." Byron thought the "*Castle of Otranto*" the first romance in the language, and both he and Scott set a high value on the letters of Horace Walpole.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Bohn has included them, as edited and chronologically arranged by Mr. Peter Cunningham, in his "*English Gentleman's Library*." Printed in clear type, and enriched with portraits of various notabilities, the wits and beauties of the last century, they already occupy five large octavo volumes, and are designed to extend over four more. The store of anecdote, the amusing gossip, the illustration of manners, the lively rattle and pleasant conceits, with which these letters abound, render them easy and agreeable reading. The utter shamelessness of expression, oral and written, in which high-born men and women once indulged, occasionally peeps out in them, however, with a breadth of nakedness that convinces us that the English gentleman would in general do well, when reading them, to sit, as Mr. Bohn helps us to suggest, in his own library.

To the same series of publications belongs "*The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*,"<sup>13</sup> the first volume of which reprint was noticed in the last number of this Review. The second and final volume contains the miscellaneous correspondence from 1710 to 1762, a translation of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, essays, poems, and a general index.

Among the papers left for publication by Varnhagen von Ense,<sup>14</sup> are the letters which passed between Rahel Levin, in after years the testator's wife, and David Veit. Most of them were written in the period which intervened between March, 1793, and December, 1795, at the earliest of which dates the two correspondents had—one of them quite, the other nearly—attained the enviable age of "sweet two-and-twenty." Rahel the Jewess is probably best known to English readers through Carlyle's panegyrical remarks in one of his *Essays*. One of the best of her oracular speeches is worth repeating: "In the meanest hut is a

<sup>12</sup> "*The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*," etc. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1861.

<sup>13</sup> "*The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*." Edited by her great-grandson Lord Wharcliffe. Third edition, with a new memoir by W. May Thomas. In two vols. Vol. II. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1861.

<sup>14</sup> "*Briefwechsel zwischen Rahel und David Veit*." Two vols. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

romance, if you knew the hearts there"—a truth so profoundly and splendidly illustrated by the clear-seeing genius of the author of "*Silas Marner*." David Veit and his fair correspondent were co-religionists. Veit was born at Breslau, 8th November, 1771. His education, which was commenced in his native town, was continued and completed in Berlin, Göttingen, and Jena. At Halle he received his medical diploma. After visiting Paris with A. Mendelssohn, and becoming acquainted with Rodrigues, the father of the *St. Simonians*, he settled as a physician in Hamburg, battling his way there, not altogether ineffectively. Among the distinguished men whom he knew were numbered J. A. Reimarus, Sieveking, Schönborn, Perthes, Friedrich Jacobi, and Goethe. In the very first letter of this collection we have a full-length portrait of the great poet, then about forty years of age. Many minor notices of his illustrious acquaintance are scattered through the letters. We read, in one place, not without interest, how Veit discovered, in a volume entitled "*Von deutschen Art und Kunst, einige fliegende Blätter*," Hamburg, 1773, the original of Goethe's charming song, "*Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn*." It is called "*Fabellichschen*," and some portion of it corresponds, word for word, with the Goethean ballad. In the same volume Veit also found what he regards as the groundwork of Bürger's "*Lenore*." The letters, in general, show cultivation, reflection, taste, and feeling. They contain various critical memoranda, and sketches of men and manners, which will be found agreeable enough. The relation in which the youthful letter-writers stood to each other appears to have been no tenderer than that which arises out of an affectionate confidence and an intellectually sympathizing friendship.

Miss Cornelia Knight's amusing Autobiography,<sup>15</sup> which has been edited with a praiseworthy economy of editorial comment, by Mr. James Hutton, is introduced to us by Mr. J. W. Kaye, in a rapid prefatory summary of the events of her life. Miss C. Knight, the daughter of Admiral Sir Joseph Knight, was born about the year 1757. During her childhood she appears to have resided in London. As a girl, she made the acquaintance of Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Reynolds, and other celebrated men. After her father's death (1775), she accompanied her mother to the Continent. For some twenty years they "oscillated between Rome and Naples," seeing much of prelatical and political life in Italy. At Naples they became the intimate friends of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. In return for the personal interest which Nelson, who had, after the victory of the Nile, come to the rescue of the royal family, took in the welfare of the widow and daughter of a brother officer, Miss Knight sang his victories in patriotic doggerel, earning for herself the pleasing title of "*Nelson's poet laureate*." In 1799 Lady Knight died, and Cornelia, placing herself under the protection of the Hamiltons, accompanied them and Lord Nelson to England. Her reputation as a learned,

<sup>15</sup> "*Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales*," with extracts from her journals and anecdote books. In two vols. Second Edition. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1861.

accomplished, and blameless lady acquired for her numerous influential friends, among others, Mr. Pitt, "whose opinion it was that the education of the young Princess Charlotte could be entrusted to no fitter person." Marked out, however, for a court life, she became one of the attachées of Queen Charlotte. After a residence of some years at Windsor, she left the court of the Queen and settled at Warwick House, then the domicile of the young Princess, sojourning as lady companion with that "fair-haired daughter of the Isles," until the eventful July of 1814, when the Prince Regent thought right to dismiss her. In 1816 she went abroad, wandering in France, Italy, and Germany, till 1837, at the close of which year she died at Paris, aged nearly 81. Miss Knight's opinions were ultra-loyal and Protestant; "she was a Tory and a Bourbonite in every pulse of her heart." Her works, "*Dinarbas*," and "*Marcus Flaminius*," &c., suggest by their very names, something unpleasantly Johnsonian and *Roman-history-ish*. In disposition she seems to have been amiable, and in character high-principled. The two volumes of autobiography, journal, and anecdote, of which the work before us consists, give us some glimpses into English and Italian life, and furnish plenty of regal or courtly gossip, enlivened by stories or mots, some of which are worth quoting; for instance: Signor Balbi was surprised to find that there was no Burgundy left in his cellar, when he wanted to place some before a party of friends who were dining with him at his country villa. "Ah!" said he, "it must have been that Englishman, Lord Fortrose, who has been staying here some days with my wife, that has drunk it. Ah! I never thought of my wine."

Another autobiographical work—that which records the fortunes and services of Sir James M'Grigor,<sup>16</sup> is entitled to a commendatory word for its simple, truth-like narrative, and its plain, unembellished style. Sir James M'Grigor was the eldest of the three sons of Colquhoun M'Grigor, a merchant of Aberdeen. Educated at the Grammar School and the Marischal College, he afterwards qualified himself for the pacific branch of the military profession, by studying medicine and anatomy under Dr. French, Monroe, &c. Entering the army as surgeon of the Connaught Rangers in 1793, he quitted it as Director-General in 1851. Enumerating the engagements at which he was present, Sir James mentions those of Badajos, Burgos, St. Sebastian, Vittoria, Pyrenees, and the storming of the whole chain of redoubts, when the allied army entered France, on the way to St. Jean. He served also in the expedition to the West Indies under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and in the Egyptian campaign under Sir David Baird. In his Walcheren mission, as in his Peninsular career, he won the good opinion of his superiors and the gratitude of the soldiers. To him we owe the commencement of a system of improvements in the army medical department; a repertory of statistical reports and returns in about 350 volumes. He founded, or aided in the founding, of the

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<sup>16</sup> "The Autobiography and Services of Sir James M'Grigor, Bart., late Director-General of the Army Medical Department," with an Appendix. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.



museum and library at Fort Pitt, Chatham, as also of other military institutions. In 1830 he married the sister of a friend and relation, Sir James Grant. In the following year he was created a baronet. Other distinctions followed. He died in London, 2nd April, 1858, in the 88th year of his age. Perhaps his highest eulogium is to have been pronounced by so decisive an authority as the Duke of Wellington, "one of the most industrious, able, and successful public servants he had ever met with."

"The Life of Edward Forbes," once a valued contributor to this Review, is the joint production of the late George Wilson and Mr. Archibald Geikie.<sup>17</sup> The work is somewhat diffuse, wanting in biographic compression, but not without pleasant, thoughtful, and graphic pages. Edward Forbes was one of those men who possess a rich and various genius, a mobile, many-sided mind, flowering out into painting and poetry, but who never attain to success in art or win the highest philosophical reputation. In painting, it may be doubted whether he was capable of achieving any triumph, though his rough pen-and-ink sketches are not without humour and fancy. As a poet he would probably never have earned any but a very second-rate position. In science he was "suggestive rather than demonstrative." Yet science and not art was the true sphere of his intellectual activity. To him we owe the doctrine of specific centres of distribution of animal and vegetable life, and the law that parallels of latitude are represented vertically in the ocean by zones of depth, as they are on land by zones of elevation. His dual subdivision of the geological record into Palæozoic and Neozoic, "led him to infer the existence of a general law dependent on what he called the manifestation of the relation of Polarity;" but this hypothesis has been little favoured by his contemporaries. Born in the Isle of Man in the year 1815, Edward Forbes died in 1854, before the completion of his fortieth year or the full development of his scientific speculations. Though desirous of cultivating art as a profession, he soon abandoned the idea in favour of medicine; ultimately adopting the pursuit of Natural History as a permanent vocation, but dying almost immediately after his appointment to the Natural History Professorship at Edinburgh. His character seems to have been one of great moral beauty. He was kindly, simple, merry-hearted, hard-working, tolerant, and charitable. His name, says one of his biographers, "will go down to posterity inseparably linked with the history of palæontology, as one of the greatest naturalists that ever strove to bring his knowledge of the living world to elucidate the physical and organic changes in the past history of the earth."

Four volumes of the historical documents, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, deserve ampler recognition than the present cursory notice implies. The Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. are edited by James

<sup>17</sup> "Memoirs of Edward Forbes, F.R.S.," etc. By George Wilson, &c., and Archibald Geikie, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co.; Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1861.

Gairdner, who contributes an explanatory essay and a chronological Summary.<sup>18</sup> Without palliating Richard's conduct, Mr. Gairdner contends that there had been enough of evil in the minority to reconcile most men to its termination, and that the spirit of faction was not wholly on Richard's side.

The second volume of Mrs. Everett Green's *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series)* relating to the reign of Charles II.<sup>19</sup> opens with a record of the incidents of June, 1661, and closes with notices referring to the end of the year 1662; the doubtful date of some few concluding pages of entries being indicated by a mark of interrogation. This volume possesses a very copious general index.

In the "*Political Poems and Songs*," edited by Mr. Wright,<sup>20</sup> will be found much curious and interesting matter, embodying narrative not always authentic, but which often serves to illustrate social life, political feeling, religious sentiment, or commercial policy. The period comprised in these poems occupies "the whole space between what may be considered, properly speaking, as the feudal age, and the commencement of our modern history." The first volume begins with a pretty romance, called "*The Vows of the Heron*," in a French dialect, of which an English translation is supplied. Latin composition predominates during the fourteenth and even part of the fifteenth century. Some of the poems included in this collection have appeared in print before, though often incorrectly edited. Mr. Wright's commentary on these singular documents, in the prefaces which introduce each volume, are able and informing. The glossary attached to the second volume is intended to assist the every-day reader, and makes no pretensions to philological erudition or completeness. To give some faint notion of the materials which form this ballad collection, we may add that we find among them "*The Tripartite Chronicle*," and other poems by John Gower, the famous satirical alliterative called "*Jack Upland*," and much rhyme or rhythm on the Friars, the Lollards, Agincourt, Calais, Public Manners, on Edward III., Richard II., and the recovery of the throne by Edward IV.

What amount of historical fact may be contained in the "*Njal Saga*,"<sup>21</sup> we cannot undertake to pronounce. As a picture of the past, however, as a vivid representation of Icelandic life, manners, and character, it has undoubtedly in it some elements of reality. It is probable, indeed,

<sup>18</sup> "*Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*" Edited by James Gairdner. Published by the authority, etc. Vol. I. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

<sup>19</sup> "*Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, of the reign of Charles II., 1661-1662*," etc. Edited by Mary Anne Everett Green, etc. Under the direction, &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1861.

<sup>20</sup> "*Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*," composed during the period from the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III. Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., &c. Published by the authority, &c. Two vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859 and 1861.

<sup>21</sup> "*The Story of Burnt Njal; or, Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century.*" From the Icelandic of the *Njal Saga*. By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. With an introduction, maps, and plans. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1861.

that a considerable residuum of actual occurrence is preserved in a tale told from the very commencement, "at all the great gatherings of the people, and over many a fireside, on sea-strand or river-bank, or up among the dales and hills," from Althing to Althing, at Spring Thing and Autumn Leet. The story of *Burnt Njal* appears to have been reduced to writing, about a hundred years after the events which it celebrates had taken place, and to have eventually assumed its present shape not later than the year 1200. The translation now given by Mr. Dasent of this fine prose epic, indicates diligence, learning, and taste. The diction is simple, vigorous, and easy, though the version is apparently almost literal. The history, geography, religion, law, and currency of the Icelanders are all more or less illustrated in the translator's admirable introduction and appendix. The work, moreover, is provided with maps, plans, and index, while its "getting up" seems to justify Mr. Dasent's boast, that no expense or pains have been spared to "lay *Njal* before the world in a beautiful and becoming shape." Space forbids us to attempt any analysis of the "Saga" itself, which we have found entertaining, poetical, and healthily romantic. In it are recorded deeds of deadly feud: feats of love, hate, war, and plunder. Good and bad men and women play their parts in the drama which it unfolds: but we must content ourselves with a simple reference to the wicked and fair Hallgerda, clad in blue cloak with scarlet kirtle and silver girdle, under which her long-flowing hair was turned up; to the faithful and courteous Gunnar, blue eyed and ruddy cheeked, "who could leap more than his own height with all his war gear, and as far backwards as forwards;" to *Njal*, the central character of our story and the oracle of Iceland; to Bergthora his high-spirited wife; to the spiteful and lying Skamkell, the weak and foolish Otkell, the villain Mord Valgard, to the terrible Skarphedinn, who stalks across the stage with his axe, "the Ogress of war," uplifted to his shoulder; to the noble-hearted ill-starred Flosi, the resolute Kari, Weatherlid the Skald, Olaf the Peacock, and the magnanimous Gudmund. The Saga, in brief, is full of picturesque incident and tragical event, and can hardly fail to please those who like to identify our common humanity, as well under its ruder though often truer developments, as under its finer and more artificial forms.

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#### BELLES LETTRES.

A NATIVE of Kentucky having visited New York for the first time, and taken up his abode at one of its splendid hotels, was asked to point out in the bill of fare the dishes which he fancied for his dinner. So puzzled was he by the immense variety of curiously-named dishes that he gave up the attempt in despair, and thinking it the most sensible course to "go back to first principles," he ordered beans and bacon. The fare was nourishing, though homely, and it had been found to answer the purpose for which food is eaten. What beans and bacon are to French made dishes, is the enjoyment derived from contemplat-

ing works of art to the more exciting and less ennobling pleasures in which Americans delight. Such is the opinion of Mr. Jarves. In his "Art Studies"<sup>1</sup> he maintains that until his countrymen shall have acquired some knowledge of the principles of art, it will be a mistake to call them thoroughly educated. According to him, "The error of American civilization is in its material one-sidedness, and forced culture of a portion of the faculties at the expense of the remaining ones." We are not sanguine about the remedy he offers proving a specific for the evil which he laments. Mr. Jarves acknowledges himself to be an enthusiast, and it is not wonderful if he should in some degree injure the cause he upholds by rash assertions and unqualified statements. It is worse, however, than mere exaggeration to maintain that "Art tends to prevent crime by proffering to the people new and exhaustless pleasures," and that "Art-Education, rightly conducted, is not only a delight, but a source of virtue." These are blunders into which he has fallen out of anxiety to prove his case. Should he obtain a hearing at all, it is unlikely that the home truths which he tells will make him popular in America. In art, as in everything else, our American brethren are disposed to fancy themselves far ahead of other nations. They can, at least, boast of possessing many more specimens of the "Old Masters" than the "Old Masters" ever painted. Mr. Jarves is very properly desirous of seeing them become judicious, as well as lavish patrons of art; to understand something, in short, about what they profess to admire. The object of these volumes is to open the eyes of his countrymen to their shortcomings as cultivators of art. It is a subject on which he discourses with unquestionable ability, and about which he is entitled to speak with authority. In one respect there has been a bad beginning. His volumes are filled with censures upon those painters who never strove to be anything better than servile copyists or skilful imitators, yet the volumes themselves are in several things prominent examples of clever and successful imitation. Were it not that a New York publisher's name is on the title-page, we should have supposed them to have been published by Mr. Murray, so closely do they resemble the works on art which that publisher has given to the world. Now, originality in the minor arts is as important and worthy of being attained as originality in the higher, and it would have pleased us more had these volumes owed their handsome appearance to the efforts of an American publishing firm to excel an English one by producing something at once novel and tasteful, instead of counterfeiting the distinguishing features of certain English publications.

The work is marked by several peculiarities of style and diction which are very distasteful to us, but may not be equally unpalatable to transatlantic readers. We cannot admire such phrases as "fittingest adjustment," "literalest sense," "pagan celestialities." The word eloquent is often misapplied; here is the most extraordinary application of it we ever met with: "Every bell in the city was eloquently

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<sup>1</sup> "Art Studies." By James Jackson Jarves. 2 vols. New York: Derby and Jackson. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. 1861.

rung." (p. 190). Moreover, there are many sentences like the following, which has the merit of being one of the shortest:—"The Kingdom of Dogma, ruled by the tyrant Infallibility, is terribly shaken and broken by Scepticism, the pioneer of Progress." (p. 190). Not only do we meet with strange expressions, but also with strange avowals. When defining what he calls his "stand point," the author contends that much truth is hidden amongst the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church, and then proceeds in this strain:—"Her miracles are not all unreal. As we progress in our understanding of the mysteries of nature, we shall see that the miraculous will disappear before the natural. There is a spiritual world nearly and intimately associated with our own. Purgatory is not a barefaced fiction. Earth-life has an influence over spirit-life, which reciprocates. There is a communion of saints. Hierarchies do exist. Angels and demons, possessions and revelations, are not necessarily illusions. We can, and sometimes do, hold converse with the departed. Prayer avails them as it does us." (p. 72.) When we first read this we concluded that Mr. Jarves was a devout Roman Catholic, but we afterwards had reason for supposing that he is what some call a "spiritualist," and others a believer in "spirit rapping." The following passage, among others, led us to that conclusion:—"Indeed, not a little of the art of the Catholic Church at all times has been inspired by her so-called visions, miracles, and other phenomena, which, although repudiated, *en masse*, by Protestants, when out of their sacred record, are strikingly analogous to many well-authenticated marvels which modern spiritualism is pressing home upon the present materialistic age, to the enlightenment of many crude and gloomy views of future life." (p. 133, note.) These examples show the character of Mr. Jarves's opinions, and they serve to exhibit the nature of his style. Its chief fault is being too uniformly elevated. Simple language would be a great relief now and then. However, as Pascal says, "All the false beauties which we condemn in Cicero have numerous admirers;" so in like manner the countrymen of Mr. Jarves may be enchanted with what excites our dissatisfaction, or repugnance. The narrative portions of his volumes are the best written and most valuable. In his biographies of the Old Masters he follows Vasari, but the criticisms on their works are his own, and these prove him to have been a diligent student and a discriminating admirer. There are rather too many unauthenticated anecdotes scattered over his pages. For instance, when treating of Giotto he takes the opportunity of referring to his friend and pupil, Dante, and repeats those stories about the latter which, if not fictions, are usually regarded as having proceeded from untrustworthy sources.

In spite of the blemishes which lower the value of this work, it is not only the best of its kind that has been produced by an American, but is superior to many European works treating of similar topics. We have pointed out some of its defects, and have said little about its beauties, having done this because the latter counterbalance the former. It has this striking excellence, that it is executed conscientiously as well as cleverly. Mr. Jarves has not been deterred from composing it by the thought that his labours will meet with scant recognition at home,

and that his endeavours to benefit his countrymen may bear no fruit. He remarks that in America "a writer on art has need of hope and courage, as well as of conscience and zeal." We shall be rejoiced if efforts so energetic and laudable as his meet with the success which they deserve; and we earnestly hope that America may one day attain an eminence in the arts which adorn and elevate mankind, as lofty and unquestioned as that she has already achieved in those arts which promote the material prosperity of a nation.

A book of larger scope, though similar in character to that by Mr. Jarves, is the "*History of the Plastic Arts*,"<sup>2</sup> by Dr. Carl Schnaase, of which the sixth volume has just appeared. It treats of the fourteenth century; the transition period between the Middle Age and modern times. Dr. Schnaase traces with wonderful minuteness the correspondence between the ideas of that age and its architecture, and endeavours to prove that the history of the German, French, and English mind is written in the buildings which were then erected. The volume is filled with woodcuts, and the writing is clear and to the purpose. The work is one which none but a learned German would undertake, and which no-one else could execute so well.

Till we read Herr Riehl's "*Notable Composers of Music*,"<sup>3</sup> we were not aware that the relation between an age and its artists which Mr. Jarves has traced in painting, and Dr. Schnaase in architecture, had also been insisted on with regard to music. Of course it is undeniable that every century has its own description of music, just as it has its own style of architecture and school of painting; but we do not think any one has maintained this to be the case so well as Herr Riehl. His work is not a new one: the present edition being the third. As yet we have seen the first volume only, but a perusal of it makes us desirous of having the next one also. In this volume, it is the minor composers of the last century whose lives and works are narrated and discussed. A circumstance is mentioned by the author, which equally concerns literature and music: at the present day, there are no longer any cities in Germany which are looked upon as arbiters in matters of taste. At one time, an opera which pleased a Viennese audience was sure to be applauded everywhere else, just as a play which succeeded at Mannheim, or a poem that was admired at Weimar, was certain to become universally popular. Now, every petty town and state have their own favourite music and literature: everywhere are to be found clever writers and skilful composers, but of great masters in music and literature there are very few. Bad, however, as is the condition of the contemporary literature of Germany, that of France is in a state more deplorable still. The despotism of the empire seems for the moment to have blighted the intellect of the nation. Great names continue to dignify French literature, but for the most part, they belong to men of the last generation. M. W. Reymond has sketched the

<sup>1</sup> "*Geschichte der bildenden Künste.*" Von Dr. Carl Schnaase. Sechster Band. Düsseldorf: Julius Budeus. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>2</sup> "*Musikalische Charakterköpfe.*" Von W. H. Riehl. Erster Band. Dritte Auflage. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

present condition of literature in France with great truth and considerable force in his "Studies on the Literature of the Second Empire."<sup>4</sup> The author appears to be a native of Switzerland: he has delivered the contents of this volume in the form of lectures at Berlin. He does not blame the empire for the decadence which prevails in literature, but considers the decadence to be the cause of the empire. It would have been impossible, he thinks, to have got eight millions of votes in behalf of Napoleon III. in 1830: the reason why they were given in 1852 was that the reign of Louis Philippe had corrupted and debased the people. Whatever may be thought of his explanations, M. Reymond's facts are incontestable. We suppose it is by inadvertence that he speaks of M. Gustave Planche, that excellent critic, as if he were alive! With that exception, all the statements in the volume are remarkably accurate.

Among the French writers of the generation which is passing away, M. de Sacy, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, is one of the most accomplished and estimable. Although a writer of twenty years' standing, yet it was not till quite recently that he published any of his writings in a collected form. He then gave to the world two volumes of his "Miscellaneous writings,"<sup>5</sup> comprising articles which had appeared in the *Journal des Débats* and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He professes to belong to the old school. He admires and loves the classical authors of Rome and France, and tries modern writers by their standard. All those who delight in the higher class of French literature, and who would be pleased to make the acquaintance of a truly genial and charming writer, should peruse these two volumes by M. de Sacy.

The question has been often mooted whether or not the French are a poetical nation, and it has been as often answered in the negative. Yet they can boast of a long list of poets for whose works they profess great admiration. The "Collection of Masterpieces of French Poetry,"<sup>6</sup> which is now in course of publication, will go far to justify and explain the grounds on which that admiration is based. The collection is to occupy four volumes, two of which are now before us. It would be premature to criticize such a work before it is completed, so that we shall not do more at present than commend the admirable way in which it is edited. The old poems are given with a translation alongside, and a competent hand elucidates the difficulties in the writings of each poet. When finished, the work will be a credit to all concerned, and an honour to France.

To pass from French to German poetry is an abrupt transition. No contrast can be greater than what exists between the poetry of these nations, unless it be between the manner in which both treat their

<sup>4</sup> "Etudes sur la Littérature du Second Empire Français depuis le coup d'état du deux Décembre." Par William Reymond. Berlin: A. Charisius. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>5</sup> "Variétés Littéraires, Morales et Historiques." Par M. S. de Sacy. Nouvelle Edition. 2 vols. Paris: Didier et Cie. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>6</sup> "Les Poètes Français. Recueil des chefs d'œuvre de la poésie Française." Tomes premier et deuxième. Paris: Gide. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

poets. While in France, poems which are popular are read, in Germany they are criticized and commented on. While a history of the poetry of France is a thing of unusual occurrence, several histories of German poetry are produced every year. The Germans must neglect either the writings *of* their poets, or the writings *on* their poets. We fear that they neglect the former, otherwise there would not be such a supply of the latter works, and we suppose it is because there is a demand for such productions that Herr Moriz Rapp has published his "Golden Age of German Poetry."<sup>7</sup> The only difference between this work and others of a similar character is that the author dwells at greater length than is usually done on the grammatical peculiarities of Klopstock, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe. This is, in its way, interesting and useful; but we do not think that such trifling service can make us welcome a work which is superfluous. There are some German poets about whom we would gladly learn something more, and Heinrich Heine is one of them. It was in the hope of getting some new and pleasing particulars concerning him that we took up the two volumes of his "Letters,"<sup>8</sup> edited by his friend Herr Friedrich Steinmann. Never, perhaps, has a man had greater reason to pray to be delivered from his friends than Heine. A more unworthy thing than the publication of these Letters it were hard to imagine. We do not say this because of the scandal they contain; on the contrary, we should have been less annoyed had their contents been really unfit for publication. In that case we should have had something to denounce and protest against, instead of something to yawn over. As it is, the letters are of that ordinary kind which does not merit the honours of type. A few are exceedingly good, and in all of them there are strokes which denote their author, yet the majority are common-place. We are told, indeed, that a succeeding volume is to contain a series of letters in which Heine criticizes the German literature of his time, and possibly it may be thought that the public will read the worthless letters contained in these volumes, in the hope of receiving a treat afterwards, as children are induced to eat meat by the promise of pudding. Let us hope that the promise in this case will be fulfilled.

Herr Herman Grimm has published a lecture on "Goethe in Italy,"<sup>9</sup> which has the rather uncommon merit of being short and to the point. The influence which that visit had on the poet's after life is clearly pointed out. We can do little more than mention a volume of "Alpine Tales"<sup>10</sup> which have appeared at Vienna. It is seldom, indeed, that we meet with books from the capital of Austria, for the Austrians are by no means an intellectual race. The present volume is useful for

<sup>7</sup> "Das Goldne Altar der deutschen Poesie." Von Moriz Rapp. Zwei Bände. Tübingen: Laupp and Siebeck. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>8</sup> "Briefe." Von H. Heine. Herausgegeben von F. Steinmann. Zwei Bände. Amsterdam: Gebrüder Binger. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>9</sup> "Goethe in Italien." Von Herman Grimm. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

<sup>10</sup> "Deutsche Alpensagen." Von Johana Nepomuk Ritter Von Alpenburg. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.



the light which it throws on the people among whom the tales are current, but the tales themselves are not of much value.

Such is not the case, however, with regard to those of which the "Book of Good Counsels"<sup>11</sup> is composed. The "Hitopadesá" has been translated before; but this version is the first which has been made with a view of rendering that Sanskrit classic popular in England. We cannot commend too highly the clear and forcible English which Mr. Arnold has employed. Here and there he might be a little more idiomatic than he has been; for example, he need not have translated literally the Sanskrit periphrasis for death. An English reader is much more impressed when he reads that an animal died, than that it was "resolved into the five elements." As Mr. Arnold has wisely taken several liberties with the original in other respects, he might have been less scrupulous in retaining phrases like the above one. Altogether this work is a real acquisition to our literature. Instead of making any further remarks, we shall extract, as a specimen of the manner in which the translation is executed, a story which is probably the original of that of Alnaschar in the Arabian Nights:—

#### "THE STORY OF THE BRAHMAN AND THE PANS.

"There was a Brahman in the city of Vána, whose name was Deva Sarman. At the equinoctial feast of the Dussera, he obtained for his duxina-gift a dish of flour, which he took into a potter's shed; and there lay down in the shade among the pots, staff in hand. As he thus reclined he began to meditate:—'I can sell this meal for ten cowrie-shells, and with them I can purchase some of these pots, and sell them at an advance. With all that money I shall invest in betelnuts and body-cloths, and make a new profit by their sale; and so go on trafficking till I get a lakh of rupees—what's to prevent me? Then I shall marry four wives—and one at least will be beautiful and young, and she shall be my favourite. Of course the others will be jealous; but if they quarrel, and talk, and trouble me, I will belabour them like this—and this'—and therewith he flourished his staff to such a purpose as to smash his meal-dish and break several of the potter's jars. The potter, rushing out, took him by the throat, and turned him off; and so ended his speculations." (p. 124.)

As a translator, Mr. Theodore Martin has few living equals. In him are combined a thorough mastery over the mechanism of verse with a capacity for appreciating the subtler charms of poetry, such as translators rarely exhibit. If he were as good a poet by nature as he is a versifier by practice, he would be altogether unrivalled. His version of the odes of Horace is one of the best in any language, some of his translations from Goethe are almost perfect, and the present version of "The Poems of Catullus,"<sup>12</sup> if inferior to either of these, far surpasses any other. The time has gone by for translations from the classics being very popular. Their popularity during the last century may be explained in this way: poetry was then so essentially a mechanical art that people preferred reading translations from the classics because

<sup>11</sup> "The Book of Good Counsels." From the Sanskrit of the "Hitopadesá." By Edwin Arnold. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

<sup>12</sup> "The Poems of Catullus, translated into English verse, with an Introduction and Notes." By Theodore Martin. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.

these contained ideas as well as rhymes, while the poems of the day were composed of rhymes only. Now, on the contrary, poetry is less a thing of form than of substance, and if a translation does not equal one of Tennyson's poems in thought as well as in form, it gives little pleasure and attracts few readers. Mr. Martin seems fully conscious of this; hence he has endeavoured to give his translations the appearance of English poems. In this he has been very successful. Were a few of the fragments struck out of this volume, it would be as good a specimen of English poetry as we should wish to meet with. We do not mean by this that it is not a faithful version of the original; so far from that being the case, the rendering is often literally accurate and very happy. But the tone of the whole is the reverse of antique: it is essentially modern, and with that we do not quarrel. Perhaps there is no translation in the language which is superior to the "*Atys*," and we regret that so admirable a production should be marred by slight metrical inaccuracies in the first stanza. In place of discussing the question as to the moral purity of Catullus, which Mr. Martin has rather needlessly raised, and not very satisfactorily decided, we repeat our approval of the volume, and express our hope that it will not be the last of similar attempts by Mr. Theodore Martin.

Germans have this advantage over Englishmen as translators, that, while the German language is fitted for rendering both ideas and words, it is ideas only which can be adequately rendered by English. An English translator is compelled to do his work with ready-made tools, while a German one can fashion his tools to suit the work he has to do. It is not surprising, then, if the German should prove himself the more skilful and successful workman of the two. Herr Julius Rodenberg's translation of the Irish Melodies, and which he has entitled the "*Harp of Erin*,"<sup>13</sup> is an example of this. We might say that he has reproduced them in German rather than translated them, soliteral is the rendering both of the ideas and the language. He has likewise added a number of fairy tales, some of which have been collected on the spot, and others he has taken from English publications. This volume forms an interesting supplement to the author's recent one on the "*Island of the Saints*," and will, we doubt not, be read with curiosity and pleasure by his countrymen.

The magnificent volume in which the late Mr. Leigh Sotheby has recorded his "*Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*"<sup>14</sup> is one of those which even Charles Lamb would have admitted ought to have a place in every gentleman's library. As a specimen of beautiful typography and tasteful binding it is worthy of the highest praise. The facsimiles of Milton's handwriting are themselves worth the cost of the volume. It is a pity that the "*brief biographical notices*" contained in the appendix had not been omitted. They are of no use whatsoever, and do not in any way enhance the value of

<sup>13</sup> "*Die Harfe von Erin.*" Märchen und Dichtung in Irland. Von Julius Rodenberg. Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow. 1861.

<sup>14</sup> "*Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton.*" By Samuel Leigh Sotheby. London. 1861.

the work. Although such a volume as this testifies the esteem in which Milton's memory is held, yet his writings form his best monument, and of all his works his minor poems will most surely perpetuate his name. It is these which have entitled him to a large space in Mr. Palgrave's "*Golden Treasury*,"<sup>15</sup> and have made him rank high among those who have produced whatever is most costly and precious in English lyrical poetry. We are accustomed to turn away from similar collections with disgust, because they usually consist of a heap of good, bad, and abominable poems, selected without taste and arranged without care. We are delighted to be able to acknowledge that this "*Golden Treasury*" is a model of what such works should be. So far from the editor being indiscriminate in admitting, he has, we think, been rather too rigorous in rejecting several poems. We are not worshippers of Pope, and we know that he wrote few lyrics, still we should have liked to see more than one specimen of his skill in this volume. Nor can we refrain from protesting against the way in which Hood's exquisite poem called the "*Death-bed*" has been mutilated. Mr. Palgrave has cut out two stanzas, excusing himself by saying in a note that "they are very ingenious, but, of all poetical qualities, ingenuity is least in accordance with pathos." This is quite true. In one respect the omission is an improvement, still it should not have been made. Mr. Palgrave has a perfect right to reject this, or any other poem from his collection, just as he may refuse to receive as a visitor a man whom he dislikes. Were he to ordain, however, that all his visitors who wore beards must cut them off with the view of improving their personal appearance, he would act foolishly and deserve to be ridiculed. It might happen that some of them looked handsomer after their beards were cut off, yet they would justly complain that it was their beards which distinguished them from other men. Now, we urge the same thing regarding this poem. The two stanzas which are left out are far more characteristic of Hood than the two which have been retained. In short, the poem ought to have been given entire, or omitted altogether. Small though this matter may be, the principle involved is important. The "*Golden Treasury*" is, on the whole, so excellent a work, that we unhesitatingly recommend every lover of English poetry to get the volume and read it.

In these days it is refreshing, because so rare, to meet with a poem which has excited popular curiosity. The rule is for new poems to be skimmed by critics alone, and then forgotten. "*Taunhäuser*" has already had a wider audience and a better fate.<sup>16</sup> It remains to be determined whether or not that success is merited and will be lasting. We think not. A poem which has the two radical defects of being a copy and an imitation can hardly survive, even though the execution of the whole should be masterly. The legend on which this poem is

<sup>15</sup> *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language.* Selected and arranged with Notes by Francis Turner Palgrave. London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

<sup>16</sup> "*Taunhäuser* ; or, *The Battle of the Bards*." A Poem by Neville Temple and Edward Trevor. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

founded has been long current in Germany, and has recently been made the subject of an opera which has made considerable noise, but conferred little fame on Herr Wagner, its composer. Between the plot of the opera and of this poem there is a resemblance almost too close to be accidental. What renders this the more suspicious is, that the authors of the poem make no mention of the opera. Now, we may be told that it matters little whence the plot of a poem comes, so long as the poem is excellent; that the "*Merchant of Venice*" and "*Hamlet*" are inimitable plays, although the plots of both were borrowed by Shakespeare. If, however, Messieurs Temple and Trevor had done for this legend what Shakespeare did for these plays, we should be unstinted in our praise and unbounded in our admiration. Unfortunately, it is not so; for if they have copied Herr Wagner's version of the legend, they have likewise imitated Mr. Tennyson's manner. No doubt the poem is a beautiful one. The versification is often exquisite, and is always good. At intervals there are gleams of real originality; but till the authors have more conclusively proved their right to the poets' guerdon, we shall not crown them with laurel.

Nothing can be more injurious and unjust to a young writer than to dub him a genius before he has demonstrated his claim to the title. The consequence of doing so is to dishearten him and retard his progress. When he has discovered that the eulogy which had been heaped upon him was fulsome and undeserved, that he had not attained to perfection at a bound, his efforts to merit the praise and reach the goal seem meagre and unsatisfactory. If, in spite of this, he struggle on, it argues the possession of uncommon spirit, and promises well for ultimate success. Mr. Alexander Smith has been the victim of improper and ill-timed laudation. A few years ago he published his first volume of poems, and was assured that he had dignified the name he bore, as well as enriched his country's literature. Since then, some Northern critics have considered it an article of national faith to swear by him as their fathers had sworn by Macpherson. In spite of this, Mr. Smith has shown himself conscious of his own immaturity, and has striven hard to get rid of his youthful failings. We cannot as yet compliment him on having completely succeeded in these endeavours; still we can acknowledge that his present poem, "*Edwin of Deira*,"<sup>17</sup> is a step in advance, being greatly superior to any other he has produced. It is unfortunately disfigured by those elaborate conceits and eccentricities of expression to which Mr. Smith is prone. For example, there are various ways of varying the statement that a lady blushed; but such a variation as the following is no improvement:—

"At the king's feet  
She sat, and, hearing, over neck and brow  
Brake morning." (p. 67.)

There are likewise several ways of stating that men wept; the following is one of the worst:—

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<sup>17</sup> "*Edwin of Deira*." By Alexander Smith. London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

"The hardest eyes  
Oozed pitying dew." (p. 87.)

A considerable latitude is granted to poets in coining new words and applying epithets; but when such words as the following too often recur, the effect of the whole is weakened:—"Midnighted," "compañioned," "refuged by death," "hillocked sand." We fancy that Mr. Smith has studied the writings of the elder poets so closely and admiringly, as to make him desirous of producing effects similar to theirs. That he has read Shelley and Tennyson with great attention is also manifest. Were he to trust more to himself, we believe that he would gain much in the long run. We are inclined to think that he will do better things; hence, while we feel unable to say more of this poem than that it is pleasing and deserves perusal, we do not cease to hope that he will yet produce something of which we shall be justified in speaking with unqualified approbation.

There are some volumes of poetry of a very perplexing character. It would be wrong to commend them highly or censure them harshly. We feel a difficulty with regard to them similar to what Dante must have experienced during the composition of his "*Inferno*." He knew very well who deserved to be tormented by demons in the lake of boiling pitch, or to be encased in the eternal ice; but he must sometimes have been doubtful as to the circle in which to place those sinners who had not committed very heinous crimes. Now, this is exactly the puzzle we are in respecting "*Shakespeare's Curse, and other Poems*."<sup>18</sup> None of them is first-rate, neither can any be called bad. Their chief fault is obscurity, which is the more to be condemned because apparently intentional and employed to simulate depth. On the other hand, the versification is unusually correct and melodious, and all the poems display evidence that their author possesses a cultivated taste, and grudges no pains in giving to his productions the charm of finish. He does, in short, what Mr. Gordon leaves undone. A man may be unable to produce anything except verse and rhymes, the bare mechanism of poetry; but he should strive to make everything work well, to make the verse flow smoothly, and the rhymes chime correctly. In "*Botany Bay, and other Poems*,"<sup>19</sup> there are more bad verses and rhymes than we ever remember to have encountered. The author tells us in the preface that most of them were composed from twenty to thirty years ago, "and that none of the pieces which now constitute the volume were written with the most distant view of meeting the public eye in their present collected form." Perhaps he thinks this to be a reason for publishing them now! As it is unfair to condemn a man unheard, we shall allow our readers to form their own estimate of Mr. Gordon's poetical abilities. We are often admonished in prose to keep out of the clutches of the lawyers; here is the same advice in blank verse:—

"Of all the sights a man can go to see,  
The most expensive is a lawyer's office;

<sup>18</sup> "*Shakespeare's Curse, and other Poems*." London: Bosworth and Harrison. 1861.

<sup>19</sup> "*Botany Bay, and other Poems*." By J. Gordon. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1861.

His dry, epistolary correspondence,  
To one in debt the most unpleasant reading." (p. 178.)

Southey has remarked, one great advantage of poetry is its enabling men to express thoughts which they would otherwise hesitate to disclose. To this we owe it, perhaps, that Mr. Gordon communicates such information as the following:—

"This fact, e'er since I crossed the seas,  
I rarely fail at meals to utter,  
That Bathurst stands unmatched for cheese,  
And Wollengong for yellow butter." (p. 220.)

We shall end our extracts with a few lines which ought to be welcomed by the editors of penny papers:—

"Newspapers never lie in sooth,  
They but anticipate the truth,  
And tell by patent spirit-rapping  
Of things that will, or ought to happen;  
And that's the reason great transgressors  
In heart and soul are press suppressors." (p. 312.)

In 1853-6, the Rev. G. E. Maunsell printed his poems for private circulation. These "Poems"<sup>20</sup> have had others added to them, and are now offered to the public. Unless we greatly mistake, the public will decline to have anything to do with them. We suppose that some weak but well-meaning friend has advised their publication, in which case the author is greatly to be pitied. His own judgment had decided that they were undeserving of other readers than private friends: it is unfortunate that he swerved from the opinion he had formed. Ladies often write very sweet verses; but when they determine to give to the public a volume of poems, they can seldom make a wise selection, and allow the inferior ones to remain in manuscript. Mrs. Hemans composed some beautiful poetry, yet has anybody ever waded through all her productions? The authoress of "The Patience of Hope" has likewise written some very pleasing verses; but if her volume of "Poems"<sup>21</sup> were reduced in bulk by one half, its value would be more than doubled. Ninety pieces are too many. The old story of the diamonds applies forcibly to poems which are not of the highest class: their worth diminishes in proportion as their number is augmented. In place of criticizing "Veleda,"<sup>22</sup> we shall repeat an anecdote which we have read in the life of Dr. Chalmers. When that famous Presbyterian divine was delivering his *Astronomical Discourses*, he remarked an old woman who regularly attended each of them. Curious to know the impression made on her, he stopped her in the street one day, and asked her what she thought of his sermons; whereupon she replied that she did not care much about them, but that she liked the psalms which were sung

<sup>20</sup> "Poems." By the Rev. George Edmond Maunsell. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

<sup>21</sup> "Poems." By the Author of "The Patience of Hope." Edinburgh: Alexander Strahan and Co. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1861.

<sup>22</sup> "Veleda: a Dramatic Sketch from History." London: Printed by Emily Faithful and Co. 1860.

very much. Like her, we are insensible to the poetical or other beauties of "Veleda," while we admire something which is but an accessory, and consider the manner in which it is printed creditable to the Victoria Press of Emily Faithful and Co.

The very worst use a man can make of his literary power is to indite satires. If these be directed against writers who are eminent, instead of suffering, they will acquire fresh popularity from the attack. Should unknown writers be satirized, they will thereby be made conspicuous, and perhaps lampooned into public favour. In either case the satirist will play a losing game. Besides, he may, as has happened to Mr. Austin, fall into the very errors which are denounced in "My Satire, and its Censors."<sup>23</sup> That gentleman rails against those who disfigure our language by introducing into it strange and obscure words and phrases, yet he seems to think it no sin to write about "*décolletée* muse," "Gobemouche folks of Cheltenham," and the brood by whom Mr. Dickens is "Kotoued." In this production, as in the "Season," there is some vigorous writing. We think, however, that Mr. Austin will do well to ponder and lay to heart the remarks which he has made upon others:—

"Some, too, there be, frail worshippers of Fame—  
And these I pity, though I needs must blame—  
Who, would they, when unrecognised, but wait,  
Might grace their epoch, and themselves be great." (p. 36.)

Those who take up "The Romance of Diplomacy"<sup>24</sup> in the belief that it is a work of fiction may be disappointed; but if they peruse the volumes they will probably acknowledge them to be as entertaining as any novel. This work is in the second edition; its title, however, is a new one. It mainly consists of letters by Sir Robert Murray Keith, who conducted the negotiation concerning the removal of Caroline Matilda from her prison in Denmark to a mansion in Hanover, belonging to her brother, George III. of England, and who was for upwards of twenty years English ambassador at Vienna. The details which are given by him respecting the Austrian Court and Baron Kaunitz, the famous Austrian minister, are interesting in themselves, and possess a peculiar interest at the present juncture. As a letter-writer, Sir Robert Murray Keith is graphic and spirited, and though his style lacks finish, yet it is pointed and forcible.

We regret being obliged to differ from Georgina Gordon in thinking as she does, that the "aim" of her "Sketches of Foreign Novelists" is "sufficiently explained by the title-page."<sup>25</sup> The contents do not tally with the title. We are led to expect particulars about foreign novelists, and we get outlines of foreign novels. Moreover, these outlines, though well done, are of trifling value. The authoress imagines

<sup>23</sup> "My Satire, and its Censors." By Alfred Austin. London: George Manwaring. 1861.

<sup>24</sup> "The Romance of Diplomacy." By Mrs. Gillespie Smyth. 2 vols. Second Edition. London: James Hogg and Sons. 1861.

<sup>25</sup> "Sketches of Foreign Novelists." By Georgina Gordon. London: James Hogg and Sons.

that novels which would be unbearable if translated in full, will be acceptable when presented in outline. Our opinion is, that such novels should never be translated at all. Again, we object to giving abridgments of foreign novels which deserve to be read entire. These ought unquestionably to be rendered into English. Georgina Gordon is a very fair translator, but she sometimes commits the error of translating German idioms too literally. We hope that she may employ her powers better hereafter than in producing such sketches as are contained in this volume.

It is absurd to expect every novel-writer to display unusual imaginative, creative, and descriptive powers: these are the attributes of genius; but all who engage in novel-writing may write clearly, and describe correctly, if they only take sufficient pains. Now, the authoress of "*My Heart's in the Highlands*"<sup>26</sup> has this great merit, that she uniformly does her best, and is never hasty, careless, or silly. The diligence with which old books have been ransacked for points of detail wherewith to fill this volume is surprising, even in these days of minute trifling and affection for accessories. This information is paraded rather too often: we are made too sensible of its being procured at second-hand. The scene of the tale is Glen Aldour, a favoured spot, where the cuckoo is heard sooner than in the Midland counties, and which is a "perfect Arcadia in the months of April and May." Mary Macdonnel, or Aldour, is the heroine; her father being the proprietor of the Glen. The owners of an adjoining estate named Finralia are the rivals of the Aldour family, and they hate each other with a neighbourly bitterness. Finralia has a bad name in the district. This is partially merited, but after he has reformed it cleaves to him still. We do not wonder at his being unpopular and detested by Mary Aldour, for he quite answers to the character Tom Moore had in view when he wrote about—

"A sallow, sublime sort of Werther-faced man."

It so happens that Finralia renders important service to Mary's father, after which her opinions undergo a change, and at last she marries him. The object of the writer is to depict the appearance of the Highlands and the state of society there towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The only objection we have to offer is, that the picture is too pleasing to be true. The Highlanders are endowed with imaginary virtues, and the Highlands with impossible beauties. We shall wait long enough, however, before we find a novelist who refrains from overstepping the bounds of fact, so that we should not be too fastidious about the accuracy of the picture drawn in this volume. It is a volume which is both interesting and carefully composed, and which few will read without pleasure.

We have often wondered for whom sporting novels are intended! Can they be addressed to those who are styled sporting characters, who wear round-brimmed hats and tightly-fitting trousers, who carry about with them an odour compounded of the stables and stale tobacco, who

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<sup>26</sup> "*My Heart's in the Highlands.*" London: Parker, Son, and Bourn. 1861.



round their sentences with an oath, and clench their assertions with a bet, whose principal labour appears to be to make up betting-books, and who apparently consider that the proper study for mankind is horseflesh? Yet such persons seem to have their time too fully occupied to employ any portion of it in reading; besides, they could hardly take any pleasure in perusing the conventional fictions with which sporting novels are filled. The hero of one of them is as unreal a personage as the hero of a religious novel. It is very young ladies who alone read religious novels, and it is not impossible but that their wicked brothers are the audience for whom sporting novels are composed. We are driven to believe that this must be the case, as it is incredible that such a work as "*Tilbury Nogo*"<sup>27</sup> could satisfy any person of mature taste. We do not mean by this that it is unusually bad; on the contrary, it is a very favourable example of its class. What we cannot understand is, that any but very young readers can be amused with the improbabilities which abound in it. The hero is a man of wealth, so that his every whim can be gratified. He becomes a sporting character, and soon gets his collar-bone broken. Of course he survives. Then he accidentally shoots himself in the arm: his life is again in peril; but this time, also, he gets well. He falls in love with a girl whose father is a card-sharper, and who wins fifteen hundred pounds from him at hazard in the course of one sitting. A life of dissipation in London undermines his health: he goes down to the country for change of air, and not merely recovers his health, but marries a widow who makes his home unhappy. The moral of the whole is that he has been an unsuccessful man. We are afraid the schoolboys who, as we suppose, will read this novel, will envy Mr. Nogo, and think that he was a very lucky fellow, and led a very jolly life. Unfortunately, they will be unaware of the fact that such a character as Mr. Nogo is even more impossible and absurd than his adventures.

If, instead of the "*Wedding Guests*,"<sup>28</sup> Miss Hume had named her novel "*The Weddings*," she would have conveyed a much clearer notion of its contents. There are no less than four marriages recorded in this tale. Five births are duly chronicled, and many others are implied. There are four deaths, two dangerous accidents, one bank failure, and one railway defalcation; so that the contents are both varied and exciting. The diction is simple and clear; the remarks of the authoress are in general sensible, but her morality is rather too highly pitched for the inhabitants of any other world than that of fiction. Miss Hume writes with a distinct purpose—the inculcation of the law of duty. As a necessary consequence, her personages seem more like puppets than human beings.

At present we are overwhelmed with descriptions of life in Italy. Mr. Adolphus Trollope has an advantage over other Englishmen who write on that subject, from having resided sufficiently long there to

<sup>27</sup> "*Tilbury Nogo*; or, *Passages in the Life of an Unsuccessful Man*." By the Author of "*Digby Grand*." London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

<sup>28</sup> "*The Wedding Guests*; or, *the Happiness of Life*." By Mary C. Hume. London: F. Pitman. 1861.

become thoroughly acquainted with the Italians; to know them better, in fact, than his own countrymen. For example, he has introduced an English family into "*La Beata*,"<sup>29</sup> and has endeavoured to exhibit the vulgarity of one member of it; but has only succeeded in producing a caricature. Vulgarity does not consist in mispronouncing a few words; on the contrary, people may be intensely vulgar, and yet speak with perfect correctness. The purely Italian part of the tale is very interesting and well told. Filippo Lonari, or Pippo, a young Florentine painter, is the hero of the story. A girl, nicknamed *La Beata*, lives with him as his mistress. She is one of those persons who cannot be met with except in Roman Catholic countries, and very seldom in them. Loving Pippo with a great love, she gives up everything for his sake: he, on the contrary, being grossly selfish, exacts from her the most painful sacrifices, without yielding anything in turn. He discards her that he may wed Beppina, who is the only child of Laudadio Benincasa, a wealthy wax-chandler. Just as this wedding is to take place, *La Beata* dies of consumption, and Pippo unexpectedly witnesses her death. Smitten with remorse, he enters the Holy Hermitage which is in connexion with the Monastery of Camaldoli, where he passes eight years in the performance of the most rigorous austerities, and dies in the odour of sanctity. This is merely the rough outline of a story of which the details are very interesting. It is unfortunate that the close is not more artistically managed: the concluding chapter might be left out with great advantage. The portrait of Laudadio Benincasa, the wax-chandler, is well drawn, and the particulars about him and his calling are new and instructive. As a novel, this is a meritorious production, and the account of one sort of Florentine life which it contains is more readable than is to be found in any guide-book, and hardly less trustworthy.

We accept as truthful Mr. Adolphus Trollope's sketch of the Tuscan capital; but we hesitate to admit the correctness of the account given in Mr. Ireton's volumes of a Tuscan village. He assures us, in his preface to "*The Broken Troth*,"<sup>30</sup> that this tale is "the best, if not the only true picture of Tuscan life that I have been able to meet with." It may appear presumptuous to question the truth of what we cannot contradict from personal observation, yet we doubt greatly if the picture in this tale be really drawn from nature. If it be, then Tuscan peasants are differently constituted from other mortals. There are many life-like touches; but the tale, as a whole, is artificial and unnatural composition. Let us give some examples in proof of this. Stefanino, the son of a cobbler, and a cobbler himself, falls in love with Giannina, the daughter of Signor Gerpmino Rossi, who owns an estate near the village of Solaro, and is the richest man of the district. Stefanino and Giannina plight their troth to each other. The former will not, however, do anything to bring about a marriage until the

<sup>29</sup> "*La Beata*." By T. Adolphus Trollope. 2 vols. Second Edition. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

<sup>30</sup> "*The Broken Troth. A Tale of Village Life in Tuscany*." From the Italian. By Philip Ireton. 2 vols. London: Macmillan and Co. 1861.

father of the latter consents to the union. After a time, Signor Rossi, seeing that his daughter is pining for some one, proposes that Stefanino should marry her; but before this can take place she elopes with, and marries a Signor Ludovico, to whom she had become attached. Thereupon her father disowns her. Signor Ludovico, who is an arrant profligate, unites with another man in robbing his father-in-law, and whom they dangerously wound. Signor Rossi recovers; Signor Ludovico dies in gaol; his wife is received back into her father's house, and is at last united to the cobbler Stefanino. We have omitted to mention several personages who play a prominent part in this strange story, and have said nothing about the village priest, who is the pattern of all the virtues; who befriends Stefanino, and dies at the moment when his pupil has a prospect of being educated for the Church. Another priest succeeds him, and who, curiously enough, is the very counterpart of the former one. This may be true to life; but we greatly doubt it. Had not the truth of this tale been so strongly insisted on in the preface, we might have withheld these disparaging remarks. Regarding it merely as a work of fiction, containing some touches of real life, we think it worthy of a perusal.

It is no new thing for writers of commanding talent to be surrounded by those who think to achieve a like success by adopting some of their peculiarities of expression or manner. Never, perhaps, was this more quickly done than at the present time, for as soon as a new writer becomes popular, his works are instantly imitated by those who trade on the reputations of others. Nor is it less common for minor writers to be unconsciously influenced by the most popular contemporary author in the class of literature which they cultivate. There is hardly a versifier of the day who does not reproduce some peculiarity of Mr. Tennyson. It will not be long before nearly every minor novelist will be more or less influenced by George Eliot. Without saying that Garth Rivers is a copyist, we affirm that many touches in "Miss Gwynne of Woodford"<sup>31</sup> evince the attention with which "Adam Bede" and the "Mill on the Floss" have been read. A striking feature in George Eliot's novels is the fidelity with which the dialects of the different personages are rendered. In this novel, Garth Rivers tries to do the same thing; but the result of the experiment makes us wish that it had not been attempted. Our own experience compels us to deny that Irish ladies of education always say "ye" instead of "you," in conversation. The poorer classes undoubtedly make sad work with the Queen's English; but in the provinces they do not invariably omit an "h" when it is required, and add one when its presence can be dispensed with, as Garth Rivers would have us believe. We know that old nurses make use of strange language; but does it serve any purpose to print "objections" in this fashion: "Laws, Master! I see no 'jecshuns' whatever." (ii. p. 215.) If novelists only knew how insufferably tedious "word-painting" is, they would not indulge in it

<sup>31</sup> "Miss Gwynne of Woodford." By Garth Rivers. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1861.

so frequently. In this novel nothing is done without the aspect of the sky and the temperature of the air being recorded, so that we are inclined to fancy we are reading a weather almanack written in high-flown language. The heroine is a great adept at "word-painting." Indeed, she displays her skill so often that Garth Rivers is forced to construct very curious sentences in order to express her achievements in that line. We are told that "she has the habit of describing every scene to him (her father), and now she word-painted the sunset beach." (ii. p. 247.) Although we cannot praise Garth Rivers for having coined a new verb, yet we can at least understand what is meant by "word-painted." But we are sorely perplexed as to what a "sunset beach" can possibly be!

Stephen Forrester and Maud Gwynne, the hero and heroine, are drawn with great care; but without much regard to truth. The former is represented as a man good at bottom, yet unable to withstand his natural instincts. In the first chapter he takes a glass of ale because he is thirsty, and another because it is good: he throws away a *mierscham* pipe because Maud disapproves of smoking, and in the third chapter smells strongly of cigars. Afterwards he smokes heaps of cigars, and drinks without limit. Maud is a woman of singular strength of mind and tenacity of affection, who bears worldly misfortunes with fortitude, and loses her lover without displaying any concern, while her love for him is never lessened by his heartless and even criminal conduct. Her father is struck with blindness and made to lose a law-suit simultaneously, in order that Maud's devotion and courage may be manifested. We think it a pity that Garth Rivers did not refrain from explaining why this law-suit went against Mr. Gwynne. As it is, he is represented to be the victim of injustice, because the law of England is so arbitrary. Will novelists ever cease substituting their own very peculiar and puzzling law for that according to which justice is administered in England? All comes right at last. Mr. Gwynne gets his own again, a thing which we can less understand than that he should ever have lost it. Stephen Forrester marries a silly lady, who dies at the right moment. He has a son by Miss Kate Bryan during his wife's lifetime. There are few, except Maud, who know this, and the secret is so well kept that Miss Bryan's fall from virtue does not hinder her being well married. After losing his wife, Stephen Forrester becomes a new man: he is no longer a drunkard, his given up flirting requires only one thing to render him happy, the hand of Maud, and he gets it. In our opinion Garth Rivers is much more pretentious than successful as a novel-writer. Although we do not admire either the style, the characters, or the plot of this novel, yet fairness requires us to express our belief that Garth Rivers has the power to produce something which will give us pleasure and merit our praise.

When we meet with a volume printed on unusually good paper, and bearing on the title-page the intimation that the contents have already appeared in a low-priced religious publication, we expect the matter to be very inferior, if not altogether worthless. We did not think that

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"Memoirs of an Unknown Life"<sup>32</sup> would prove an exception to that rule, but in so thinking we erred. The tale is skilfully constructed. The writing is simple, graceful, and finished. Whoever takes up the volume will probably agree with us in thinking that its author is no novice, and that it deserves perusal.

In conclusion, we merely direct the attention of our readers to G. Vapereau's annual review. Since the principal productions in the literature of his own country, as well as such translations from foreign languages as have appeared during the past year in France.<sup>33</sup> It is a very valuable adjunct to his "Dictionnaire des Contemporains." Some idea may be formed of the immense labour devoted to the chronicle, now in its third year of its existence, from the fact that it notices the works of some five hundred different authors, and that their chief characteristics, together with the reception they have received at the hands of the public, are faithfully recorded. Such personal discussions as have connected themselves with any of the literary productions noticed are touched upon with a judicious and delicate hand, and the current information on the progress and tendency of French thought furnished with a mass of facts which are rendered doubly useful by every appliance of classification and interest which can facilitate reference. A literary almanac for the year is also added.

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<sup>32</sup> "Memoirs of an Unknown Life." Edinburgh: Alexander Strahan and Co. 1861. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1861.

<sup>33</sup> "Année Littéraire et Dramatique ou Revue Annuelle des Principales Productions de la Littérature Française," &c. &c. Par G. Vapereau, Auteur du Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains." Paris: L. Hachette et Cie. 1861.





